THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.
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ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

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By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

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CHAP. LXXI.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

RAJA SERFOGI'S ... THE TANJORE ... MAHAL.

CHAP. LVIII.

Origin and Numbers of the First Crusade.—Characters of the Latin Princes.—Their March to Constantinople.—Policy of the Greek Emperor Alexius.—Conquest of Nice, Antioch, and Jerusalem, by the Franks.—Deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre.—Godfrey of Bouillon, First King of Jerusalem.—Institutions of the French or Latin Kingdom.

ABOUT twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by an hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy[1] in France. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name; he mingled his

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The first crusade, A. D. 1095—1099. Peter the Hermit.

[1] Whimsical enough is the origin of the name of *Picards*, and from thence of *Picardie*, which does not date earlier than A. D. 1200. It was an academical joke, an epithet first applied

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his tears with thofe of the patriarch, and earneftly enquired, if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the Eaft. The patriarch expofed the vices and weaknefs of the fucceffors of Conftantine. "I will roufe," exclaimed the hermit, "the "martial nations of Europe in your caufe;" and Europe was obedient to the call of the hermit. The aftonifhed patriarch difmiffed him with epiftles of credit and complaint, and no fooner did he land at Bari, than Peter haftened to kifs the feet of the Roman pontiff. His ftature was fmall, his appearance contemptible; but his eye was keen and lively; and he poffeffed that vehemence of fpeech, which feldom fails to impart the perfuafion of the foul [2]. He was born of a gentleman's family (for we muft now adopt a modern idiom), and his military fervice was under the neighbouring counts of Boulogne, the heroes of the firft crufade. But he foon relinquifhed the fword and the world; and if it be true, that his wife, however noble, was aged and ugly, he might withdraw, with the lefs reluctance, from her bed to a convent, and at length to an hermitage. In this auftere folitude, his body was emaciated, his fancy was inflamed; whatever he wifhed, he believed; whatever he believed, he *faw* in dreams and revelations. From Jerufalem, the pilgrim returned an accomplifhed fanatic; but as he excelled in the popular madnefs of the times, pope Urban the fecond received him as a prophet, applauded his glorious defign, promifed to fupport it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land. Invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, his zealous miffionary traverfed, with fpeed and fuccefs, the provinces of Italy and France. His diet was abftemious, his prayers long and fervent, and the alms which he received with one hand, he diftri-

applied to the quarrelfome humour of thofe ftudents, in the univerfity of Paris, who came from the frontier of France and Flanders (Valefii Notitia Galliarum, p. 447. Longuerue, Defcription de la France, p. 54.).

[2] William of Tyre (l. i. c. 11. p. 637, 638.) thus defcribes the hermit: pufillus, perfona contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et occulum habens perfpicacem gratumque, et fponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium. See Albert Aquenfis, p. 185. Guibert, p. 482. Anna Comnena in Alexiad, l. x. p. 284, &c. with Ducange's notes, p. 349.

buted

buted with the other: his head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapt in a coarſe garment; he bore and diſplayed a weighty crucifix; and the aſs on which he rode, was ſanctified in the public eye by the ſervice of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the ſtreets, and the highways: the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people, for all was people, was impetuouſly moved by his call to repentance and arms. When he painted the ſufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Paleſtine, every heart was melted to compaſſion; every breaſt glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren and reſcue their Saviour: his ignorance of art and language was compenſated by ſighs, and tears, and ejaculations; and Peter ſupplied the deficiency of reaſon by loud and frequent appeals to Chriſt and his Mother, to the ſaints and angels of paradiſe, with whom he had perſonally converſed. The moſt perfect orator of Athens might have envied the ſucceſs of his eloquence: the ruſtic enthuſiaſt inſpired the paſſions which he felt, and Chriſtendom expected with impatience the counſels and decrees of the ſupreme pontiff.

Urban II. in the council of Placentia, A. D. 1095, March.

The magnanimous ſpirit of Gregory the ſeventh had already embraced the deſign of arming Europe againſt Aſia; the ardour of his zeal and ambition ſtill breathes in his epiſtles: from either ſide of the Alps, fifty thouſand Catholics had enliſted under the banner of St. Peter[3]; and his ſucceſſor reveals *his* intention of marching at their head againſt the impious ſectaries of Mahomet. But the glory or reproach of executing, though not in perſon, this holy enterpriſe, was reſerved for Urban the ſecond[4], the moſt faithful of his diſciples. He undertook the conqueſt of the Eaſt, whilſt the larger portion of Rome was poſſeſſed and fortified by his rival Guibert of Ravenna,

[3] Ultra quinquaginta millia, ſi me poſſunt in expeditione pro duce et pontifice habere, armatâ manû volunt in inimicos Dei inſurgere et ad ſepulchrum Domini ipſo ducente pervenire (Gregor. vii. epiſt. ii. 31. in tom. xii. p. 322. concil.).

[4] See the original lives of Urban II. by Pandulphus Piſanus and Bernardus Guido, in Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. iii. pars i. p. 352, 353.

CHAP. LVIII. Ravenna, who contended with Urban for the name and honours of the pontificate. He attempted to unite the powers of the West, at a time when the princes were separated from the church, and the people from their princes, by the excommunication which himself and his predecessors had thundered against the emperor and the king of France. Philip the first, of France, supported with patience the censures which he had provoked by his scandalous life and adulterous marriage. Henry the fourth, of Germany, asserted the right of investitures, the prerogative of confirming his bishops by the delivery of the ring and crosier. But the emperor's party was crushed in Italy by the arms of the Normans and the countess Mathilda; and the long quarrel had been recently envenomed by the revolt of his son Conrad and the shame of his wife [5], who, in the synods of Constance and Placentia, confessed the manifold prostitutions to which she had been exposed by an husband regardless of her honour and his own [6]. So popular was the cause of Urban, so weighty was his influence, that the council which he summoned at Placentia [7] was composed of two hundred bishops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria. Four thousand of the clergy, and thirty thousand of the laity, attended this important meeting; and, as the most spacious cathedral would have been inadequate to the multitude, the session of seven days was held in a plain adjacent to the city.

[5] She is known by the different names of Praxes, Eupræcia, Eufrasia, and Adelais; and was the daughter of a Russian prince, and the widow of a margrave of Brandenburgh. Struv. Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 340.

[6] Henricus odio eam cœpit habere: ideo incarceravit eam, et concessit ut plerique vim ei inferrent; immo filium hortans ut eam subagitaret (Dodechin, Continuat. Marian. Scot. apud Baron. A.D. 1093, N° 4.). In the synod of Constance, she is described by Bertholdus, rerum inspector: quæ se tantas et tam inauditas fornicationum spurcitias, et a tantis passam fuisse conquesta est, &c. and again at Placentia: satis misericorditer suscepit, eo quòd ipsam tantas spurcitias non tam commisisse quam invitam pertulisse pro certo cognoverit papa cum sanctâ synodo. Apud Baron. A.D. 1093, N° 4. 1094, N° 3. A rare subject for the infallible decision of a pope and council. These abominations are repugnant to every principle of human nature, which is not altered by a dispute about rings and crosiers. Yet it should seem, that the wretched woman was tempted by the priests to relate or subscribe some infamous stories of herself and her husband.

[7] See the narrative and acts of the synod of Placentia, Concil. tom. xii. p. 821, &c.

city. The ambaſſadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced to plead the diſtreſs of their ſovereign and the danger of Conſtantinople, which was divided only by a narrow ſea from the victorious Turks, the common enemies of the Chriſtian name. In their ſuppliant addreſs they flattered the pride of the Latin princes; and, appealing at once to their policy and religion, exhorted them to repel the Barbarians on the confines of Aſia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe. At the ſad tale of the miſery and perils of their Eaſtern brethren the aſſembly burſt into tears: the moſt eager champions declared their readineſs to march; and the Greek ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed with the aſſurance of a ſpeedy and powerful ſuccour. The relief of Conſtantinople was included in the larger and moſt diſtant project of the deliverance of Jeruſalem; but the prudent Urban adjourned the final deciſion to a ſecond ſynod, which he propoſed to celebrate in ſome city of France in the autumn of the ſame year. The ſhort delay would propagate the flame of enthuſiaſm; and his firmeſt hope was in a nation of ſoldiers [8], ſtill proud of the pre-eminence of their name, and ambitious to emulate their hero Charlemagne [9], who, in the popular romance of Turpin [10], had atchieved the conqueſt of the Holy Land. A latent motive of affection or vanity might influence the choice of Urban: he was himſelf a native of France, a monk of Clugny, and the firſt of his countrymen who aſcended the throne

[8] Guibert himſelf, a Frenchman, praiſes the piety and valour of the French nation, the author and example of the cruſades: Gens nobilis, prudens, bellicoſa, dapſilis et nitida . . . Quos enim Britones, *Anglos*, Ligures, ſi bonis eos moribus videamus, non illico *Francos homines* appellemus? (p. 478.) He owns, however, that the vivacity of the French degenerates into petulance among foreigners (p. 483.), and vain loquacioufneſs (p. 502.).

[9] Per viam quam jamdudum Carolus Magnus mirificus rex Francorum aptari fecit uſque C.P. (Geſta Francorum, p. 1. Robert. Monach. Hiſt. Hieroſ. l. i. p. 33, &c.).

[10] John Tilpinus, or Turpinus, was archbiſhop of Rheims, A. D. 773. After the year 1000, this romance was compoſed in his name, by a monk of the borders of France and Spain: and ſuch was the idea of eccleſiaſtical merit, that he deſcribes himſelf as a fighting and drinking prieſt! Yet the book of lies was pronounced authentic by pope Calixtus II. (A. D. 1122), and is reſpectfully quoted by the abbot Suger, in the great Chronicles of St. Denys (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, edit. Manſi, tom. iv. p. 161.).

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of St. Peter. The pope had illuſtrated his family and province; nor is there perhaps a more exquiſite gratification than to reviſit, in a conſpicuous dignity, the humble and laborious ſcenes of our youth.

Council of Clermont, A. D. 1095, November.

It may occaſion ſome ſurpriſe that the Roman pontiff ſhould erect, in the heart of France, the tribunal from whence he hurled his anathemas againſt the king. But our ſurpriſe will vaniſh ſo ſoon as we form a juſt eſtimate of a king of France of the eleventh century [11]. Philip the firſt was the great-grandſon of Hugh Capet the founder of the preſent race, who, in the decline of Charlemagne's poſterity, added the regal title to his patrimonial eſtates of Paris and Orleans. In this narrow compaſs, he was poſſeſſed of wealth and juriſdiction; but in the reſt of France, Hugh and his firſt deſcendants were no more than the feudal lords of about ſixty dukes and counts, of independent and hereditary power [12], who diſdained the control of laws and legal aſſemblies, and whoſe diſregard of their ſovereign was revenged by the diſobedience of their inferior vaſſals. At Clermont, in the territories of the count of Auvergne [13], the pope might brave with impunity the reſentment of Philip; and the council which he convened in that city was not leſs numerous or reſpectable than the ſynod of Placentia [14]. Beſides his court and council of Roman cardinals, he was ſupported by thirteen archbiſhops and two hundred and twenty-five biſhops; the number of mitred prelates was computed at four hundred; and the fathers of the church were bleſſed by the ſaints, and enlightened by the doctors of the age. From the adjacent kingdoms, a martial train of lords and knights of power and

[11] See Etat de la France, by the Count de Boulainvilliers, tom. i. p. 180—182. and the ſecond volume of the Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France, by the Abbé de Mably.

[12] In the provinces to the ſouth of the Loire, the firſt *Capetians* were ſcarcely allowed a feudal ſupremacy. On all ſides, Normandy, Bretagne, Aquitain, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Flanders, contracted the name and limits of the *proper* France. See Hadrian Valeſ. Notitia Galliarum.

[13] Theſe counts, a younger branch of the dukes of Aquitain, were at length deſpoiled of the greateſt part of their country by Philip Auguſtus. The biſhops of Clermont gradually became princes of the city. Melanges, tirés d'une grande Bibliotheque, tom. xxxvi. p. 288, &c.

[14] See the acts of the council of Clermont, Concil. tom. xii. p. 829, &c.

renown, attended the council [15], in high expectation of its resolves; and such was the ardour of zeal and curiosity, that the city was filled, and many thousands, in the month of November, erected their tents or huts in the open field. A session of eight days produced some useful or edifying canons for the reformation of manners; a severe censure was pronounced against the licence of private war; the truce of God [16] was confirmed, a suspension of hostilities during four days of the week; women and priests were placed under the safeguard of the church; and a protection of three years was extended to husbandmen and merchants, the defenceless victims of military rapine. But a law, however venerable be the sanction, cannot suddenly transform the temper of the times; and the benevolent efforts of Urban deserve the less praise, since he laboured to appease some domestic quarrels that he might spread the flames of war from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. From the synod of Placentia, the rumour of his great design had gone forth among the nations: the clergy on their return had preached in every diocese the merit and glory of the deliverance of the Holy Land; and when the pope ascended a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont, his eloquence was addressed to a well prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shout of thousands, who with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, " God wills it, God wills it [17]."

[15] Confluxerunt ad concilium e multis regionibus, viri potentes et honorati, innumeri quamvis cingulo laicalis militiæ superbi (Baldric, an eye witness, p. 86—88. Robert. Mon. p. 31, 32. Will. Tyr. i. 14, 15. p. 639—641. Guibert, p. 478—480. Fulcher. Carnot. p. 382.).

[16] The Truce of God (Treva, or Treuga Dei) was first invented in Aquitain, A. D. 1032; blamed by some bishops as an occasion of perjury, and rejected by the Normans as contrary to their privileges (Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. vi. p. 682—685.).

[17] *Deus vult, Deus vult!* was the pure acclamation of the clergy who understood Latin (Robert. Mon. l. i. p. 32.). By the illiterate laity, who spoke the *Provincial* or *Limousin* idiom, it was corrupted to *Deus lo volt*, or *Diex el volt*. See Chron. Casinense, l. iv. c. 11. p. 497. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iv. and Ducange (Dissertat. xi. p. 207. sur Joinville, and Gloss. Latin. tom. ii. p. 690.), who, in his preface, produces a very difficult specimen of the dialect of Rovergue, A. D. 1100, very near, both in time and place, to the council of Clermont (p. 15, 16.).

" It

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"It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope; "and let this "memorable word, the inſpiration ſurely of the Holy Spirit, be for "ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the devotion and "courage of the champions of Chriſt. His croſs is the ſymbol of "your ſalvation; wear it, a red, a bloody croſs, as an external mark "on your breaſts or ſhoulders, as a pledge of your ſacred and irre-"vocable engagement." The propoſal was joyfully accepted; great numbers both of the clergy and laity impreſſed on their garments the ſign of the croſs [18], and ſolicited the pope to march at their head. This dangerous honour was declined by the more prudent ſucceſſor of Gregory, who alleged the ſchiſm of the church, and the duties of his paſtoral office, recommending to the faithful, who were diſqualified by ſex or profeſſion, by age or infirmity, to aid, with their prayers and alms, the perſonal ſervice of their robuſt brethren. The name and powers of his legate he devolved on Adhemar biſhop of Puy, the firſt who had received the croſs at his hands. The foremoſt of the temporal chiefs was Raymond count of Thoulouſe, whoſe ambaſſadors in the council excuſed the abſence, and pledged the honour, of their maſter. After the confeſſion and abſolution of their ſins, the champions of the croſs were diſmiſſed with a ſuperfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends; and their departure for the Holy Land was fixed to the feſtival of the Aſſumption, the fifteenth of Auguſt, of the enſuing year [19].

So

[18] Moſt commonly on their ſhoulders, in gold, or ſilk, or cloth, ſewed on their garments. In the firſt cruſade, all were red: in the third, the French alone preſerved that colour, while green croſſes were adopted by the Flemings, and white by the Engliſh (Ducange, tom ii. p. 651.). Yet in England, the red ever appears the favourite, and, as it were, the national, colour of our military enſigns and uniforms.

[19] Bongarſius, who has publiſhed the original writers of the cruſades, adopts, with much complacency, the fanatic title of Guibertus, Geſta Dei per Francos; though ſome critics propoſe to read Geſta *Diaboli* per Francos (Hanoviæ, 1611, two vols. in folio). I ſhall briefly enumerate, as they ſtand in this collection, the authors whom I have uſed for the firſt cruſade. I. Geſta Francorum. II. Robertus Monachus. III. Baldricus. IV. Raimundus de Agiles. V. Albertus Aquenſis. VI. Fulcherius Carnotenſis. VII. Guibertus. VIII. Willielmus Tyrienſis. Muratori has given us, IX. Radulphus Cadomenſis de Geſtis Tancredi (Script. Rer. Ital. tom.v. p. 285—333.), and, X. Bernardus Theſau-

Justice of the crusades?

So familiar, and as it were so natural to man, is the practice of violence, that our indulgence allows the slightest provocation, the most disputable right, as a sufficient ground of national hostility. But the name and nature of an *holy war* demands a more rigorous scrutiny; nor can we hastily believe, that the servants of the Prince of peace would unsheathe the sword of destruction, unless the motive were pure, the quarrel legitimate, and the necessity inevitable. The policy of an action may be determined from the tardy lessons of experience; but, before we act, our conscience should be satisfied of the justice and propriety of our enterprise. In the age of the crusades, the Christians, both of the East and West, were persuaded of their lawfulness and merit; their arguments are clouded by the perpetual abuse of scripture and rhetoric; but they seem to insist on the right of natural and religious defence, their peculiar title to the Holy Land, and the impiety of their Pagan and Mahometan foes [20]. I. The right of a just defence may fairly include our civil and spiritual allies: it depends on the existence of danger; and that danger must be estimated by the two-fold consideration of the malice, and the power, of our enemies. A pernicious tenet has been imputed to the Mahometans, the duty of *extirpating* all other religions by the sword. This charge of ignorance and bigotry is refuted by the Koran, by the history of the Musulman conquerors, and by their public and legal toleration of the Christian worship. But it cannot be denied, that the Oriental churches are depressed under their iron yoke;

Thesaurarius de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ (tom. vii. p. 664—848.). The last of these was unknown to a late French historian, who has given a large and critical list of the writers of the crusades (Esprit des Croisades, tom. i. p. 13—141.), and most of whose judgments my own experience will allow me to ratify. It was late before I could obtain a sight of the French historians collected by Duchesne. I. Petri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Sivracensis Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere (tom. iv. p. 773—815.), has been transfused into the first anonymous writer of Bongarsius. II. The Metrical History of the first Crusade, in vii books (p. 890—912.), is of small value or account.

[20] If the reader will turn to the first scene of the first part of Henry the Fourth, he will see in the text of Shakspeare the natural feelings of enthusiasm; and in the notes of Dr. Johnson, the workings of a bigotted though vigorous mind, greedy of every pretence to hate and persecute those who dissent from his creed.

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yoke; that, in peace and war, they aſſert a divine and indefeaſible claim of univerſal empire; and that, in their orthodox creed, the unbelieving nations are continually threatened with the loſs of religion or liberty. In the eleventh century, the victorious arms of the Turks preſented a real and urgent apprehenſion of theſe loſſes. They had ſubdued in leſs than thirty years the kingdoms of Aſia, as far as Jeruſalem and the Helleſpont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of deſtruction. Beſides an honeſt ſympathy for their brethren, the Latins had a right and intereſt in the ſupport of Conſtantinople, the moſt important barrier of the Weſt; and the privilege of defence muſt reach to prevent, as well as to repel, an impending aſſault. But this ſalutary purpoſe might have been accompliſhed by a moderate ſuccour; and our calmer reaſon muſt diſclaim the innumerable hoſts and remote operations, which overwhelmed Aſia and depopulated Europe. II. Paleſtine could add nothing to the ſtrength or ſafety of the Latins; and fanaticiſm alone could pretend to juſtify the conqueſt of that diſtant and narrow province. The Chriſtians affirmed that their inalienable title to the promiſed land had been ſealed by the blood of their divine Saviour: it was their right and duty to reſcue their inheritance from the unjuſt poſſeſſors, who profaned his ſepulchre, and oppreſſed the pilgrimage of his diſciples. Vainly would it be alleged that the pre-eminence of Jeruſalem, and the ſanctity of Paleſtine, have been aboliſhed with the Moſaic law; that the God of the Chriſtians is not a local deity, and that the recovery of Bethlem or Calvary, his cradle or his tomb, will not atone for the violation of the moral precepts of the goſpel. Such arguments glance aſide from the leaden ſhield of ſuperſtition; and the religious mind will not eaſily relinquiſh its hold on the ſacred ground of myſtery and miracle. III. But the holy wars which have been waged in every climate of the globe, from Egypt to Livonia, and from Peru to Hindoſtan, require the ſupport of ſome more general and flexible tenet. It has been often ſuppoſed, and ſometimes af-

firmed, that a difference of religion is a worthy cauſe of hoſtility; that obſtinate unbelievers may be ſlain or ſubdued by the champions of the croſs; and that grace is the ſole fountain of dominion as well as of mercy. Above four hundred years before the firſt cruſade, the eaſtern and weſtern provinces of the Roman empire had been acquired about the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, by the Barbarians of Germany and Arabia. Time and treaties had legitimated the conqueſts of the *Chriſtian* Franks; but in the eyes of their ſubjects and neighbours, the Mahometan princes were ſtill tyrants and uſurpers, who, by the arms of war or rebellion, might be lawfully driven from their unlawful poſſeſſion[21].

Spiritual motives and indulgences.

As the manners of the Chriſtians were relaxed, their diſcipline of penance[22] was enforced; and with the multiplication of ſins, the remedies were multiplied. In the primitive church, a voluntary and open confeſſion prepared the work of atonement. In the middle ages, the biſhops and prieſts interrogated the criminal; compelled him to account for his thoughts, words, and actions; and preſcribed the terms of his reconciliation with God. But as this diſcretionary power might alternately be abuſed by indulgence and tyranny, a rule of diſcipline was framed, to inform and regulate the ſpiritual judges. This mode of legiſlation was invented by the Greeks; their *penitentials*[23] were tranſlated, or imitated, in the Latin church; and, in the time of Charlemagne, the clergy of every dioceſe were provided with a code, which they prudently concealed from the knowledge of the vulgar. In this dangerous eſtimate of crimes

[21] The vi^th Diſcourſe of Fleury on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (p. 223—261.) contains an accurate and rational view of the cauſes and effects of the cruſades.

[22] The penance, indulgences, &c. of the middle ages are amply diſcuſſed by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. v. diſſert. lxviii. p. 709—768.), and by M. Chais (Lettres ſur les Jubilés et les Indulgences, tom. ii. lettres 21 & 22. p. 478—556.), with this difference, that the abuſes of ſuperſtition are mildly, perhaps faintly, expoſed by the learned Italian, and peeviſhly magnified by the Dutch miniſter.

[23] Schmidt (Hiſtoire des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 211—220. 452—462.) gives an abſtract of the Penitential of Rhegino in the ninth, and of Burchard in the tenth, century. In one year, five-and-thirty murders were perpetrated at Worms.

CHAP. LVIII. and puniſhments, each caſe was ſuppoſed, each difference was remarked, by the experience or penetration of the monks; ſome ſins are enumerated which innocence could not have ſuſpected, and others which reaſon cannot believe; and the more ordinary offences of fornication and adultery, of perjury and ſacrilege, of rapine and murder, were expiated by a penance, which, according to the various circumſtances, was prolonged from forty days to ſeven years. During this term of mortification, the patient was healed, the criminal was abſolved, by a ſalutary regimen of faſts and prayers: the diſorder of his dreſs was expreſſive of grief and remorſe; and he humbly abſtained from all the buſineſs and pleaſure of ſocial life. But the rigid execution of theſe laws would have depopulated the palace, the camp, and the city: the Barbarians of the Weſt believed and trembled; but nature often rebelled againſt principle; and the magiſtrate laboured without effect to enforce the juriſdiction of the prieſt. A literal accompliſhment of penance was indeed impracticable; the guilt of adultery was multiplied by daily repetition; that of homicide might involve the maſſacre of a whole people; each act was ſeparately numbered; and, in thoſe times of anarchy and vice, a modeſt ſinner might eaſily incur a debt of three hundred years. His inſolvency was relieved by a commutation, or *indulgence*: a year of penance was appreciated at twenty-ſix *ſolidi* [24] of ſilver, about four pounds ſterling, for the rich; at three ſolidi, or nine ſhillings, for the indigent: and theſe alms were ſoon appropriated to the uſe of the church, which derived, from the redemption of ſins, an inexhauſtible ſource of opulence and dominion. A debt of three hundred years, or twelve hundred pounds, was enough to impoveriſh a plentiful fortune; the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver was ſupplied by the alienation of land; and the princely donations of Pepin and Charlemagne are expreſsly given for the *remedy* of their ſoul.

[24] Till the xii[th] century, we may ſupport the clear account of xii *denarii*, or pence, to the *ſolidus*, or ſhilling; and xx *ſolidi* to the pound weight of ſilver, about the pound ſterling. Our money is diminiſhed to a third, and the French to a fiftieth, of this primitive ſtandard.

ſoul. It is a maxim of the civil law, that whoſoever cannot pay with his purſe, muſt pay with his body; and the practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, a cheap, though painful, equivalent. By a fantaſtic arithmetic, a year of penance was taxed at three thouſand laſhes [25]; and ſuch was the ſkill and patience of a famous hermit, St. Dominic of the Iron Cuiraſs [26], that in ſix days he could diſcharge an entire century, by a whipping of three hundred thouſand ſtripes. His example was followed by many penitents of both ſexes; and, as a vicarious ſacrifice was accepted, a ſturdy diſciplinarian might expiate on his own back the ſins of his benefactors [27]. Theſe compenſations of the purſe and the perſon introduced, in the eleventh century, a more honourable mode of ſatisfaction. The merit of military ſervice againſt the Saracens of Africa and Spain, had been allowed by the predeceſſors of Urban the ſecond. In the council of Clermont, that pope proclaimed a *plenary indulgence* to thoſe who ſhould enliſt under the banner of the croſs; the abſolution of *all* their ſins, and a full receipt for *all* that might be due of canonical penance [28]. The cold philoſophy of modern times is incapable of feeling the impreſſion that was made on a ſinful and fanatic world. At the voice of their paſtor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide, aroſe by thouſands to redeem their ſouls, by repeating on the infidels the ſame deeds which they had exerciſed againſt their Chriſtian brethren; and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and

[25] Each century of laſhes was ſanctified with the recital of a pſalm; and the whole Pſalter, with the accompaniment of 15,000 ſtripes, was equivalent to five years.

[26] The Life and Atchievements of St. Dominic Loricatus, was compoſed by his friend and admirer, Peter Damianus. See Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 96—104. Baronius, A. D. 1056, N° 7. who obſerves from Damianus, how faſhionable, even among ladies of quality (ſublimis generis), this expiation (purgatorii genus) was grown.

[27] At a quarter, or even half a rial a laſh, Sancho Panza was a cheaper, and poſſibly not a more diſhoneſt, workman. I remember in Pére Labat (Voyages en Italie, tom. vii. p. 16—29.) a very lively picture of the *dexterity* of one of theſe artiſts.

[28] Quicunque pro ſolâ devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione, ad liberandam eccleſiam Dei Jeruſalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni pœnitentia reputetur. Canon. Concil. Claromont. ii. p. 829. Guibert ſtyles it novum ſalutis genus (p. 471.), and is almoſt philoſophical on the ſubject.

 denomina-

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denomination. None were pure; none were exempt from the guilt and penalty of ſin; and thoſe who were the leaſt amenable to the juſtice of God and the church, were the beſt entitled to the temporal and eternal recompence of their pious courage. If they fell, the ſpirit of the Latin clergy did not heſitate to adorn their tomb with the crown of martyrdom[29]; and ſhould they ſurvive, they could expect without impatience the delay and encreaſe of their heavenly reward. They offered their blood to the Son of God, who had laid down his life for their ſalvation: they took up the croſs, and entered with confidence into the way of the Lord. His providence would watch over their ſafety; perhaps his viſible and miraculous power would ſmooth the difficulties of their holy enterpriſe. The cloud and pillar of Jehovah had marched before the Iſraelites into the promiſed land. Might not the Chriſtians more reaſonably hope that the rivers would open for their paſſage; that the walls of the ſtrongeſt cities would fall at the ſound of their trumpets; and that the ſun would be arreſted in his mid-career, to allow them time for the deſtruction of the infidels?

Temporal and carnal motives.

Of the chiefs and ſoldiers who marched to the holy ſepulchre, I will dare to affirm, that *all* were prompted by the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm; the belief of merit, the hope of reward, and the aſſurance of divine aid. But I am equally perſuaded, that in *many* it was not the ſole, that in *ſome* it was not the leading, principle of action. The uſe and abuſe of religion are feeble to ſtem, they are ſtrong and irreſiſtible to impel, the ſtream of national manners. Againſt the private wars of the Barbarians, their bloody tournaments, licentious loves, and judicial duels, the popes and ſynods might ineffectually thunder. It is a more eaſy taſk to provoke the metaphyſical diſputes of the Greeks, to drive into the cloiſter the victims of anarchy or deſpotiſm, to ſanctify the patience of ſlaves and cowards, or to aſſume the merit of

[29] Such at leaſt was the belief of the cruſaders, and ſuch is the uniform ſtyle of the hiſtorians (Eſprit des Croiſades, tom. iii. p. 477); but the prayers for the repoſe of their ſouls, is inconſiſtent in orthodox theology with the merits of martyrdom.

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the humanity and benevolence of modern Chriſtians. War and exerciſe were the reigning paſſions of the Franks or Latins; they were enjoined, as a penance, to gratify thoſe paſſions, to viſit diſtant lands, and to draw their ſwords againſt the nations of the Eaſt. Their victory, or even their attempt, would immortaliſe the names of the intrepid heroes of the croſs; and the pureſt piety could not be inſenſible to the moſt ſplendid proſpect of military glory. In the petty quarrels of Europe, they ſhed the blood of their friends and countrymen, for the acquiſition perhaps of a caſtle or a village. They could march with alacrity againſt the diſtant and hoſtile nations who were devoted to their arms: their fancy already graſped the golden ſceptres of Aſia; and the conqueſt of Apulia and Sicily by the Normans might exalt to royalty the hopes of the moſt private adventurer. Chriſtendom, in her rudeſt ſtate, muſt have yielded to the climate and cultivation of the Mahometan countries; and their natural and artificial wealth had been magnified by the tales of pilgrims, and the gifts of an imperfect commerce. The vulgar, both the great and ſmall, were taught to believe every wonder, of lands flowing with milk and honey, of mines and treaſures, of gold and diamonds, of palaces of marble and jaſper, and of odoriferous groves of cinnamon and frankincenſe. In this earthly paradiſe, each warrior depended on his ſword to carve a plenteous and honourable eſtabliſhment, which he meaſured only by the extent of his wiſhes[30]. Their vaſſals and ſoldiers truſted their fortunes to God and their maſter: the ſpoils of a Turkiſh emir might enrich the meaneſt follower of the camp; and the flavour of the wines, the beauty of the Grecian women[31], were temptations more adapted to the nature,

[30] The ſame hopes were diſplayed in the letters of the adventurers ad animandos qui in Francia reſiderant. Hugh de Reiteſte could boaſt, that his ſhare amounted to one abbey and ten caſtles, of the yearly value of 1500 marks, and that he ſhould acquire an hundred caſtles by the conqueſt of Aleppo. (Guibert, p. 554, 555.)

[31] In his genuine or fictitious letter to the count of Flanders, Alexius mingles with the danger of the church, and the relics of ſaints, the auri et argenti amor, and pulcherrimarum fœminarum voluptas (p. 476.); as if, ſays the indignant Guibert, the Greek women were handſomer than thoſe of France.

than

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than to the profeffion, of the champions of the crofs. The love of freedom was a powerful incitement to the multitudes who were oppreffed by feudal or ecclefiaftical tyranny. Under this holy fign the peafants and burghers, who were attached to the fervitude of the glebe, might efcape from an haughty lord, and tranfplant themfelves and their families to a land of liberty. The monk might releafe himfelf from the difcipline of his convent: the debtor might fufpend the accumulation of ufury, and the purfuit of his creditors; and outlaws and malefactors of every caft might continue to brave the laws and elude the punifhment of their crimes [32].

Influence of example.

Thefe motives were potent and numerous: when we have fingly computed their weight on the mind of each individual, we muft add the infinite feries, the multiplying powers of example and fafhion. The firft profelytes became the warmeft and moft effectual miffionaries of the crofs: among their friends and countrymen they preached the duty, the merit, and the recompence, of their holy vow; and the moft reluctant hearers were infenfibly drawn within the whirlpool of perfuafion and authority. The martial youths were fired by the reproach or fufpicion of cowardice; the opportunity of vifiting with an army the fepulchre of Chrift, was embraced by the old and infirm, by women and children, who confulted rather their zeal than their ftrength; and thofe who in the evening had derided the folly of their companions, were the moft eager, the enfuing day, to tread in their footfteps. The ignorance, which magnified the hopes, diminifhed the perils, of the enterprife. Since the Turkifh conqueft, the paths of pilgrimage were obliterated; the chiefs themfelves had an imperfect notion of the length of the way and the ftate of their enemies; and fuch was the ftupidity of the people, that, at the fight of the firft city or caftle beyond the limits of their knowledge, they were ready to afk whether that was not the Jerufalem,

[32] See the privileges of the *Crucefignati*, freedom from debt, ufury, injury, fecular juftice, &c. The pope was their perpetual guardian (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 651, 652.).

ſalem, the term and object of their labours. Yet the more prudent of the cruſaders, who were not ſure that they ſhould be fed from heaven with a ſhower of quails or manna, provided themſelves with thoſe precious metals, which, in every country, are the repreſentatives of every commodity. To defray, according to their rank, the expences of the road, princes alienated their provinces, nobles their lands and caſtles, peaſants their cattle and the inſtruments of huſbandry. The value of property was depreciated by the eager competition of multitudes; while the price of arms and horſes was raiſed to an exorbitant height by the wants and impatience of the buyers [33]. Thoſe who remained at home, with ſenſe and money, were enriched by the epidemical diſeaſe: the ſovereigns acquired at a cheap rate the domains of their vaſſals; and the eccleſiaſtical purchaſers completed the payment by the aſſurance of their prayers. The croſs, which was commonly ſewed on the garment, in cloth or ſilk, was inſcribed by ſome zealots on their ſkin: an hot iron, or indelible liquor, was applied to perpetuate the mark; and a crafty monk, who ſhewed the miraculous impreſſion on his breaſt, was repaid with the popular veneration and the richeſt benefices of Paleſtine [34].

Departure of the firſt cruſaders, A. D. 1096, March, May, &c.

The fifteenth of Auguſt had been fixed in the council of Clermont for the departure of the pilgrims: but the day was anticipated by the thoughtleſs and needy crowd of plebeians; and I ſhall briefly diſpatch the calamities which they inflicted and ſuffered, before I enter on the more ſerious and ſucceſsful enterpriſe of the chiefs. Early in the ſpring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, above ſixty thouſand of the populace of both ſexes flocked round the firſt miſ-

33 Guibert (p. 481.) paints in lively colours this general emotion. He was one of the few contemporaries who had genius enough to feel the aſtoniſhing ſcenes that were paſſing before their eyes. Erat itaque videre miraculum caro omnes emere, atque vili vendere, &c.

34 Some inſtances of theſe *ſtigmata* are given in the Eſprit des Croiſades (tom. iii. p. 169, &c.), from authors whom I have not ſeen.

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[35] Fuit et aliud scelus detestabile in hac congregatione pedestris populi stulti et vesanæ levitatis, *anserem* quendam divino spiritû asserebant afflatum, et *capellam* non minus eodem repletam, et has sibi duces secundæ viæ fecerant, &c. (Albert. Aquensis, l. i. c. 31. p. 196.) Had these peasants founded an empire, they might have introduced, as in Egypt, the worship of animals, which their philosophic descendants would have glossed over with some specious and subtle allegory.

[36] Benjamin of Tudela describes the state of his Jewish brethren from Cologne along the Rhine: they were rich, generous, learned, hospitable, and lived in the eager hope of the Messiah (Voyage, tom. i. p. 243—245. par Baratier). In seventy years (he wrote about A. D. 1170) they had recovered from these massacres.

thousands

thousands of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred[37]: nor had they felt a more bloody stroke since the persecution of Hadrian. A remnant was saved by the firmness of their bishops, who accepted a feigned and transient conversion; but the more obstinate Jews opposed their fanaticism to the fanaticism of the Christians, barricadoed their houses, and precipitating themselves, their families, and their wealth, into the rivers or the flames, disappointed the malice, or at least the avarice, of their implacable foes.

Their destruction in Hungary and Asia, A. D. 1096.

Between the frontiers of Austria and the seat of the Byzantine monarchy, the crusaders were compelled to traverse an interval of six hundred miles; the wild and desolate countries of Hungary[38] and Bulgaria. The soil is fruitful, and intersected with rivers; but it was then covered with morasses and forests, which spread to a boundless extent, whenever man has ceased to exercise his dominion over the earth. Both nations had imbibed the rudiments of Christianity; the Hungarians were ruled by their native princes; the Bulgarians by a lieutenant of the Greek emperor; but, on the slightest provocation, their ferocious nature was rekindled, and ample provocation was afforded by the disorders of the first pilgrims. Agriculture must have been unskilful and languid among a people, whose cities were built of reeds and timber, which were deserted in the summer season for the tents of hunters and shepherds. A scanty supply of provisions was rudely demanded, forcibly seized, and greedily consumed; and on the first quarrel, the crusaders gave a loose to indignation and revenge. But their ignorance of the country, of war, and of discipline, exposed them to every snare. The Greek præfect of Bulgaria commanded a regular force; at the trumpet of the Hungarian

[37] These massacres and depredations on the Jews, which were renewed at each crusade, are *coolly* related. It is true, that St. Bernard (epist. 363. tom. i. p. 329.) admonishes the Oriental Franks, non sunt persequendi Judæi, non sunt trucidandi. The contrary doctrine had been preached by a *rival* monk.

[38] See the contemporary description of Hungary in Otho of Frisingen, l. ii. c. 31. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi. p. 665, 666.

 king,

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king, the eighth or the tenth of his martial ſubjects bent their bows and mounted on horſeback; their policy was inſidious, and their retaliation on theſe pious robbers was unrelenting and bloody [39]. About a third of the naked fugitives, and the hermit Peter was of the number, eſcaped to the Thracian mountains; and the emperor, who reſpected the pilgrimage and ſuccour of the Latins, conducted them by ſecure and eaſy journies to Conſtantinople, and adviſed them to await the arrival of their brethren. For a while they remembered their faults and loſſes; but no ſooner were they revived by the hoſpitable entertainment, than their venom was again inflamed; they ſtung their benefactor, and neither gardens, nor palaces, nor churches, were ſafe from their depredations. For his own ſafety, Alexius allured them to paſs over to the Aſiatic ſide of the Boſphorus; but their blind impetuoſity ſoon urged them to deſert the ſtation which he had aſſigned, and to ruſh headlong againſt the Turks, who occupied the road of Jeruſalem. The hermit, conſcious of his ſhame, had withdrawn from the camp to Conſtantinople; and his lieutenant, Walter the Pennyleſs, who was worthy of a better command, attempted without ſucceſs to introduce ſome order and prudence among the herd of ſavages. They ſeparated in queſt of prey, and themſelves fell an eaſy prey to the arts of the ſultan. By a rumour that their foremoſt companions were rioting in the ſpoils of his capital, Soliman tempted the main body to deſcend into the plain of Nice; they were overwhelmed by the Turkiſh arrows; and a pyramid of bones [40] informed their companions of the place of their defeat. Of the firſt cruſaders, three hundred thouſand had already periſhed,

[39] The old Hungarians, without excepting Turotzius, are ill informed of the firſt cruſade, which they involve in a ſingle paſſage. Katona, like ourſelves, can only quote the writers of France; but he compares with local ſcience the ancient and modern geography. *Ante portam Cyperon*, is Sopron or Poſon; *Mallevilla*, Zemlin; *Fluvius Maroe*, Savus; *Lintax*, Leith; *Meſebroch*, or *Merſeburg*, Ouar, or Moſon; *Tollenburg*, Pragg (de Regibus Hungariæ, tom. iii. p. 19—53.).

[40] Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. x. p. 287.) deſcribes this οςων κολωνος as a mountain ὑψηλον και βαθος και πλατος αξιολογωτατον. In the ſiege of Nice, ſuch were uſed by the Franks themſelves as the materials of a wall.

perifhed, before a fingle city was refcued from the infidels, before their graver and more noble brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprife [41].

The chiefs of the firft crufade.

None of the great fovereigns of Europe embarked their perfons in the firft crufade. The emperor Henry the fourth was not difpofed to obey the fummons of the pope: Philip the firft of France was occupied by his pleafures; William Rufus of England by a recent conqueft; the kings of Spain were engaged in a domeftic war againft the Moors; and the northern monarchs of Scotland, Denmark [42], Sweden, and Poland, were yet ftrangers to the paffions and interefts of the South. The religious ardour was more ftrongly felt by the princes of the fecond order, who held an important place in the feudal fyftem. Their fituation will naturally caft under four diftinct heads the review of their names and characters; but I may efcape fome needlefs repetition, by obferving at once, that courage and the exercife of arms are the common attribute of thefe Chriftian adven-

[41] To fave time and fpace, I fhall reprefent, in a fhort table, the particular references to the great events of the firft crufade.

	The Crowd.	The Chiefs.	The Road to Conftantinople.	Alexius.	Nice and Afia Minor.	Edeffa.	Antioch.	The Battle.	The Holy Lance.	Conqueft of Jerufalem.
I. Gefta Francorum	p. 1, 2.	p. 2.	p. 2, 3.	p. 4, 5.	p. 5—7.	—	p. 9—15.	p. 15—22.	p. 18—20.	p. 26—29.
II. Robertus Monachus	p. 33, 34.	p. 35, 36.	p. 36, 37.	p. 37, 38.	p. 39—45.	—	p. 45—55.	p. 56—66.	p. 61, 62.	p. 74—81.
III. Baldricus - -	p. 89.	—	p. 91—93.	p. 91—94.	p. 94—101.	—	p. 101, 111.	p. 111—122.	p. 116—119.	p. 130—138.
IV. Raimundus des Agiles -	—	—	p. 139, 140.	p. 140, 141.	p. 142.	—	p. 142—149	p. 149—155.	p. 150. 152. 156.	p. 173—183.
V. Albertus Aquenfis	l. i. c. 7-31.	—	l. ii. c. 1-8.	l. ii. c. 9—19.	l. ii. c. 20-43. l. iii. c. 1-4.	l. iii. c. 5-32. l. iv. 9. 12. l. v. 15-22.	l. iii. c. 33—66. iv. 1—26.	l. iv. c. 7—56.	l. iv. c. 43.	l. v. c. 45, 46. l. vi. c. 1—50.
VI. Fulcherius Carnotenfis -	p. 384.	—	p. 385, 386.	p. 386.	p. 387—389.	p. 389, 390.	p. 390—392.	p. 392-395.	p. 392.	p. 396—400.
VII. Guibertus - -	p. 482. 485.	—	p. 485. 489.	p. 485-490.	p. 491—493. 498.	p. 496, 497.	p. 498. 506. 512.	p. 512-523.	p. 520. 530. 533.	p. 523—537.
VIII. Willermus Tyrenfis - -	l. i. c. 18-30.	l. i. c. 17.	l. ii. c. 1-4. 13. 17. 22.	l. ii. c. 5-23.	l. iii. c. 1-12. l. iv. c. 13-25.	l. iv. c. 1—6.	l. iv. 9-24. l. v. 1-23.	l. vi. c. 1-23.	l. vi. c. 14.	l. vii. c. 1-25. l. viii. c. 1-24.
IX. Radulphus Cadomenfis -	—	c. 1-3. 15.	c. 4. 7. 17.	c. 8-13. 18, 19.	c. 14—16. 21—47.	—	c. 48—71.	c. 72—91.	c. 100—109.	c. 111—138.
X. Bernardus Thefaurarius -	c. 7—11.	—	c. 11—20.	c. 11—20.	c. 21—25.	c. 26.	c. 27—38.	c. 39—52.	c. 45.	c. 54—77.

[42] The author of the Efprit des Croifades has doubted, and might have difbelieved, the crufade and tragic death of prince Sueno, with 1500 or 15,000 Danes, who was cut off by fultan Soliman in Cappadocia, but who ftill lives in the poem of Taffo (tom. iv. p. 111—115.).

turers.

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I. Godfrey of Bouillon.

turers. I. The firſt rank both in war and council is juſtly due to Godfrey of Bouillon; and happy would it have been for the cruſaders, if they had truſted themſelves to the ſole conduct of that accompliſhed hero, a worthy repreſentative of Charlemagne, from whom he was deſcended in the female line. His father was of the noble race of the counts of Boulogne: Brabant, the lower province of Lorraine[43], was the inheritance of his mother; and by the emperor's bounty, he was himſelf inveſted with that ducal title, which has been improperly transferred to his lordſhip of Bouillon in the Ardennes[44]. In the ſervice of Henry the fourth, he bore the great ſtandard of the empire, and pierced with his lance the breaſt of Rodolph, the rebel king: Godfrey was the firſt who aſcended the walls of Rome; and his ſickneſs, his vow, perhaps his remorſe for bearing arms againſt the pope, confirmed an early reſolution of viſiting the holy ſepulchre, not as a pilgrim, but a deliverer. His valour was matured by prudence and moderation; his piety, though blind, was ſincere; and, in the tumult of a camp, he practiſed the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. Superior to the private factions of the chiefs, he reſerved his enmity for the enemies of Chriſt; and though he gained a kingdom by the attempt, his pure and diſintereſted zeal was acknowledged by his rivals. Godfrey of Bouillon[45] was accompanied by his two brothers, by Euſtace the elder, who had ſucceeded to the county of Boulogne, and by the younger, Baldwin, a character of more ambiguous virtue. The duke of Lorraine was alike celebrated on either ſide of the Rhine: from his birth and education he was equally converſant with the French and Teutonic

[43] The fragments of the kingdoms of Lotharingia, or Lorraine, were broken into the two duchies, of the Moſelle, and of the Meuſe; the firſt has preſerved its name, which in the latter has been changed into that of Brabant (Valeſ. Notit. Gall. p. 283—288.).

[44] See, in the Deſcription of France, by the Abbe de Longuerue, the articles of *Boulogne*, part i. p. 54. *Brabant*, part ii. p. 47, 48. *Bouillon*, p. 134. On his departure, Godfrey ſold or pawned Bouillon to the church for 1300 marks.

[45] See the family character of Godfrey, in William of Tyre, l. ix. c. 5—8.; his previous deſign on Guibert (p. 485.), his ſickneſs and vow, in Bernard. Theſaur. (c. 78.).

languages;

languages: the barons of France, Germany, and Lorraine, aſſembled their vaſſals; and the confederate force that marched under his banner was compoſed of fourſcore thouſand foot and about ten thouſand horſe. II. In the parliament that was held at Paris, in the king's preſence, about two months after the council of Clermont, Hugh count of Vermandois was the moſt conſpicuous of the princes who aſſumed the croſs. But the appellation of *the great* was applied, not ſo much to his merit or poſſeſſions (though neither were contemptible), as to the royal birth of the brother of the king of France [46]. Robert duke of Normandy was the eldeſt ſon of William the Conqueror; but on his father's death he was deprived of the kingdom of England, by his own indolence and the activity of his brother Rufus. The worth of Robert was degraded by an exceſſive levity and eaſineſs of temper: his cheerfulneſs ſeduced him to the indulgence of pleaſure; his profuſe liberality impoveriſhed the prince and people; his indiſcriminate clemency multiplied the number of offenders; and the amiable qualities of a private man became the eſſential defects of a ſovereign. For the trifling ſum of ten thouſand marks he mortgaged Normandy during his abſence to the Engliſh uſurper [47]; but his engagement and behaviour in the holy war, announced in Robert a reformation of manners, and reſtored him in ſome degree to the public eſteem. Another Robert was count of Flanders, a royal province, which, in this century, gave three queens to the thrones of France, England, and Denmark: he was ſurnamed the ſword and lance of the Chriſtians; but in the exploits of a ſoldier, he ſometimes forgot the duties of a general. Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes, was one of the richeſt princes of the age;

II. Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Chartres, &c.

[46] Anna Comnena ſuppoſes, that Hugh was proud of his nobility, riches, and power (l. x. p. 288.): the two laſt articles appear more equivocal; but an εὐγένεια, which ſeven hundred years ago was famous in the palace of Conſtantinople, atteſts the ancient dignity of the Capetian family of France.

[47] Will. Gemeticenſis, l. vii. c. 7. p. 672, 673. in Camden. Normanicis. He pawned the duchy for one hundredth part of the preſent yearly revenue. Ten thouſand marks may be equal to five hundred thouſand livres, and Normandy annually yields fifty-ſeven millions to the king (Necker, Adminiſtration des Finances, tom. i. p. 287.).

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and the number of his caſtles has been compared to the three hundred and ſixty-five days of the year. His mind was improved by literature; and in the council of the chiefs, the eloquent Stephen[48] was choſen to diſcharge the office of their preſident. Theſe four were the principal leaders of the French, the Normans, and the pilgrims of the Britiſh iſles: but the liſt of the barons who were poſſeſſed of three or four towns, would exceed, ſays a contemporary, the catalogue of the Trojan war[49]. III. In the ſouth of France, the command was aſſumed by Adhemar, biſhop of Puy, the pope's legate, and by Raymond, count of St. Giles and Tholouſe, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence. The former was a reſpectable prelate, alike qualified for this world and the next. The latter was a veteran warrior, who had fought againſt the Saracens of Spain, and who conſecrated his declining age, not only to the deliverance, but to the perpetual ſervice, of the holy ſepulchre. His experience and riches gave him a ſtrong aſcendant in the Chriſtian camp, whoſe diſtreſs he was often able, and ſometimes willing, to relieve. But it was eaſier for him to extort the praiſe of the Infidels, than to preſerve the love of his ſubjects and aſſociates. His eminent qualities were clouded by a temper, haughty, envious, and obſtinate; and, though he reſigned an ample patrimony, for the cauſe of God, his piety, in the public opinion, was not exempt from avarice and ambition[50]. A mercantile, rather than a martial ſpirit, prevailed among his *provincials*[51], a common name, which included the natives of Auvergne and Languedoc[52], the vaſſals of

III. Raymond of Tholouſe.

[48] His original letter to his wife, is inſerted in the Spicilegium of Dom. Luc. d'Acheri, tom. iv. and quoted in the Eſprit des Croiſades, tom. i. p. 63.

[49] Unius enim, duûm, trium ſeu quatuor oppidorum dominos quis numeret? quorum tanta fuit copia, ut non vix totidem Trojana obſidio coegiſſe putetur (Ever the lively and intereſting Guibert, p. 486.).

[50] It is ſingular enough, that Raymond of St. Giles, a ſecond character in the genuine hiſtory of the cruſades, ſhould ſhine as the firſt of heroes in the writings of the Greeks (Anna Comnen. Alexiad, l. x, xi.) and the Arabians (Longueruana, p. 129.).

[51] Omnes de Burgundiâ, et Alverniâ, et Vaſconiâ, et Gothi (of *Languedoc)*, provinciales appellabantur, cæteri vero Francigenæ et hoc in exercitu; inter hoſtes autem Franci dicebantur. Raymond des Agiles, p. 144.

[52] The town of his birth, or firſt appanage, was conſecrated to St. Ægidius, whoſe name, as

of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. From the adjacent frontier of Spain, he drew a band of hardy adventurers; as he marched through Lombardy, a crowd of Italians flocked to his ſtandard, and his united force conſiſted of one hundred thouſand horſe and foot. If Raymond was the firſt to enliſt and the laſt to depart, the delay may be excuſed by the greatneſs of his preparation and the promiſe of an everlaſting farewell. IV. The name of Bohemond, the ſon of Robert Guiſcard, was already famous by his double victory over the Greek emperor: but his father's will had reduced him to the principality of Tarentum, and the remembrance of his Eaſtern trophies, till he was awakened by the rumour and paſſage of the French pilgrims. It is in the perſon of this Norman chief that we may ſeek for the cooleſt policy and ambition with a ſmall allay of religious fanaticiſm. His conduct may juſtify a belief that he had ſecretly directed the deſign of the pope, which he affected to ſecond with aſtoniſhment and zeal: at the ſiege of Amalphi, his example and diſcourſe inflamed the paſſions of a confederate army; he inſtantly tore his garment to ſupply croſſes for the numerous candidates, and prepared to viſit Conſtantinople and Aſia at the head of ten thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot. Several princes of the Norman race accompanied this veteran general; and his couſin Tancred [53] was the partner, rather than the ſervant, of the war. In the accompliſhed character of Tancred, we diſcover all the virtues of a perfect knight [54], the true ſpirit of chivalry, which inſpired the generous

IV. Bohemond and Tancred.

as early as the firſt cruſade, was corrupted by the French into St. Gilles, or St. Giles. It is ſituate in the Lower Languedoc, between Niſmes and the Rhône, and ſtill boaſts a collegiate church of the foundation of Raymond (Melanges tirés d'une grande Bibliotheque, tom. xxxvii. p. 51.).

[53] The mother of Tancred was Emma, ſiſter of the great Robert Guiſcard; his father, the marquis Odo the Good. It is ſingular enough, that the family and country of ſo illuſtrious a perſon ſhould be unknown; but Muratori reaſonably conjectures that he was an Italian, and perhaps of the race of the marquiſſes of Montferrat in Piedmont (Script. tom. v. p. 281, 282.).

[54] To gratify the childiſh vanity of the houſe of Eſte, Taſſo has inſerted in his poem, and in the firſt cruſade, a fabulous hero, the brave and amorous Rinaldo (x. 75. xvii.

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generous ſentiments and ſocial offices of man, far better than the baſe philoſophy, or the baſer religion, of the times.

Chivalry.

Between the age of Charlemagne and that of the cruſades, a revolution had taken place among the Spaniards, the Normans, and the French, which was gradually extended to the reſt of Europe. The ſervice of the infantry was degraded to the plebeians; the cavalry formed the ſtrength of the armies, and the honourable name of *miles*, or ſoldier, was confined to the gentlemen[55] who ſerved on horſeback, and were inveſted with the character of knighthood. The dukes and counts, who had uſurped the rights of ſovereignty, divided the provinces among their faithful barons: the barons diſtributed among their vaſſals the fiefs or benefices of their juriſdiction; and theſe military tenants, the peers of each other and of their lord, compoſed the noble or equeſtrian order, which diſdained to conceive the peaſant or burgher as of the ſame ſpecies with themſelves. The dignity of their birth was preſerved by pure and equal alliances; their ſons alone, who could produce four quarters or lines of anceſtry, without ſpot or reproach, might legally pretend to the honour of knighthood; but a valiant plebeian was ſometimes enriched and ennobled by the ſword, and became the father of a new race. A ſingle knight could impart, according to his judgment, the character which he received; and the warlike ſovereigns of Europe derived more glory from this perſonal diſtinction, than from the luſtre of their diadem. This ceremony, of which ſome traces may be found

xvii. 66—94.). He might borrow his name from a Rinaldo, with the Aquila bianca Eſtenſe, who vanquiſhed, as the ſtandard-bearer of the Roman church, the emperor Frederic I. (Storia Imperiale di Ricobaldo, in Muratori Script. Ital. tom. ix. p. 360. Arioſto, Orlando Furioſo, iii. 30.). But, 1. The diſtance of ſixty years between the youth of the two Rinaldos, deſtroys their identity. 2. The Storia Imperiale is a forgery of the conte Boyardo, at the end of the xv^th century (Muratori, p. 281—289.). 3. This Rinaldo, and his exploits, are not leſs chimerical than the hero of Taſſo (Muratori, Antichità Eſtenſe, tom. i. p. 350.).

[55] Of the words *gentilis*, *gentilhomme*, *gentleman*, two etymologies are produced: 1. From the Barbarians of the fifth century, the ſoldiers, and at length the conquerors of the Roman empire, who were vain of their foreign nobility; and, 2. From the ſenſe of the civilians, who conſider *gentilis* as ſynonymous with *ingenuus*. Selden inclines to the firſt, but the latter is more pure, as well as probable.

found in Tacitus and the woods of Germany[56], was in its origin ſimple and profane; the candidate, after ſome previous trial, was inveſted with his ſword and ſpurs; and his cheek or ſhoulder were touched with a ſlight blow, as an emblem of the laſt affront, which it was lawful for him to endure. But ſuperſtition mingled in every public and private action of life; in the holy wars, it ſanctified the profeſſion of arms; and the order of chivalry was aſſimilated in its rights and privileges to the ſacred orders of prieſthood. The bath and white garment of the novice, were an indecent copy of the regeneration of baptiſm: his ſword, which he offered on the altar, was bleſſed by the miniſters of religion; his ſolemn reception was preceded by faſts and vigils; and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel. He ſwore to accompliſh the duties of his profeſſion; and education, example, and the public opinion, were the inviolable guardians of his oath. As the champion of God and the ladies (I bluſh to unite ſuch diſcordant names), he devoted himſelf to ſpeak the truth; to maintain the right; to protect the diſtreſſed; to practiſe *courteſy*, a virtue leſs familiar to the ancients; to purſue the infidels; to deſpiſe the allurements of eaſe and ſafety; and to vindicate in every perilous adventure the honour of his character. The abuſe of the ſame ſpirit provoked the illiterate knight to diſdain the arts of induſtry and peace; to eſteem himſelf the ſole judge and avenger of his own injuries; and proudly to neglect the laws of civil ſociety and military diſcipline. Yet the benefits of this inſtitution, to refine the temper of Barbarians, and to infuſe ſome principles, of faith, juſtice, and humanity, were ſtrongly felt, and have been often obſerved. The aſperity of national prejudice was ſoftened; and the community of religion and arms ſpread a ſimilar colour and generous emulation over the face of Chriſtendom. Abroad, in enterpriſe and pilgrimage, at home in martial exerciſe,

56 Framea ſcutoque juvenem ornant. Tacitus, Germania, c. 13.

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the warriors of every country were perpetually aſſociated; and impartial taſte muſt prefer a Gothic tournament to the Olympic games of claſſic antiquity [57]. Inſtead of the naked ſpectacles which corrupted the manners of the Greeks, and baniſhed from the ſtadium the virgins and matrons; the pompous decoration of the liſts was crowned with the preſence of chaſte and high-born beauty, from whoſe hands the conqueror received the prize of his dexterity and courage. The ſkill and ſtrength that were exerted in wreſtling and boxing, bear a diſtant and doubtful relation to the merit of a ſoldier; but the tournaments, as they were invented in France, and eagerly adopted both in the Eaſt and Weſt, preſented a lively image of the buſineſs of the field. The ſingle combats, the general ſkirmiſh, the defence of a paſs, or caſtle, were rehearſed as in actual ſervice; and the conteſt, both in real and mimic war, was decided by the ſuperior management of the horſe and lance. The lance was the proper and peculiar weapon of the knight: his horſe was of a large and heavy breed; but this charger, till he was rouſed by the approaching danger, was uſually led by an attendant, and he quietly rode a pad or palfrey of a more eaſy pace. His helmet, and ſword, his greaves, and buckler, it would be ſuperfluous to deſcribe; but I may remark, that at the period of the cruſades, the armour was leſs ponderous than in later times; and that, inſtead of a maſſy cuiraſs, his breaſt was defended by an hauberk or coat of mail. When their long lances were fixed in the reſt, the warriors furiouſly ſpurred their horſes againſt the foe; and the light cavalry of the Turks and Arabs could ſeldom ſtand againſt the direct and impetuous weight of their charge. Each knight was attended to the field by his faithful ſquire, a youth of equal birth and ſimilar hopes; he was fol-

[57] The athletic exerciſes, particularly the cœſtus and pancratium, were condemned by Lycurgus, Philopœmen, and Galen, a lawgiver, a general, and a phyſician. Againſt their authority and reaſons, the reader may weigh the apology of Lucian, in the character of Solon. See Weſt on the Olympic Games, in his Pindar, vol. ii. p. 86—96. 245—248.

lowed

lowed by his archers and men at arms, and four, or five, or six soldiers, were computed as the furniture of a complete *lance*. In the expeditions to the neighbouring kingdoms or the Holy Land, the duties of the feudal tenure no longer subsisted; the voluntary service of the knights and their followers was either prompted by zeal or attachment, or purchased with rewards and promises; and the numbers of each squadron were measured by the power, the wealth, and the fame of each independent chieftain. They were distinguished by his banner, his armorial coat, and his cry of war; and the most ancient families of Europe must seek in these atchievements the origin and proof of their nobility. In this rapid portrait of chivalry, I have been urged to anticipate on the story of the crusades, at once an effect, and a cause, of this memorable institution [58].

March of the princes to Constantinople, A. D. 1096, August 15—A. D. 1097, May.

Such were the troops, and such the leaders, who assumed the cross for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. As soon as they were relieved by the absence of the plebeian multitude, they encouraged each other, by interviews and messages, to accomplish their vow and hasten their departure. Their wives and sisters were desirous of partaking the danger and merit of the pilgrimage; their portable treasures was conveyed in bars of silver and gold; and the princes and barons were attended by their equipage of hounds and hawks to amuse their leisure and to supply their table. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many myriads of men and horses, engaged them to separate their forces; their choice or situation determined the road; and it was agreed to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from thence to begin their operations against the Turks. From the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, Godfrey of Bouillon followed the direct way of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria: and, as long as he exercised the sole command, every step

[58] On the curious subjects of knighthood, knights-service, nobility, arms, cry of war, banners, and tournaments, an ample fund of information may be sought in Selden (Opera, tom. iii. part i. Titles of Honour, part ii. c. 1. 3. 5. 8.), Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. iv. p. 398—412, &c. Dissertations sur Joinville (i. vi—xii. p. 127—142. p. 165—222.), and M. de St. Palaye (Memoires sur la Chevalerie).

CHAP. LVIII. afforded ſome proof of his prudence and virtue. On the confines of Hungary he was ſtopped three weeks by a Chriſtian people, to whom the name, or at leaſt the abuſe, of the croſs was juſtly odious. The Hungarians ſtill ſmarted with the wounds which they had received from the firſt pilgrims: in their turn they had abuſed the right of defence and retaliation; and they had reaſon to apprehend a ſevere revenge from an hero of the ſame nation, and who was engaged in the ſame cauſe. But, after weighing the motives and the events, the virtuous duke was content to pity the crimes and misfortunes of his worthleſs brethren; and his twelve deputies, the meſſengers of peace, requeſted in his name a free paſſage and an equal market. To remove their ſuſpicions, Godfrey truſted himſelf, and afterwards his brother, to the faith of Carloman king of Hungary, who treated them with a ſimple but hoſpitable entertainment: the treaty was ſanctified by their common goſpel; and a proclamation, under pain of death, reſtrained the animoſity and licence of the Latin ſoldiers. From Auſtria to Belgrade, they traverſed the plains of Hungary, without enduring or offering an injury; and the proximity of Carloman, who hovered on their flanks with his numerous cavalry, was a precaution not leſs uſeful for their ſafety than for his own. They reached the banks of the Save; and no ſooner had they paſſed the river, than the king of Hungary reſtored the hoſtages, and ſaluted their departure with the faireſt wiſhes for the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe. With the ſame conduct and diſcipline, Godfrey pervaded the woods of Bulgaria and the frontiers of Thrace; and might congratulate himſelf, that he had almoſt reached the firſt term of his pilgrimage, without drawing his ſword againſt a Chriſtian adverſary. After an eaſy and pleaſant journey through Lombardy, from Turin to Aquileia, Raymond and his provincials marched forty days through the ſavage country of Dalmatia[59] and Sclavonia. The

[59] The Familiæ Dalmaticæ of Ducange are meagre and imperfect; the national hiſtorians are recent and fabulous, the Greeks remote and careleſs. In the year 1104, Coloman

The weather was a perpetual fog; the land was mountainous and desolate; the natives were either fugitive or hostile: loose in their religion and government, they refused to furnish provisions or guides; murdered the stragglers; and exercised by night and day the vigilance of the count, who derived more security from the punishment of some captive robbers than from his interview and treaty with the prince of Scodra [60]. His march between Durazzo and Constantinople was harassed, without being stopped, by the peasants and soldiers of the Greek emperor; and the same faint and ambiguous hostility was prepared for the remaining chiefs, who passed the Adriatic from the coast of Italy. Bohemond had arms and vessels, and foresight and discipline; and his name was not forgotten in the provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. Whatever obstacles he encountered were surmounted by his military conduct and the valour of Tancred; and if the Norman prince affected to spare the Greeks, he gorged his soldiers with the full plunder of an heretical castle [61]. The nobles of France pressed forwards with the vain and thoughtless ardour of which their nation has been sometimes accused. From the Alps to Apulia the march of Hugh the Great, of the two Roberts, and of Stephen of Chartres, through a wealthy country, and amidst the applauding Catholics, was a devout or triumphant progress: they kissed the feet of the Roman pontiff; and the golden standard of St. Peter was delivered to the brother of the French monarch.

Coloman reduced the maritime country as far as Trau and Salona (Katona, Hist. Crit. tom. iii. p. 195—207.).

[60] Scodras appears in Livy as the capital and fortress of Gentius king of the Illyrians, arx munitissima, afterwards a Roman colony (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 393, 394.). It is now called Iscodar, or Scutari (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 164.). The sanjiak (now a pasha) of Scutari, or Schendeire, was the viii[th] under the Beglerbeg of Romania, and furnished 600 soldiers on a revenue of 78,787 rix-dollars (Marsigli, Stato Militare del Impero Ottomano, p. 128.).

[61] In Pelagonia castrum hæreticûm ..... spoliatum cum suis habitatoribus igne combussere. *Nec id eis injuria contigit:* quia illorum detestabilis sermo et cancer serpebat, jamque circumjacentes regiones suo pravo dogmate fœdaverat (Robert. Mon. p. 36, 37.). After coolly relating the fact, the archbishop Baldric adds, as a praise, Omnes siquidem illi viatores, Judeos, hæreticos, Saracenos æqualiter habent exosos; quos omnes appellant inimicos Dei (p. 92.).

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monarch[62]. But in this visit of piety and pleasure, they neglected to secure the season, and the means, of their embarkation: the winter was insensibly lost; their troops were scattered and corrupted in the towns of Italy. They separately accomplished their passage, regardless of safety or dignity: and within nine months from the feast of the Assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached Constantinople. But the count of Vermandois was produced as a captive; his foremost vessels were scattered by a tempest; and his person, against the law of nations, was detained by the lieutenants of Alexius. Yet the arrival of Hugh had been announced by four-and-twenty knights in golden armour, who commanded the emperor to revere the general of the Latin Christians, the brother of the King of kings[63].

Policy of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, A. D. 1096, December— A. D. 1097, May.

In some Oriental tale I have read the fable of a shepherd, who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water; the Ganges was turned into his grounds, and his flock and cottage were swept away by the inundation. Such was the fortune, or at least the apprehension, of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus, whose name has already appeared in this history, and whose conduct is so differently represented by his daughter Anne[64], and by the Latin writers[65]. In the council of Placentia,

[62] Αναλαβομενος απο Ρωμης την χρυσην τȣ Ἁγιȣ Πετρȣ σημαιαν (Alexiad, l. x. p. 288.).

[63] Ὁ Βασιλευς των βασιλεων, και αρχηγος τȣ Φραγγικȣ ςρατευματος απαντος. This Oriental pomp is extravagant in a count of Vermandois; but the patriot Ducange repeats with much complacency (Not. ad Alexiad. p. 352, 353. Differt. xxvii. sur Joinville, p. 315.), the passages of Matthew Paris (A. D. 1254.) and Froissard (vol. iv. p. 201.), which style the king of France, rex regum, and chef de tous les rois Chretiens.

[64] Anna Comnena was born the 1st of December, A. D. 1083, indiction vii. (Alexiad, l. vi. p. 166, 167.). At thirteen, the time of the first crusade, she was nubile, and perhaps married to the younger Nicephorus Bryennius, whom she fondly styles τον εμον Καισαρα (l. x. p. 295, 296.). Some moderns have *imagined*, that her enmity to Bohemond was the fruit of disappointed love. In the transactions of Constantinople and Nice, her partial accounts (Alex. l. x, xi. p. 283—317.) may be opposed to the partiality of the Latins, but in their subsequent exploits she is brief and ignorant.

[65] In their views of the character and conduct of Alexius, Maimbourg has favoured the *Catholic* Franks, and Voltaire has been partial to the *schismatic* Greeks. The prejudice of a philosopher is less excusable than that of a Jesuit.

his

his ambaſſadors had ſolicited a moderate ſuccour, perhaps of ten thouſand ſoldiers: but he was aſtoniſhed by the approach of ſo many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. The emperor fluctuated between hope and fear, between timidity and courage; but in the crooked policy which he miſtook for wiſdom, I cannot believe, I cannot diſcern, that he maliciouſly conſpired againſt the life or honour of the French heroes. The promiſcuous multitudes of Peter the hermit, were ſavage beaſts, alike deſtitute of humanity and reaſon: nor was it was poſſible for Alexius to prevent or deplore their deſtruction. The troops of Godfrey and his peers were leſs contemptible, but not leſs ſuſpicious, to the Greek emperor. Their motives *might* be pure and pious; but he was equally alarmed by his knowledge of the ambitious Bohemond, and his ignorance of the Tranſalpine chiefs: the courage of the French was blind and headſtrong; they might be tempted by the luxury and wealth of Greece, and elated by the view and opinion of their invincible ſtrength; and Jeruſalem might be forgotten in the proſpect of Conſtantinople. After a long march and painful abſtinence, the troops of Godfrey encamped in the plains of Thrace; they heard with indignation, that their brother, the count of Vermandois, was impriſoned by the Greeks; and their reluctant duke was compelled to indulge them in ſome freedom of retaliation and rapine. They were appeaſed by the ſubmiſſion of Alexius; he promiſed to ſupply their camp; and as they refuſed in the midſt of winter, to paſs the Boſphorus, their quarters were aſſigned among the gardens and palaces on the ſhores of that narrow ſea. But an incurable jealouſy ſtill rankled in the minds of the two nations, who deſpiſed each other as ſlaves and Barbarians. Ignorance is the ground of ſuſpicion, and ſuſpicion was inflamed into daily provocations: prejudice is blind, hunger is deaf; and Alexius is accuſed of a deſign to ſtarve or aſſault the Latins in a dangerous poſt, on all ſides encompaſſed with the waters[66]. Godfrey ſounded his

[66] Between the Black Sea, the Boſphorus, and the river Barbyſes, which is deep in ſummer, and runs fifteen miles through a flat meadow. Its communication with Europe and

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his trumpets, burſt the net, overſpread the plain, and inſulted the ſuburbs: but the gates of Conſtantinople were ſtrongly fortified; the ramparts were lined with archers; and after a doubtful conflict, both parties liſtened to the voice of peace and religion. The gifts and promiſes of the emperor inſenſibly ſoothed the fierce ſpirit of the weſtern ſtrangers; as a Chriſtian warrior, he rekindled their zeal for the proſecution of their holy enterpriſe, which he engaged to ſecond with his troops and treaſures. On the return of ſpring, Godfrey was perſuaded to occupy a pleaſant and plentiful camp in Aſia; and no ſooner had he paſſed the Boſphorus, than the Greek veſſels were ſuddenly recalled to the oppoſite ſhore. The ſame policy was repeated with the ſucceeding chiefs, who were ſwayed by the example, and weakened by the departure, of their foremoſt companions. By his ſkill and diligence, Alexius prevented the union of any two of the confederate armies at the ſame moment under the walls of Conſtantinople; and before the feaſt of the Pentecoſt not a Latin pilgrim was left on the coaſt of Europe.

He obtains the homage of the cruſaders.

The ſame arms which threatened Europe, might deliver Aſia, and repel the Turks from the neighbouring ſhores of the Boſphorus and Helleſpont. The fair provinces from Nice to Antioch were the recent patrimony of the Roman emperor; and his ancient and perpetual claim ſtill embraced the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. In his enthuſiaſm, Alexius indulged, or affected, the ambitious hope of leading his new allies to ſubvert the thrones of the Eaſt: but the calmer dictates of reaſon and temper diſſuaded him from expoſing his royal perſon to the faith of unknown and lawleſs Barbarians. His prudence, or his pride, was content with extorting from the French princes an oath of homage and fidelity, and a ſolemn promiſe, that they would either reſtore, or hold, their Aſiatic conqueſts, as the humble and loyal vaſſals of the Roman empire. Their inde-

and Conſtantinople is by the ſtone bridge of the *Blachernæ*, which in ſucceſſive ages was reſtored by Juſtinian and Baſil (Gyllius de Boſphoro Thracio, l. ii. c. 3. Ducange, C. P. Chriſtiana, l. iv. c. 2. p. 179.).

pendent ſpirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary ſervitude: they ſucceſſively yielded to the dextrous application of gifts and flattery; and the firſt proſelytes became the moſt eloquent and effectual miſſionaries to multiply the companions of their ſhame. The pride of Hugh of Vermandois was ſoothed by the honours of his captivity; and in the brother of the French king, the example of ſubmiſſion was prevalent and weighty. In the mind of Godfrey of Bouillon every human conſideration was ſubordinate to the glory of God and the ſucceſs of the cruſade. He had firmly reſiſted the temptations of Bohemond and Raymond, who urged the attack and conqueſt of Conſtantinople. Alexius eſteemed his virtues, deſervedly named him the champion of the empire, and dignified his homage with the filial name and the rites of adoption [67]. The hateful Bohemond was received as a true and ancient ally; and if the emperor reminded him of former hoſtilities, it was only to praiſe the valour that he had diſplayed, and the glory that he had acquired, in the fields of Durazzo and Lariſſa. The ſon of Guiſcard was lodged and entertained, and ſerved with Imperial pomp: one day, as he paſſed through the gallery of the palace, a door was careleſsly left open to expoſe a pile of gold and ſilver, of ſilk and gems, of curious and coſtly furniture, that was heaped in ſeeming diſorder, from the floor to the roof of the chamber. "What conqueſts," exclaimed the ambitious miſer, "might not be atchieved by the poſſeſſion of "ſuch a treaſure?" "It is your own," replied a Greek attendant who watched the motions of his ſoul; and Bohemond, after ſome heſitation, condeſcended to accept this magnificent preſent. The Norman was flattered by the aſſurance of an independent principality, and Alexius eluded, rather than denied, his daring demand of the office of great domeſtic, or general, of the Eaſt. The two Roberts, the ſon of the conqueror of England, and the kinſman of three

[67] There were two ſorts of adoption, the one by arms, the other by introducing the ſon between the ſhirt and ſkin of his father. Ducange (ſur Joinville, diſſ. xxii. p. 270.) ſuppoſes Godfrey's adoption to have been of the latter ſort.

 queens,

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queens[68], bowed in their turn before the Byzantine throne. A private letter of Stephen of Chartres attefts his admiration of the emperor, the moft excellent and liberal of men, who taught him to believe that he was a favourite, and promifed to educate and eftablifh his youngeft fon. In his fouthern province, the count of St. Giles and Tholoufe faintly recognized the fupremacy of the king of France, a prince of a foreign nation and language. At the head of an hundred thoufand men, he declared, that he was the foldier and fervant of Chrift alone, and that the Greek might be fatisfied with an equal treaty of alliance and friendfhip. His obftinate refiftance enhanced the value and the price of his fubmiffion; and he fhone, fays the princefs Anne, among the Barbarians, as the fun amidft the ftars of heaven. His difguft of the noife and infolence of the French, his fufpicions of the defigns of Bohemond, the emperor imparted to his faithful Raymond; and that aged ftatefman might clearly difcern, that however falfe in friendfhip, he was fincere in his enmity[69]. The fpirit of chivalry was laft fubdued in the perfon of Tancred; and none could deem themfelves difhonoured by the imitation of that gallant knight. He difdained the gold and flattery of the Greek monarch; affaulted in his prefence an infolent patrician; efcaped to Afia in the habit of a private foldier; and yielded with a figh to the authority of Bohemond and the intereft of the Chriftian caufe. The beft and moft oftenfible reafon was the impoffibility of paffing the fea and accomplifhing their vow, without the licence and the veffels of Alexius; but they cherifhed a fecret hope, that as foon as they trod the continent of Afia, their fwords would obliterate their fhame, and diffolve the engagement, which on his fide might not be very faithfully performed. The ceremony of their homage was grateful to a people who had long fince confidered pride as the fubftitute of power. High on his throne, the emperor fat mute and

[68] After his return, Robert of Flanders became the *man* of the king of England, for a penfion of four hundred marks. See the firft act in Rymer's Fœdera.

[69] Senfit vetus regnandi, falfos in amore, odia non fingere, Tacit. vi. 44.

immovable:

immovable: his majeſty was adored by the Latin princes; and they ſubmitted to kiſs either his feet or his knees, an indignity which their own writers are aſhamed to confeſs and unable to deny [70].

Insolence of the Franks.

Private or public intereſt ſuppreſſed the murmurs of the dukes and counts; but a French baron (he is ſuppoſed to be Robert of Paris [71]) preſumed to aſcend the throne, and to place himſelf by the ſide of Alexius. The ſage reproof of Baldwin provoked him to exclaim, in his barbarous idiom, "Who is this ruſtic, that keeps "his ſeat, while ſo many valiant captains are ſtanding round "him?" The emperor maintained his ſilence, diſſembled his indignation, and queſtioned his interpreter concerning the meaning of the words, which he partly ſuſpected from the univerſal language of geſture and countenance. Before the departure of the pilgrims, he endeavoured to learn the name and condition of the audacious baron. "I am a Frenchman," replied Robert, "of the pureſt and "moſt ancient nobility of my country. All that I know is, that "there is a church in my neighbourhood [72], the reſort of thoſe who "are deſirous of approving their valour in ſingle combat. Till an "enemy appears, they addreſs their prayers to God and his ſaints. "That church I have frequently viſited, but never have I found "an antagoniſt who dared to accept my defiance." Alexius diſ-

[70] The proud hiſtorians of the cruſades ſlide and ſtumble over this humiliating ſtep. Yet, ſince the heroes knelt to ſalute the emperor as he ſat motionleſs on his throne, it is clear that they muſt have kiſſed either his feet or knees. It is only ſingular, that Anna ſhould not have amply ſupplied the ſilence or ambiguity of the Latins. The abaſement of their princes, would have added a fine chapter to the Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzantinæ.

[71] He called himſelf Φραγγος καθαρος των ευγενων (Alexias, l. x. p. 301.). What a title of *nobleſſe* of the xi[th] century, if any one could now prove his inheritance! Anna relates, with viſible pleaſure, that the ſwelling Barbarian, Λατινος τετυφωμενος, was killed, or wounded, after fighting in the front in the battle of Dorylæum (l. xi. p. 317.). This circumſtance may juſtify the ſuſpicion of Ducange (Not. p. 362.), that he was no other than Robert of Paris, of the diſtrict moſt peculiarly ſtyled the Duchy or Iſland of France *(L'Iſle de France)*.

[72] With the ſame penetration, Ducange diſcovers his church to be that of St. Drauſus, or Droſin, of Soiſſons, quem duello dimicaturi ſolent invocare: pugiles qui ad memoriam ejus *(his tomb)* pernoctant invictos reddit, ut et de Burgundiâ et Italia tali neceſſitate confugiatur ad eum. Joan. Sariberienſis, epiſt. 139.

miſſed

CHAP. LVIII. missed the challenger with some prudent advice for his conduct in the Turkish warfare; and history repeats with pleasure this lively example of the manners of his age and country.

Their review and numbers, A. D. 1097, May.

The conquest of Asia was undertaken and atchieved by Alexander, with thirty-five thousand Macedonians and Greeks[73]; and his best hope was in the strength and discipline of his phalanx of infantry. The principal force of the crusaders consisted in their cavalry; and when that force was mustered in the plains of Bithynia, the knights and their martial attendants on horseback amounted to one hundred thousand fighting men, completely armed with the helmet and coat of mail. The value of these soldiers deserved a strict and authentic account; and the flower of European chivalry might furnish, in a first effort, this formidable body of heavy horse. A part of the infantry might be enrolled for the service of scouts, pioneers, and archers; but the promiscuous crowd were lost in their own disorder; and we depend not on the eyes or knowledge, but on the belief and fancy, of a chaplain of count Baldwin[74], in the estimate of six hundred thousand pilgrims able to bear arms, besides the priests and monks, the women and children, of the Latin camp. The reader starts; and before he is recovered from his surprise, I shall add, on the same testimony, that if all who took the cross had accomplished their vow, above SIX MILLIONS would have migrated from Europe to Asia. Under this oppression of faith, I derive some relief from a more sagacious and thinking writer[75], who, after the same review of the cavalry, accuses the credulity of the priest of Chartres, and even doubts whether the *Cisalpine* regions (in the geography of a Frenchman) were sufficient to produce and pour forth such incre-

[73] There is some diversity on the numbers of his army: but no authority can be compared with that of Ptolemy, who states it at five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot (see Usher's Annales, p. 152.).

[74] Fulcher. Carnotensis, p. 387. He enumerates nineteen nations of different names and languages (p. 389.); but I do not clearly apprehend his difference between the *Franci* and *Galli*, *Itali* and *Apuli*. Elsewhere (p. 385.) he contemptuously brands the deserters.

[75] Guibert, p. 556. Yet even his gentle opposition implies an immense multitude. By Urban II. in the fervour of his zeal, it is only rated at 300,000 pilgrims (epist. xvi. Concil. tom. xii. p. 731.).

dible multitudes. The cooleſt ſcepticiſm will remember, that of theſe religious volunteers great numbers never beheld Conſtantinople and Nice. Of enthuſiaſm the influence is irregular and tranſient: many were detained at home by reaſon or cowardice, by poverty or weakneſs; and many were repulſed by the obſtacles of the way, the more inſuperable as they were unforeſeen to theſe ignorant fanatics. The ſavage countries of Hungary and Bulgaria were whitened with their bones: their vanguard was cut in pieces by the Turkiſh ſultan; and the loſs of the firſt adventure by the ſword, or climate, or fatigue, has already been ſtated at three hundred thouſand men. Yet the myriads that ſurvived, that marched, that preſſed forwards on the holy pilgrimage, were a ſubject of aſtoniſhment to themſelves and to the Greeks. The copious energy of her language ſinks under the efforts of the princeſs Anne [76]: the images of locuſts, of leaves and flowers, of the ſands of the ſea, or the ſtars of heaven, imperfectly repreſent what ſhe had ſeen and heard; and the daughter of Alexius exclaims, that Europe was looſened from its foundations, and hurled againſt Aſia. The ancient hoſts of Darius and Xerxes labour under the ſame doubt of a vague and indefinite magnitude; but I am inclined to believe, that a larger number has never been contained within the lines of a ſingle camp than at the ſiege of Nice, the firſt operation of the Latin princes. Their motives, their characters, and their arms, have been already diſplayed. Of their troops, the moſt numerous portion were natives of France: the Low Countries, the banks of the Rhine, and Apulia, ſent a powerful reinforcement: ſome bands of adventurers were drawn from Spain, Lombardy, and England [77]; and from the diſtant bogs and mountains

[76] Alexias, l. x. p. 283. 305. Her faſtidious delicacy complains of their ſtrange and inarticulate names, and indeed there is ſcarcely one that ſhe has not contrived to disfigure with the proud ignorance, ſo dear and familiar to a poliſhed people. I ſhall ſelect only one example, *Sangeles*, for the count of St. Giles.

[77] William of Malmſbury (who wrote about the year 1130) has inſerted in his hiſtory (l. iv. p. 130—154.) a narrative of the firſt cruſade: but I wiſh that, inſtead of liſtening ſo

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tains of Ireland or Scotland[78] iſſued ſome naked and ſavage fanatics, ferocious at home but unwarlike abroad. Had not ſuperſtition condemned the ſacrilegious prudence of depriving the pooreſt or weakeſt Chriſtian of the merit of the pilgrimage, the uſeleſs crowd, with mouths, but without hands, might have been ſtationed in the Greek empire, till their companions had opened and ſecured the way of the Lord. A ſmall remnant of the pilgrims, who paſſed the Boſphorus, was permitted to viſit the holy ſepulchre. Their northern conſtitution was ſcorched by the rays, and infected by the vapours, of a Syrian ſun. They conſumed, with heedleſs prodigality, their ſtores of water and proviſion: their numbers exhauſted the inland country; the ſea was remote, the Greeks were unfriendly, and the Chriſtians of every ſect fled before the voracious and cruel rapine of their brethren. In the dire neceſſity of famine, they ſometimes roaſted and devoured the fleſh of their infant or adult captives. Among the Turks and Saracens, the idolaters of Europe were rendered more odious by the name and reputation of cannibals: the ſpies who introduced themſelves into the kitchen of Bohemond, were ſhewn ſeveral human bodies turning on the ſpit; and the artful Norman encouraged a report, which encreaſed at the ſame time the abhorrence and the terror of the infidels[79].

Siege of Nice, A. D. 1097, May 14—June 20.

I have expatiated with pleaſure on the firſt ſteps of the cruſaders, as they paint the manners and character of Europe: but I ſhall abridge the tedious and uniform narrative of their blind atchieve-

to the tenue murmur which had paſſed the Britiſh ocean (p. 143.), he had confined himſelf to the numbers, families, and adventures of his countrymen. I find in Dugdale, that an Engliſh Norman, Stephen earl of Albemarle and Holderneſſe, led the rear-guard with duke Robert, at the battle of Antioch (Baronage, part i. p. 61.).

[78] Videres Scotorum apud ſe ferocium alias imbellium cuneos (Guibert, p. 471.): the *crus intectum*, and *hiſpida chlamys*, may ſuit the Highlanders; but the finibus uliginoſis, may rather apply to the Iriſh bogs. William of Malmſbury expreſsly mentions the Welſh and Scots, &c. (l. iv. p. 133.) who quitted, the former venationem ſaltuum, the latter familiaritatem pulicum.

[79] This cannibal hunger, ſometimes real, more frequently an artifice or a lye, may be found in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. x. p. 288.), Guibert (p. 546.), Radulph. Cadom. (c. 97.). The ſtratagem is related by the author of the Geſta Francorum, the monk Robert Baldric, and Raymond des Agiles, in the ſiege and famine of Antioch.

ments,

ments, which were performed by ſtrength and are deſcribed by ignorance. From their firſt ſtation in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, they advanced in ſucceſſive diviſions; paſſed the contracted limit of the Greek empire; opened a road through the hills, and commenced by the ſiege of his capital, their pious warfare againſt the Turkiſh ſultan. His kingdom of Roum extended from the Helleſpont to the confines of Syria, and barred the pilgrimage of Jeruſalem: his name was Kilidge-Arſlan, or Soliman[80], of the race of Seljuk, and ſon of the firſt conqueror; and in the defence of a land which the Turks conſidered as their own, he deſerved the praiſe of his enemies, by whom alone he is known to poſterity. Yielding to the firſt impulſe of the torrent, he depoſited his family and treaſure in Nice; retired to the mountains with fifty thouſand horſe; and twice deſcended to aſſault the camps or quarters of the Chriſtian beſiegers, which formed an imperfect circle of above ſix miles. The lofty and ſolid walls of Nice were covered by a deep ditch, and flanked by three hundred and ſeventy towers; and on the verge of Chriſtendom, the Moſlems were trained in arms and inflamed by religion. Before this city, the French princes occupied their ſtations, and proſecuted their attacks without correſpondence or ſubordination: emulation prompted their valour; but their valour was ſullied by cruelty, and their emulation degenerated into envy and civil diſcord. In the ſiege of Nice, the arts and engines of antiquity were employed by the Latins; the mine and the battering-ram, the tortoiſe, and the belfrey or moveable turret, artificial fire, and the *catapult* and *baliſt*, the ſling, and the croſs-bow for the caſting of ſtones and darts[81]. In the ſpace of ſeven weeks, much labour and

[80] His Muſulman appellation of Soliman is uſed by the Latins, and his character is highly embelliſhed by Taſſo. His Turkiſh name of Kilidge-Arſlan (A. H. 485—500. A. D. 1192—1106. See de Guignes's Tables, tom. i. p. 245.) is employed by the Orientals, and with ſome corruption by the Greeks: but little more than his name can be found in the Mahometan writers, who are dry and ſulky on the ſubject of the firſt cruſade (de Guignes, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 10—30.).

[81] On the fortifications, engines, and ſieges of the middle ages, ſee Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ, tom. ii. diſſert. xxvi. p. 452—524.).

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and blood were expended, and ſome progreſs, eſpecially by count Raymond, was made on the ſide of the beſiegers. But the Turks could protract their reſiſtance and ſecure their eſcape, as long as they were maſters of the lake [82] Aſcanius, which ſtretches ſeveral miles to the weſtward of the city. The means of conqueſt were ſupplied by the prudence and induſtry of Alexius; a great number of boats was tranſported on ſledges from the ſea to the lake; they were filled with the moſt dextrous of his archers; the flight of the ſultana was intercepted; Nice was inveſted by land and water; and a Greek emiſſary perſuaded the inhabitants to accept his maſter's protection, and to ſave themſelves, by a timely ſurrender, from the rage of the ſavages of Europe. In the moment of victory, or at leaſt of hope, the cruſaders, thirſting for blood and plunder, were awed by the Imperial banner that ſtreamed from the citadel; and Alexius guarded with jealous vigilance this important conqueſt. The murmurs of the chiefs were ſtifled by honour or intereſt; and after an halt of nine days, they directed their march towards Phrygia under the guidance of a Greek general, whom they ſuſpected of a ſecret connivance with the ſultan. The conſort and the principal ſervants of Soliman had been honourably reſtored without ranſom; and the emperor's generoſity to the *miſcreants* [83] was interpreted as treaſon to the Chriſtian cauſe.

Battle of Dorylæum, A.D. 1097, July 4.

Soliman was rather provoked than diſmayed by the loſs of his capital: he admoniſhed his ſubjects and allies of this ſtrange invaſion of the weſtern Barbarians; the Turkiſh emirs obeyed the call of loyalty or religion; the Turkman hords encamped round his ſtandard; and his whole force is looſely ſtated by the Chriſtians at

524.). The *belfredus*, from whence our belfrey, was the moveable tower of the ancients (Ducange, tom. i. p. 608.).

[82] I cannot forbear remarking the reſemblance between the ſiege and lake of Nice, with the operations of Herman Cortez before Mexico. See Dr. Robertſon, Hiſt. of America, l. v.

[83] *Mecreant*, a word invented by the French cruſaders, and confined in that language to its primitive ſenſe. It ſhould ſeem, that the zeal of our anceſtors boiled higher, and that they branded every unbeliever as a raſcal. A ſimilar prejudice ſtill lurks in the minds of many who think themſelves Chriſtians.

two hundred, or even three hundred and ſixty, thouſand horſe. Yet he patiently waited till they had left behind them the ſea and the Greek frontier; and hovering on the flanks, obſerved their careleſs and confident progreſs in two columns beyond the view of each other. Some miles before they could reach Dorylæum in Phrygia, the left, and leaſt numerous, diviſion was ſurpriſed, and attacked, and almoſt oppreſſed, by the Turkiſh cavalry [84]. The heat of the weather, the clouds of arrows, and the barbarous onſet, overwhelmed the cruſaders; they loſt their order and confidence, and the fainting fight was ſuſtained by the perſonal valour, rather than by the military conduct, of Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Normandy. They were revived by the welcome banners of duke Godfrey, who flew to their ſuccours with the count of Vermandois, and ſixty thouſand horſe; and was followed by Raymond of Tholouſe, the biſhop of Puy, and the remainder of the ſacred army. Without a moment's pauſe, they formed in new order, and advanced to a ſecond battle. They were received with equal reſolution; and, in their common diſdain for the unwarlike people of Greece and Aſia, it was confeſſed on both ſides, that the Turks and the Franks were the only nations entitled to the appellation of ſoldiers [85]. Their encounter was varied and balanced by the contraſt of arms and diſcipline; of the direct charge, and wheeling evolutions; of the couched lance, and the brandiſhed javelin; of a weighty broad-ſword, and a crooked ſabre; of cumbrous armour, and thin flowing robes; and of the long Tartar bow, and the *arbaliſt* or croſs-bow, a deadly weapon, yet unknown to the Orientals [86]. As long as the horſes were freſh and the quivers full, Soliman

[84] Baronius has produced a very doubtful letter to his brother Roger (A. D. 1098, N°15.). The enemies conſiſted of Medes, Perſians, Chaldæans: be it ſo. The firſt attack was cum noſtro incommodo; true and tender. But why Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugh *brothers?* Tancred is ſtyled *filius*; of whom? certainly not of Roger, nor of Bohemond.

[85] Veruntamen dicunt ſe eſſe de Francorum generatione; et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet eſſe miles niſi Franci et Turci (Geſta Francorum, p. 7.). The ſame community of blood and valour is atteſted by archbiſhop Baldric (p. 99.).

[86] *Baliſta, Baleſtra, Arbaleſtre.* See Muratori, Antiq. tom. ii. p. 517—524. Ducange,

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Soliman maintained the advantage of the day; and four thousand Christians were pierced by the Turkish arrows. In the evening, swiftness yielded to strength; on either side, the numbers were equal, or at least as great as any ground could hold, or any generals could manage; but in turning the hills, the last division of Raymond and his *provincials* was led, perhaps without design, on the rear of an exhausted enemy; and the long contest was determined. Besides a nameless and unaccounted multitude, three thousand *Pagan* knights were slain in the battle and pursuit; the camp of Soliman was pillaged; and in the variety of precious spoil, the curiosity of the Latins was amused with foreign arms and apparel, and the new aspect of dromedaries and camels. The importance of the victory was proved by the hasty retreat of the sultan: reserving ten thousand guards of the relics of his army, Soliman evacuated the kingdom of Roum, and hastened to implore the aid, and kindle the resentment, of his Eastern brethren. In a march of five hundred miles, the crusaders traversed the Lesser Asia, through a wasted land and deserted towns, without finding either a friend or an enemy. The geographer [87] may trace the position of Dorylæum, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Archelais, and Germanicia, and may compare those classic appellations with the modern names of Eskishehr the old city, Akshehr the white city, Cogni, Erekli, and Marash. As the pilgrims passed over a desert, where a draught of water is exchanged for silver, they were tormented by intolerable thirst; and on the banks of the first rivulet, their haste and intemperance were still more pernicious to the disorderly throng. They climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of mount Taurus: many of

March through the Lesser Asia, July—September.

cange, Gloss. Latin. tom. i. p. 531, 532. In the time of Anna Comnena, this weapon, which she describes under the name of *tzangra*, was unknown in the East (l. x. p. 291.). By an humane inconsistency, the pope strove to prohibit it in Christian wars.

[87] The curious reader may compare the classic learning of Cellarius, and the geographical science of d'Anville. William of Tyre is the only historian of the crusades who has any knowledge of antiquity; and M. Otter trod almost in the footsteps of the Franks from Constantinople to Antioch (Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. i. p. 35—88.).

the

the soldiers cast away their arms to secure their footsteps; and had not terror preceded their van, the long and trembling file might have been driven down the precipice by an handful of resolute enemies. Two of their most respectable chiefs, the duke of Lorraine and the count of Tholouse, were carried in litters: Raymond was raised, as it is said by miracle, from an hopeless malady; and Godfrey had been torn by a bear, as he pursued that rough and perilous chace in the mountains of Pisidia.

Baldwin founds the principality of Edessa, A. D. 1097—1151.

To improve the general consternation, the cousin of Bohemond and the brother of Godfrey were detached from the main army with their respective squadrons of five, and of seven, hundred knights. They over-ran in a rapid career the hills and sea-coast of Cilicia, from Cogni to the Syrian gates: the Norman standard was first planted on the walls of Tarsus and Malmistra; but the proud injustice of Baldwin at length provoked the patient and generous Italian; and they turned their consecrated swords against each other in a private and profane quarrel. Honour was the motive, and fame the reward, of Tancred; but fortune smiled on the more selfish enterprise of his rival [88]. He was called to the assistance of a Greek or Armenian tyrant, who had been suffered under the Turkish yoke to reign over the Christians of Edessa. Baldwin accepted the character of his son and champion; but no sooner was he introduced into the city, than he inflamed the people to the massacre of his father, occupied the throne and treasure, extended his conquests over the hills of Armenia and the plain of Mesopotamia, and founded the first principality of the Franks or Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years beyond the Euphrates [89].

[88] This detached conquest of Edessa is best represented by Fulcherius Carnotensis, or of Chartres (in the collections of Bongarsius, Duchesne, and Martenne), the valiant chaplain of count Baldwin (Esprit des Croisades, tom. i. p. 13, 14.). In the disputes of that prince with Tancred, his partiality is encountered by the partiality of Radulphus Cadomensis, the soldier and historian of the gallant marquis.

[89] See de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 456.

Before

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Siege of Antioch, A.D. 1097, October 21— A.D. 1098, June 3.

Before the Franks could enter Syria, the ſummer, and even the autumn, were completely waſted: the ſiege of Antioch, or the ſeparation and repoſe of the army during the winter ſeaſon, was ſtrongly debated in their council: the love of arms and the holy ſepulchre urged them to advance; and reaſon perhaps was on the ſide of reſolution, ſince every hour of delay abates the fame and force of the invader, and multiplies the reſources of defenſive war. The capital of Syria was protected by the river Orontes; and the *iron bridge*, of nine arches, derives its name from the maſſy gates of the two towers which are conſtructed at either end. They were opened by the ſword of the duke of Normandy: his victory gave entrance to three hundred thouſand cruſaders, an account which may allow ſome ſcope for loſſes and deſertion, but which clearly detects much exaggeration in the review of Nice. In the deſcription of Antioch [90], it is not eaſy to define a middle term between her ancient magnificence, under the ſucceſſors of Alexander and Auguſtus, and the modern aſpect of Turkiſh deſolation. The Tetrapolis, or four cities, if they retained their name and poſition, muſt have left a large vacuity in a circumference of twelve miles; and that meaſure, as well as the number of four hundred towers, are not perfectly conſiſtent with the five gates, ſo often mentioned in the hiſtory of the ſiege. Yet Antioch muſt have ſtill flouriſhed as a great and populous capital. At the head of the Turkiſh emirs, Baghiſian, a veteran chief, commanded in the place: his garriſon was compoſed of ſix or ſeven thouſand horſe, and fifteen or twenty thouſand foot: one hundred thouſand Moſlems are ſaid to have fallen by the ſword; and their numbers were probably inferior to the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, who had been no more than fourteen years the ſlaves of the houſe of Seljuk. From the remains of a ſolid and ſtately wall, it

[90] For Antioch, ſee Pococke (Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. ii. p. i. p. 188—193.), Otter (Voyage en Turquie, &c. tom. i. p. 81, &c.), the Turkiſh geographer (in Otter's notes), the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad calcem Bohadin. Vit. Saladin.), and Abulfeda (Tabula Syriæ, p. 115, 116. verſ. Reiſke).

appears

appears to have arisen to the height of threescore feet in the vallies; and wherever less art and labour had been applied, the ground was supposed to be defended by the river, the morass, and the mountains. Notwithstanding these fortifications, the city had been repeatedly taken by the Persians, the Arabs, the Greeks, and the Turks; so large a circuit must have yielded many pervious points of attack; and in a siege that was formed about the middle of October, the vigour of the execution could alone justify the boldness of the attempt. Whatever strength and valour could perform in the field was abundantly discharged by the champions of the cross: in the frequent occasions of sallies, of forage, of the attack and defence of convoys, they were often victorious; and we can only complain, that their exploits are sometimes enlarged beyond the scale of probability and truth. The sword of Godfrey[91] divided a Turk from the shoulder to the haunch; and one half of the infidel fell to the ground, while the other was transported by his horse to the city gate. As Robert of Normandy rode against his antagonist, "I de-"vote thy head," he piously exclaimed, "to the dæmons of hell;" and that head was instantly cloven to the breast by the resistless stroke of his descending faulchion. But the reality or the report of such gigantic prowess[92] must have taught the Moslems to keep within their walls; and against those walls of earth or stone, the sword and the lance were unavailing weapons. In the slow and successive labours of a siege, the crusaders were supine and ignorant, without skill to contrive, or money to purchase, or industry to use, the artificial engines and implements of assault. In the conquest of

[91] Ensem elevat, eumque a sinistrâ parte scapularum, tanta virtute intorsit ut quòd pectus medium disjunxit spinam et vitalia interrupit, et sic lubricus ensis super crus dextrum integer exivit; sicque caput integrum cum dextrâ parte corporis immersit gurgite, partemque quæ equo præsidebat remisit civitati (Robert. Mon. p. 50.). Cujus ense trajectus, Turcus duo factus est Turci; ut inferior alter in urbem equitaret, alter arcitenens in flumine nataret (Radulph. Cadom. c. 53. p. 304.). Yet he justifies the deed by the *stupendis* viribus of Godfrey; and William of Tyre covers it by obstupuit populus facti novitate .... mirabilis (l. v. c. 6. p. 701.). Yet it must not have appeared incredible to the knights of that age.

[92] See the exploits of Robert, Raymond, and the modest Tancred, who imposed silence on his squire (Radulph. Cadom. c. 53.).

Nice,

CHAP. LVIII. Nice, they had been powerfully aſſiſted by the wealth and knowledge of the Greek emperor: his abſence was poorly ſupplied by ſome Genoeſe and Piſan veſſels, that were attracted by religion or trade to the coaſt of Syria: the ſtores were ſcanty, the return precarious, and the communication difficult and dangerous. Indolence or weakneſs had prevented the Franks from inveſting the entire circuit; and the perpetual freedom of two gates relieved the wants and recruited the garriſon of the city. At the end of ſeven months, after the ruin of their cavalry, and an enormous loſs by famine, deſertion, and fatigue, the progreſs of the cruſaders was imperceptible, and their ſucceſs remote, if the Latin Ulyſſes, the artful and ambitious Bohemond, had not employed the arms of cunning and deceit. The Chriſtians of Antioch were numerous and diſcontented: Phirouz, a Syrian renegado, had acquired the favour of the emir and the command of three towers; and the merit of his repentance diſguiſed to the Latins, and perhaps to himſelf, the foul deſign of perfidy and treaſon. A ſecret correſpondence, for their mutual intereſt, was ſoon eſtabliſhed between Phirouz and the prince of Tarento; and Bohemond declared in the council of the chiefs, that he could deliver the city into their hands. But he claimed the ſovereignty of Antioch as the reward of his ſervice; and the propoſal which had been rejected by the envy, was at length extorted from the diſtreſs, of his equals. The nocturnal ſurpriſe was executed by the French and Norman princes, who aſcended in perſon the ſcaling-ladders that were thrown from the walls: their new proſelyte, after the murder of his too ſcrupulous brother, embraced and introduced the ſervants of Chriſt; the army ruſhed through the gates; and the Moſlems ſoon found, that although mercy was hopeleſs, reſiſtance was impotent. But the citadel ſtill refuſed to ſurrender; and the victors themſelves were ſpeedily encompaſſed and beſieged by the innumerable forces of Kerboga, prince of Moſul, who, with twenty-eight Turkiſh emirs, advanced to the deliverance of Antioch. Five-and-twenty days the Chriſtians

Chriſtians ſpent on the verge of deſtruction; and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the ſultan left them only the choice of ſervitude or death [93]. In this extremity they collected the relics of their ſtrength, ſallied from the town, and in a ſingle memorable day annihilated or diſperſed the hoſt of Turks and Arabians, which they might ſafely report to have conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand men [94]. Their ſupernatural allies I ſhall proceed to conſider: the human cauſes of the victory of Antioch were the fearleſs deſpair of the Franks; and the ſurpriſe, the diſcord, perhaps the errors, of their unſkilful and preſumptuous adverſaries. The battle is deſcribed with as much diſorder as it was fought; but we may obſerve the tent of Kerboga, a moveable and ſpacious palace, enriched with the luxury of Aſia, and capable of holding above two thouſand perſons; we may diſtinguiſh his three thouſand guards, who were caſed, the horſes as well as the men, in complete ſteel.

Victory of the cruſaders, A. D. 1098, June 28.

In the eventful period of the ſiege and defence of Antioch, the cruſaders were alternately exalted by victory or ſunk in deſpair; either ſwelled with plenty or emaciated with hunger. A ſpeculative reaſoner might ſuppoſe, that their faith had a ſtrong and ſerious influence on their practice; and that the ſoldiers of the croſs, the deliverers of the holy ſepulchre, prepared themſelves by a ſober and virtuous life for the daily contemplation of martyrdom. Experience blows away this charitable illuſion: and ſeldom does the hiſtory of profane war diſplay ſuch ſcenes of intemperance and proſtitution as were exhibited under the walls of Antioch. The

Their famine and diſtreſs at Antioch.

93 After mentioning the diſtreſs and humble petition of the Franks, Abulpharagius adds the haughty reply of Codbuka, or Kerboga; non evaſuri eſtis niſi per gladium (Dynaſt. p. 242.).

94 In deſcribing the hoſt of Kerboga, moſt of the Latin hiſtorians, the author of the Geſta (p. 17.), Robert Monachus (p. 56.), Baldric (p. 11[illegible]), Fulcherius Carnotenſis (p. 392.), Guibert (p. 512.), William of Tyre (l. vi. c. 3. p. 714.), Bernard Theſaurarius (c. 39. p. 695.), are content with the vague expreſſions of infinita multitudo, immenſum agmen, innumeræ copiæ or gentes, which correſpond with the μετα αναριθμητων χιλιαδων of Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. xi. p. 318—320.). The numbers of the Turks are fixed by Albert Aquenſis at 200,000 (l. iv. c. 10. p. 242.), and by Radulphus Cadomenſis at 400,000 horſe (c. 72. p 309.).

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grove of Daphne no longer flouriſhed; but the Syrian air was ſtill impregnated with the ſame vices; the Chriſtians were ſeduced by every temptation [95] that nature either prompts or reprobates; the authority of the chiefs was deſpiſed; and ſermons and edicts were alike fruitleſs againſt thoſe ſcandalous diſorders, not leſs pernicious to military diſcipline, than repugnant to evangelic purity. In the firſt days of the ſiege and the poſſeſſion of Antioch, the Franks conſumed with wanton and thoughtleſs prodigality the frugal ſubſiſtence of weeks and months: the deſolate country no longer yielded a ſupply; and from that country they were at length excluded by the arms of the beſieging Turks. Diſeaſe, the faithful companion of want, was envenomed by the rains of the winter, the ſummer heats, unwholeſome food, and the cloſe impriſonment of multitudes. The pictures of famine and peſtilence are always the ſame, and always diſguſtful; and our imagination may ſuggeſt the nature of their ſufferings and their reſources. The remains of treaſure or ſpoil were eagerly laviſhed in the purchaſe of the vileſt nouriſhment; and dreadful muſt have been the calamities of the poor, ſince, after paying three marks of ſilver for a goat and fifteen for a lean camel [96], the count of Flanders was reduced to beg a dinner, and duke Godfrey to borrow an horſe. Sixty thouſand horſes had been reviewed in the camp: before the end of the ſiege they were diminiſhed to two thouſand, and ſcarcely two hundred fit for ſervice could be muſtered on the day of battle. Weakneſs of body, and terror of mind, extinguiſhed the ardent enthuſiaſm of the pilgrims; and every motive of honour and religion was ſubdued by the deſire of

[95] See the tragic and ſcandalous fate of an archdeacon of royal birth, who was ſlain by the Turks as he repoſed in an orchard, playing at dice with a Syrian concubine.

[96] The value of an ox roſe from five ſolidi (fifteen ſhillings) at Chriſtmas to two marks (four pounds), and afterwards much higher: a kid or lamb, from one ſhilling to eighteen of our preſent money: in the ſecond famine, a loaf of bread, or the head of an animal, ſold for a piece of gold. More examples might be produced; but it is the ordinary, not the extraordinary, prices, that deſerve the notice of the philoſopher.

life.

life [97]. Among the chiefs, three heroes may be found without fear or reproach: Godfrey of Bouillon was ſupported by his magnanimous piety; Bohemond by ambition and intereſt; and Tancred declared, in the true ſpirit of chivalry, that as long as he was at the head of forty knights, he would never relinquiſh the enterpriſe of Paleſtine. But the count of Tholouſe and Provence was ſuſpected of a voluntary indiſpoſition; the duke of Normandy was recalled from the ſea-ſhore by the cenſures of the church; Hugh the Great, though he led the vanguard of the battle, embraced an ambiguous opportunity of returning to France; and Stephen count of Chartres baſely deſerted the ſtandard which he bore, and the council in which he preſided. The ſoldiers were diſcouraged by the flight of William viſcount of Melun, ſurnamed the *Carpenter*, from the weighty ſtrokes of his axe; and the ſaints were ſcandaliſed by the fall of Peter the Hermit, who, after arming Europe againſt Aſia, attempted to eſcape from the penance of a neceſſary faſt. Of the multitude of recreant warriors, the names (ſays an hiſtorian) are blotted from the book of life; and the opprobrious epithet of the rope-dancers was applied to the deſerters who dropt in the night from the walls of Antioch. The emperor Alexius [98], who ſeemed to advance to the ſuccour of the Latins, was diſmayed by the aſſurance of their hopeleſs condition. They expected their fate in ſilent deſpair; oaths and puniſhments were tried without effect; and to rouſe the ſoldiers to the defence of the walls, it was found neceſſary to ſet fire to their quarters.

Legend of the Holy Lance.

For their ſalvation and victory, they were indebted to the ſame fanaticiſm which had led them to the brink of ruin. In ſuch a cauſe, and in ſuch an army, viſions, prophecies, and miracles, were

97 Alii multi, quorum nomina non tenemus, quia deleta de libro vitæ præſenti operi non ſunt inſerenda (Will. Tyr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 715). Guibert (p. 518. 523.) attempts to excuſe Hugh the Great, and even Stephen of Chartres.

98 See the progreſs of the cruſade, the retreat of Alexius, the victory of Antioch, and the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, in the Alexiad, l. xi. p. 317—327. Anna was ſo prone to exaggeration, that ſhe magnifies the exploits of the Latins.

 frequent

CHAP. LVIII. frequent and familiar. In the diſtreſs of Antioch, they were repeated with unuſual energy and ſucceſs: St. Ambroſe had aſſured a pious eccleſiaſtic, that two years of trial muſt precede the ſeaſon of deliverance and grace; the deſerters were ſtopped by the preſence and reproaches of Chriſt himſelf; the dead had promiſed to ariſe and combat with their brethren; the Virgin had obtained the pardon of their ſins; and their confidence was revived by a viſible ſign, the ſeaſonable and ſplendid diſcovery of the HOLY LANCE. The policy of their chiefs has on this occaſion been admired, and might ſurely be excuſed; but a pious fraud is ſeldom produced by the cool conſpiracy of many perſons; and a voluntary impoſtor might depend on the ſupport of the wiſe and the credulity of the people. Of the dioceſe of Marſeilles, there was a prieſt of low cunning and looſe manners, and his name was Peter Bartholemy. He preſented himſelf at the door of the council-chamber, to diſcloſe an apparition of St. Andrew, which had been thrice reiterated in his ſleep, with a dreadful menace, if he preſumed to ſuppreſs the commands of heaven. "At Antioch," ſaid the apoſtle, "in the church of my "brother St. Peter, near the high altar, is concealed the ſteel head "of the lance that pierced the ſide of our Redeemer. In three days, "that inſtrument of eternal, and now of temporal, ſalvation, will "be manifeſted to his diſciples. Search and ye ſhall find: bear it "aloft in battle; and that myſtic weapon ſhall penetrate the ſouls of "the miſcreants." The pope's legate, the biſhop of Puy, affected to liſten with coldneſs and diſtruſt; but the revelation was eagerly accepted by count Raymond, whom his faithful ſubject, in the name of the apoſtle, had choſen for the guardian of the holy lance. The experiment was reſolved; and on the third day, after a due preparation of prayer and faſting, the prieſt of Marſeilles introduced twelve truſty ſpectators, among whom were the count and his chaplain; and the church-doors were barred againſt the impetuous multitude. The ground was opened in the appointed place; but the workmen,

workmen, who relieved each other, dug to the depth of twelve feet without difcovering the object of their fearch. In the evening, when count Raymond had withdrawn to his poft, and the weary affiftants began to murmur, Bartholemy, in his fhirt, and without his fhoes, boldly defcended into the pit; the darknefs of the hour and of the place enabled him to fecrete and depofit the head of a Saracen lance; and the firft found, the firft gleam, of the fteel, was faluted with a devout rapture. The holy lance was drawn from its recefs, wrapt in a veil of filk and gold, and expofed to the veneration of the crufaders; their anxious fufpenfe burft forth in a general fhout of joy and hope, and the defponding troops were again inflamed with the enthufiafm of valour. Whatever had been the arts, and whatever might be the fentiments of the chiefs, they fkilfully improved this fortunate revolution by every aid that difcipline and devotion could afford. The foldiers were difmiffed to their quarters with an injunction to fortify their minds and bodies for the approaching conflict, freely to beftow their laft pittance on themfelves and their horfes, and to expect with the dawn of day the fignal of victory. On the feftival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the gates of Antioch were thrown open; a martial pfalm, "Let the Lord arife, and let his "enemies be fcattered!" was chaunted by a proceffion of priefts and monks; the battle array was marfhalled in twelve divifions, in honour of the twelve apoftles; and the holy lance, in the abfence of Raymond, was entrufted to the hands of his chaplain. The influence of this relic or trophy was felt by the fervants, and perhaps by the enemies, of Chrift[99]; and its potent energy was heightened by an accident, a ftratagem, or a rumour, of a miraculous complexion. Three knights, in white garments and refplendent arms, either iffued, or feemed to iffue, from the hills: the voice of Adhemar, the

Celeftial warriors.

[99] The Mahometan Aboulmahafen (apud de Guignes, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 95.) is more correct in his account of the holy lance than the Chriftians, Anna Comnena and Abulpharagius: the Greek princefs confounds it with a nail of the crofs (l. xi. p. 326.); the Jacobite primate, with St. Peter's ftaff (p. 242.).

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pope's legate, proclaimed them as the martyrs St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Maurice; the tumult of battle allowed no time for doubt or fcrutiny; and the welcome apparition dazzled the eyes or the imagination of a fanatic army. In the feafon of danger and triumph, the revelation of Bartholemy of Marfeilles was unanimoufly afferted; but as foon as the temporary fervice was accomplifhed, the perfonal dignity and liberal alms which the count of Tholoufe derived from the cuftody of the holy lance, provoked the envy, and awakened the reafon, of his rivals. A Norman clerk prefumed to fift, with a philofophic fpirit, the truth of the legend, the circumftances of the difcovery, and the character of the prophet; and the pious Bohemond afcribed their deliverance to the merits and interceffion of Chrift alone. For a while, the Provincials defended their national palladium with clamours and arms; and new vifions condemned to death and hell the profane fceptics, who prefumed to fcrutinife the truth and merit of the difcovery. The prevalence of incredulity compelled the author to fubmit his life and veracity to the judgment of God. A pile of dry faggots, four feet high, and fourteen long, was erected in the midft of the camp; the flames burnt fiercely to the elevation of thirty cubits; and a narrow path of twelve inches was left for the perilous trial. The unfortunate prieft of Marfeilles traverfed the fire with dexterity and fpeed; but his thighs and belly were fcorched by the intenfe heat; he expired the next day; and the logic of believing minds will pay fome regard to his dying proteftations of innocence and truth. Some efforts were made by the Provincials to fubftitute a crofs, a ring, or a tabernacle, in the place of the holy lance, which foon vanifhed in contempt and oblivion [100]. Yet the revelation of Antioch is gravely

[100] The two antagonifts who exprefs the moft intimate knowledge and the ftrongeft conviction of the *miracle*, and of the *fraud*, are Raymond des Agiles, and Radulphus Cadomenfis, the one attached to the count of Thouloufe, the other to the Norman prince. Fulcherius Carnotenfis prefumes to fay, audite fraudem et non fraudem! and afterwards, invenit lanceam, fallaciter occultatam forfitan. The reft of the herd are loud and ftrenuous.

afferted

afferted by fucceeding hiftorians; and fuch is the progrefs of credulity, that miracles, moft doubtful on the fpot and at the moment, will be received with implicit faith at a convenient diftance of time and fpace.

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The ftate of the Turks and caliphs of Egypt.

The prudence or fortune of the Franks had delayed their invafion till the decline of the Turkifh empire[101]. Under the manly government of the three firft fultans, the kingdoms of Afia were united in peace and juftice; and the innumerable armies which they led in perfon were equal in courage, and fuperior in difcipline, to the Barbarians of the Weft. But at the time of the crufade, the inheritance of Malek Shaw was difputed by his four fons; their private ambition was infenfible of the public danger; and, in the viciffitudes of their fortune, the royal vaffals were ignorant, or regardlefs, of the true object of their allegiance. The twenty-eight emirs, who marched with the ftandard of Kerboga, were his rivals or enemies; their hafty levies were drawn from the towns and tents of Mefopotamia and Syria; and the Turkifh veterans were employed or confumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weaknefs and difcord, to recover his ancient poffeffions; and his fultan Aphdal befieged Jerufalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Ortok, and reftored in Paleftine the civil and ecclefiaftical authority of the Fatimites[102]. They heard with aftonifhment of the vaft armies of Chriftians that had paffed from Europe to Afia, and rejoiced in the fieges and battles which broke the power of the Turks, the adverfaries of their fect and monarchy. But the fame Chriftians were the enemies of the prophet; and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch, the motive of their enterprife, which was gradually underftood, would urge them forwards

[101] See M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 223, &c.); and the articles of *Barkiarok*, *Mohammed*, *Sangiar*, in d'Herbelot.

[102] The emir, or fultan Aphdal, recovered Jerufalem and Tyre, A. H. 489 (Renaudot, Hift. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 478. de Guignes, tom. i. p. 249. from Abulfeda and Ben Schounah). Jerufalem ante adventum veftrum recuperavimus, Turcos ejecimus, fay the Fatimite ambaffadors.

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wards to the banks of the Jordan, or perhaps of the Nile. An intercourse of epiftles and embaffies, which rofe and fell with the events of war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins; and their adverfe pride was the refult of ignorance and enthufiafm. The minifters of Egypt declared in an haughty, or infinuated in a milder, tone, that their fovereign, the true and lawful commander of the faithful, had refcued Jerufalem from the Turkifh yoke; and that the pilgrims, if they would divide their numbers, and lay afide their arms, fhould find a fafe and hofpitable reception at the fepulchre of Jefus. In the belief of their loft condition, the caliph Moftali defpifed their arms and imprifoned their deputies: the conqueft and victory of Antioch prompted him to folicit thofe formidable champions with gifts of horfes and filk robes, of vafes, and purfes of gold and filver; and in his eftimate of their merit or power, the firft place was affigned to Bohemond, and the fecond to Godfrey. In either fortune, the anfwer of the crufaders was firm and uniform: they difdained to enquire into the private claims or poffeffions of the followers of Mahomet: whatfoever was his name or nation, the ufurper of Jerufalem was their enemy; and inftead of prefcribing the mode and terms of their pilgrimage, it was only by a timely furrender of the city and province, their facred right, that he could deferve their alliance, or deprecate their impending and irrefiftible attack [103].

Delay of the Franks, A. D. 1098, July—A. D. 1099, May.

Yet this attack, when they were within the view and reach of their glorious prize, was fufpended above ten months after the defeat of Kerboga. The zeal and courage of the crufaders were chilled in the moment of victory: and, inftead of marching to improve the confternation, they haftily difperfed to enjoy the luxury, of Syria. The caufes of this ftrange delay may be found in the want of ftrength

[103] See the tranfactions between the caliph of Egypt and the crufaders, in William of Tyre (l. iv. c. 24. l. vi. c. 19.) and Albert Aquenfis (l. iii. c. 59.), who are more fenfible of their importance, than the contemporary writers.

and

and ſubordination. In the painful and various ſervice of Antioch, the cavalry was annihilated; many thouſands of every rank had been loſt by famine, ſickneſs, and deſertion: the ſame abuſe of plenty had been productive of a third famine; and the alternative of intemperance and diſtreſs, had generated a peſtilence, which ſwept away above fifty thouſand of the pilgrims. Few were able to command, and none were willing to obey: the domeſtic feuds, which had been ſtifled by common fear, were again renewed in acts, or at leaſt in ſentiments, of hoſtility; the fortune of Baldwin and Bohemond excited the envy of their companions; the braveſt knights were enliſted for the defence of their new principalities; and count Raymond exhauſted his troops and treaſures in a idle expedition into the heart of Syria. The winter was conſumed in diſcord and diſorder; a ſenſe of honour and religion was rekindled in the ſpring; and the private ſoldiers, leſs ſuſceptible of ambition and jealouſy, awakened with angry clamours the indolence of their chiefs. In the month of May, the relics of this mighty hoſt proceeded from Antioch to Laodicea; about forty thouſand Latins, of whom no more than fifteen hundred horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, were capable of immediate ſervice. Their eaſy march was continued between mount Libanus and the ſea-ſhore; their wants were liberally ſupplied by the coaſting traders of Genoa and Piſa; and they drew large contributions from the emirs of Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Cæſarea, who granted a free paſſage, and promiſed to follow the example of Jeruſalem. From Cæſarea they advanced into the midland country; their clerks recogniſed the ſacred geography of Lydda, Ramla, Emaus, and Bethlem, and as ſoon as they deſcribed the holy city, the cruſaders forgot their toils and claimed their reward [104].

Their march to Jeruſalem, A. D. 1099, May 13—June 6.

Siege and conqueſt of Jeruſalem,

Jeruſalem has derived ſome reputation from the number and importance of her memorable ſieges. It was not till after a long and

[104] The greateſt part of the march of the Franks is traced, and moſt accurately traced, in Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem (p. 11—67.), un des meilleurs morceaux, ſans contredit, qu'on ait dans ce genre (d'Anville, Memoire ſur Jeruſalem, p. 27.).

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obſtinate conteſt that Babylon and Rome could prevail againſt the obſtinacy of the people, the craggy ground that might ſuperſede the neceſſity of fortifications, and the walls and towers that would have fortified the moſt acceſſible plain[105]. Theſe obſtacles were diminiſhed in the age of the cruſades. The bulwarks had been completely deſtroyed and imperfectly reſtored: the Jews, their nation and worſhip, were for ever baniſhed; but nature is leſs changeable than man, and the ſite of Jeruſalem, though ſomewhat ſoftened and ſomewhat removed, was ſtill ſtrong againſt the aſſaults of an enemy. By the experience of a recent ſiege and a three years poſſeſſion, the Saracens of Egypt had been taught to diſcern, and in ſome degree to remedy, the defects of a place, which religion as well as honour forbade them to reſign. Aladin or Iftikhar, the caliph's lieutenant, was entruſted with the defence: his policy ſtrove to reſtrain the native Chriſtians by the dread of their own ruin and that of the holy ſepulchre; to animate the Moſlems by the aſſurance of temporal and eternal rewards. His garriſon is ſaid to have conſiſted of forty thouſand Turks and Arabians; and if he could muſter twenty thouſand of the inhabitants, it muſt be confeſſed that the beſieged were more numerous than the beſieging army[106]. Had the diminiſhed ſtrength and numbers of the Latins allowed them to graſp the whole circumference of four thouſand yards (about two Engliſh miles and an half[107]), to what uſeful purpoſe ſhould they have deſcended

[105] See the maſterly deſcription of Tacitus (Hiſt. v. 11, 12, 13.), who ſuppoſes, that the Jewiſh lawgivers had provided for a perpetual ſtate of hoſtility againſt the reſt of mankind.

[106] The lively ſcepticiſm of Voltaire is balanced with ſenſe and erudition by the French author of the Eſprit des Croiſades (tom. iv. p. 386—388.), who obſerves, that according to the Arabians, the inhabitants of Jeruſalem muſt have exceeded 200,000; that in the ſiege of Titus, Joſephus collects 1,300,000 Jews; that they are ſtated by Tacitus himſelf at 600,000, and that the largeſt defalcation, that his *accepimus* can juſtify, will ſtill leave them more numerous than the Roman army.

[107] Maundrell, who diligently perambulated the walls, found a circuit of 4630 paces, or 4167 Engliſh yards (p. 109, 110.): from an authentic plan, d'Anville concludes a meaſure nearly ſimilar of 1960 French *toiſes* (p. 23—29.), in his ſcarce and valuable tract. For the topography of Jeruſalem, ſee Reland (Paleſtina, tom. ii. p. 832—860.).

into

into the valley of Ben Himmon and torrent of Cedron[108], or approached the precipices of the South and Eaſt, from whence they had nothing either to hope or fear? Their ſiege was more reaſonably directed againſt the northern and weſtern ſides of the city. Godfrey of Bouillon erected his ſtandard on the firſt ſwell of mount Calvary: to the left, as far as St. Stephen's gate, the line of attack was continued by Tancred and the two Roberts; and count Raymond eſtabliſhed his quarters from the citadel to the foot of mount Sion, which was no longer included within the precincts of the city. On the fifth day, the cruſaders made a general aſſault in the fanatic hope of battering down the walls without engines, and of ſcaling them without ladders. By the dint of brutal force, they burſt the firſt barrier, but they were driven back with ſhame and ſlaughter to the camp: the influence of viſion and prophecy was deadened by the too frequent abuſe of thoſe pious ſtratagems; and time and labour were found to be the only means of victory. The time of the ſiege was indeed fulfilled in forty days, but they were forty days of calamity and anguiſh. A repetition of the old complaint of famine may be imputed in ſome degree to the voracious or diſorderly appetite of the Franks; but the ſtony ſoil of Jeruſalem is almoſt deſtitute of water; the ſcanty ſprings and haſty torrents were dry in the ſummer ſeaſon; nor was the thirſt of the beſiegers relieved, as in the city, by the artificial ſupply of ciſterns and aqueducts. The circumjacent country is equally deſtitute of trees for the uſes of ſhade or building; but ſome large beams were diſcovered in a cave by the cruſaders: a wood near Sichem, the enchanted grove of Taſſo[109],

[108] Jeruſalem was poſſeſſed only of the torrent of Kedron, dry in ſummer, and of the little ſpring or brook of Siloe (Reland, tom. i. p. 294. 300.). Both ſtrangers and natives complained of the want of water, which in time of war was ſtudiouſly aggravated. Within the city, Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain, an aqueduct, and ciſterns for rain water. The aqueduct was conveyed from the rivulet Tekoe or Etham, which is likewiſe mentioned by Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin. p. 238.).

[109] Gieruſalemme Liberata, canto xiii. It is pleaſant enough to obſerve how Taſſo has copied and embelliſhed the minuteſt details of the ſiege.

was cut down: the neceſſary timber was tranſported to the camp by the vigour and dexterity of Tancred; and the engines were framed by ſome Genoeſe artiſts, who had fortunately landed in the harbour of Jaffa. Two moveable turrets were conſtructed at the expence, and in the ſtations, of the duke of Lorraine and the count of Tholouſe, and rolled forwards with devout labour, not to the moſt acceſſible, but to the moſt neglected, parts of the fortification. Raymond's tower was reduced to aſhes by the fire of the beſieged, but his colleague was more vigilant and ſucceſsful; the enemies were driven by his archers from the rampart; the draw-bridge was let down; and on a Friday at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Paſſion, Godfrey of Bouillon ſtood victorious on the walls of Jeruſalem. His example was followed on every ſide by the emulation of valour; and about four hundred and ſixty years after the conqueſt of Omar, the holy city was reſcued from the Mahometan yoke. In the pillage of public and private wealth, the adventurers had agreed to reſpect the excluſive property of the firſt occupant; and the ſpoils of the great moſch, ſeventy lamps and maſſy vaſes of gold and ſilver, rewarded the diligence, and diſplayed the generoſity, of Tancred. A bloody ſacrifice was offered by his miſtaken votaries to the God of the Chriſtians: reſiſtance might provoke, but neither age nor ſex could mollify, their implacable rage: they indulged themſelves three days in a promiſcuous maſſacre [110]; and the infection of the dead bodies produced an epidemical diſeaſe. After ſeventy thouſand Moſlems had been put to the ſword, and the harmleſs Jews had been burnt in their ſynagogue, they could ſtill reſerve a multitude of captives, whom intereſt or laſſitude perſuaded them to ſpare. Of theſe ſavage heroes of the croſs, Tancred alone betrayed ſome ſentiments of compaſſion; yet we may praiſe the more ſelfiſh lenity of Raymond, who granted a capitulation and ſafe conduct to the

[110] Beſides the Latins, who are not aſhamed of the maſſacre, ſee Elmacin (Hiſt. Saracen. p. 363.), Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 243.), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 99.), from Aboulmahaſen.

garriſon

garrifon of the citadel [111]. The holy fepulchre was now free; and the bloody victors prepared to accomplifh their vow. Bareheaded and barefoot, with contrite hearts, and in an humble pofture, they afcended the hill of Calvary, amidft the loud anthems of the clergy; kiffed the ftone which had covered the Saviour of the world; and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption. This union of the fierceft and moft tender paffions has been varioufly confidered by two philofophers; by the one [112], as eafy and natural; by the other [113], as abfurd and incredible. Perhaps it is too rigoroufly applied to the fame perfons and the fame hour: the example of the virtuous Godfrey awakened the piety of his companions; while they cleanfed their bodies, they purified their minds; nor fhall I believe that the moft ardent in flaughter and rapine were the foremoft in the proceffion to the holy fepulchre.

Election and reign of Godfrey of Bouillon, A.D. 1099, July 23— A.D. 1100, July 18.

Eight days after this memorable event, which pope Urban did not live to hear, the Latin chiefs proceeded to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conquefts in Paleftine. Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, had retired with fome lofs of reputation, which they ftrove to regain by a fecond crufade and an honourable death. Baldwin was eftablifhed at Edeffa, and Bohemond at Antioch, and two Roberts, the duke of Normandy [114] and the count of Flanders, preferred their fair inheritance in the Weft to a doubtful competition or a barren fceptre. The jealoufy and ambition of Raymond were condemned by his own followers, and the free, the juft, the unanimous voice of the army, proclaimed Godfrey of

[111] The old tower Pfephina, in the middle ages Neblofa, was named Caftellum Pifanum, from the patriarch Daimbert. It is ftill the citadel, the refidence of the Turkifh aga, and commands a profpect of the Dead Sea, Judea, and Arabia (d'Anville, p. 19—23). It was likewife called the Tower of David, πυργος παμμεγεθεστατος.

[112] Hume, in his Hiftory of England, vol. i. p. 311, 312. octavo edition.

[113] Voltaire, in his Effai fur l'Hiftoire Generale, tom. ii. c. 54. p. 345, 346.

[114] The Englifh afcribe to Robert of Normandy, and the Provincials to Raymond of Tholoufe, the glory of refufing the crown; but the honeft voice of tradition has preferved the memory of the ambition and revenge (Villehardouin, N° 136.) of the count of St. Giles. He died at the fiege of Tripoli, which was poffeffed by his defcendants.

Bouillon

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Bouillon the firſt and moſt worthy of the champions of Chriſtendom. His magnanimity accepted a truſt as full of danger as of glory; but in a city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns, the devout pilgrim rejected the name and enſigns of royalty; and the founder of the kingdom of Jeruſalem contented himſelf with the modeſt title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. His government of a ſingle year [115], too ſhort for the public happineſs, was interrupted in the firſt fortnight by a ſummons to the field, by the approach of the vizir or ſultan of Egypt, who had been too ſlow to prevent, but who was impatient to avenge, the loſs of Jeruſalem. His total overthrow in the battle of Aſcalon ſealed the eſtabliſhment of the Latins in Syria, and ſignalized the valour of the French princes, who in this action bade a long farewel to the holy wars.

Battle of Aſcalon, A. D. 1099, Auguſt 12.

Some glory might be derived from the prodigious inequality of numbers, though I ſhall not count the myriads of horſe and foot on the ſide of the Fatimites; but, except three thouſand Ethiopians or blacks, who were armed with flails or ſcourges of iron, the Barbarians of the South fled on the firſt onſet, and afforded a pleaſing compariſon between the active valour of the Turks and the ſloth and effeminacy of the natives of Egypt. After ſuſpending before the holy ſepulchre the ſword and ſtandard of the ſultan, the new king (he deſerves the title) embraced his departing companions, and could retain only with the gallant Tancred three hundred knights, and two thouſand foot ſoldiers, for the defence of Paleſtine. His ſovereignty was ſoon attacked by a new enemy, the only one againſt whom Godfrey was a coward. Adhemar, biſhop of Puy, who excelled both in council and action, had been ſwept away in the laſt plague of Antioch: the remaining eccleſiaſtics preſerved only the pride and avarice of their character; and their ſeditious clamours had required that the choice of a biſhop ſhould precede that of a king. The revenue and juriſdiction of the lawful patriarch were uſurped by the

[115] See the election, the battle of Aſcalon, &c. in William of Tyre, l. ix. c. 1—12. and in the concluſion of the Latin hiſtorians of the firſt cruſade.

Latin clergy: the exclusion of the Greeks and Syrians was justified by the reproach of heresy or schism [116]; and, under the iron yoke of their deliverers, the Oriental Christians regretted the tolerating government of the Arabian caliphs. Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, had long been trained in the secret policy of Rome: he brought a fleet of his countrymen to the succour of the Holy Land, and was installed, without a competitor, the spiritual and temporal head of the church. The new patriarch [117] immediately grasped the sceptre which had been acquired by the toil and blood of the victorious pilgrims; and both Godfrey and Bohemond submitted to receive at his hands the investiture of their feudal possessions. Nor was this sufficient; Daimbert claimed the immediate property of Jerusalem and Jaffa: instead of a firm and generous refusal, the hero negociated with the priest; a quarter of either city was ceded to the church; and the modest bishop was satisfied with an eventual reversion of the rest, on the death of Godfrey without children, or on the future acquisition of a new seat at Cairo or Damascus.

The kingdom of Jerusalem, A. D. 1099—1187.

Without this indulgence, the conqueror would have almost been stripped of his infant kingdom, which consisted only of Jerusalem and Jaffa, with about twenty villages and towns of the adjacent country [118]. Within this narrow verge, the Mahometans were still lodged in some impregnable castles; and the husbandman, the trader, and the pilgrim, were exposed to daily and domestic hostility. By the arms of Godfrey himself, and of the two Baldwins, his brother and cousin, who succeeded to the throne, the Latins breathed with more ease and safety; and at length they equalled, in the extent of their dominions, though not in the millions of their subjects, the ancient princes of

116 Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 479.

117 See the claims of the patriarch Daimbert, in William of Tyre (l. ix. c. 15—18. x. 4. 7. 9.), who asserts with marvellous candour the independence of the conquerors and kings of Jerusalem.

118 Willerm. Tyr. l. x. 19. The Historia Hierosolimita of Jacobus à Vitriaco (l. i. c. 21—50.), and the Secreta Fidelium Crucis of Marinus Sanutus (l. iii. p. i.), describe the state and conquests of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

Judah

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Judah and Iſrael[119]. After the reduction of the maritime cities of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, and Aſcalon[120], which were powerfully aſſiſted by the fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, and even of Flanders and Norway[121], the range of ſea-coaſt from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt was poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian pilgrims. If the prince of Antioch diſclaimed his ſupremacy, the counts of Edeſſa and Tripoli owned themſelves the vaſſals of the king of Jeruſalem: the Latins reigned beyond the Euphrates; and the four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damaſcus, and Aleppo, were the only relics of the Mahometan conqueſts in Syria[122]. The laws and language, the manners and titles, of the French nation and Latin church, were introduced into theſe tranſmarine colonies. According to the feudal juriſprudence, the principal ſtates and ſubordinate baronies deſcended in the line of male and female ſucceſſion[123]; but the children of the firſt conquerors[124], a motley and degenerate race, were diſſolved by

[119] An actual muſter, not including the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, gave David an army of 1,300,000, or 1,574,000 fighting men; which, with the addition of women, children, and ſlaves, may imply a population of thirteen millions, in a country ſixty leagues in length, and thirty broad. The honeſt and rational Le Clerc (Comment. on 2d Samuel xxiv. and 1st Chronicles xxi. æſtuat anguſto in limite, and mutters his ſuſpicion of a falſe tranſcript; a dangerous ſuſpicion!

[120] Theſe ſieges are related, each in its proper place, in the great hiſtory of William of Tyre, from the ixth to the xviiith book, and more briefly told by Bernardus Theſaurarius (de Acquiſitione Terræ Sanctæ, c. 89—98. p. 732—740.). Some domeſtic facts are celebrated in the Chronicles of Piſa, Genoa, and Venice, in the vith, ixth, and xiith tomes of Muratori.

[121] Quidam populus de inſulis occidentis egreſſus, et maxime de eâ parte quæ Norvegia dicitur. William of Tyre (l. xi. c. 14. p. 804.) marks their courſe per Britannicum mare et Calpen to the ſiege of Sidon.

[122] Benelathir, apud de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. part ii. p. 150, 151. A.D. 1127. He muſt ſpeak of the inland country.

[123] Sanut very ſenſibly deſcants on the miſchiefs of female ſucceſſion, in a land hoſtibus circumdata, ubi cuncta virilia et virtuoſa eſſe deberent. Yet, at the ſummons, and with the approbation, of her feudal lord, a noble damſel was obliged to chuſe a huſband and champion (Aſſiſes de Jeruſalem, c. 242, &c.). See in M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 441—471.) the accurate and uſeful tables of theſe dynaſties, which are chiefly drawn from the *Lignages d'Outremer*.

[124] They were called by deriſion *Poullains*, *Pullani*, and their name is never pronounced without contempt (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. v. p. 535. and Obſervations ſur Joinville, p. 84, 85. Jacob à Vitriaco, Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. i. c. 67. 72. and Sanut, l. iii. p. viii. c. 2. p. 182.). Illuſtrium virorum qui ad Terræ Sanctæ .... liberationem in ipſâ manſerunt degeneres filii .... in deliciis enutriti, molles et effæminati, &c.

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the luxury of the climate; the arrival of new crusaders from Europe, was a doubtful hope and a casual event. The service of the feudal tenures [125] was performed by six hundred and sixty-six knights, who might expect the aid of two hundred more under the banner of the count of Tripoli; and each knight was attended to the field by four squires or archers on horseback [126]. Five thousand and seventy-five *serjeants*, most probably foot-soldiers, were supplied by the churches and cities; and the whole legal militia of the kingdom could not exceed eleven thousand men, a slender defence against the surrounding myriads of Saracens and Turks [127]. But the firmest bulwark of Jerusalem was founded on the knights of the hospital of St. John [128], and of the temple of Solomon [129]; on the strange association of a monastic and military life, which fanaticism might suggest, but which policy must approve. The flower of the nobility of Europe aspired to wear the cross, and to profess the vows, of these respectable orders; their spirit and discipline were immortal; and the speedy donation of twenty-eight thousand farms, or manors [130], enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry for the defence of Palestine. The austerity of the convent soon evaporated

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[125] This authentic detail is extracted from the Assises de Jerusalem (c. 324. 326—331.). Sanut (l. iii. p. viii. c. 1. p. 174.) reckons only 518 knights, and 5775 followers.

[126] The sum total, and the division, ascertain the service of the three great baronies at 100 knights each; and the text of the Assises, which extends the number to 500, can only be justified by this supposition.

[127] Yet on great emergencies (says Sanut) the barons brought a voluntary aid, decentem comitivam militum juxta statum suum.

[128] William of Tyre (l. xviii. c. 3, 4, 5.) relates the ignoble origin, and early insolence, of the Hospitalers, who soon deserted their humble patron, St. John the Eleemosynary, for the more august character of St. John the Baptist (see the ineffectual struggles of Pagi, Critica, A. D. 1099, N° 14—18.). They assumed the profession of arms about the year 1120; the Hospital was *mater*, the Temple, *filia*; the Teutonic order was founded A. D. 1190, at the siege of Acre (Mosheim, Institut. p. 389, 390.).

[129] See St. Bernard de Laude Novæ Militiæ Templi, composed A. D. 1132—1136, in Opp. tom. i. p. ii. p. 547—563. edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750. Such an encomium, which is thrown away on the dead Templars, would be highly valued by the historians of Malta.

[130] Matthew Paris, Hist. Major, p. 544. He assigns to the Hospitalers 19,000, to the Templars 9,000 *maneria*, a word of much higher import (as Ducange has rightly observed) in the English than in the French idiom. *Manor* is a lordship, *manoir* a dwelling.

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in the exercise of arms: the world was scandalised by the pride, avarice, and corruption of these Christian soldiers; their claims of immunity and jurisdiction disturbed the harmony of the church and state; and the public peace was endangered by their jealous emulation. But in their most dissolute period, the knights of the hospital and temple maintained their fearless and fanatic character: they neglected to live, but they were prepared to die, in the service of Christ; and the spirit of chivalry, the parent and offspring of the crusades, has been transplanted by this institution from the holy sepulchre to the isle of Malta [131].

Assise of Jerusalem, A.D. 1099—1369.

The spirit of freedom, which pervades the feudal institutions, was felt in its strongest energy by the volunteers of the cross, who elected for their chief the most deserving of his peers. Amidst the slaves of Asia, unconscious of the lesson or example, a model of political liberty was introduced: and the laws of the French kingdom are derived from the purest source of equality and justice. Of such laws, the first and indispensable condition is the assent of those, whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit they are designed. No sooner had Godfrey of Bouillon accepted the office of supreme magistrate, than he solicited the public and private advice of the Latin pilgrims, who were the best skilled in the statutes and customs of Europe. From these materials, with the counsel and approbation of the patriarch and barons, of the clergy and laity, Godfrey composed the ASSISE OF JERUSALEM [132], a precious monument of feudal jurisprudence. The new code, attested by the seals of the king, the patriarch, and the viscount of Jerusalem, was deposited in the holy sepulchre, enriched with the improvements of succeeding times, and

[131] In the three first books of the Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe, par l'Abbé de Vertot, the reader may amuse himself with a fair, and sometimes flattering, picture of the order, while it was employed for the defence of Palestine. The subsequent books pursue their emigrations to Rhodes and Malta.

[132] The Assises de Jerusalem, in old law French, were printed with Beaumanoir's Coutumes de Beauvoisis (Bourges and Paris, 1690, in folio), and illustrated by Gaspard Thaumas de la Thaumassiere, with a comment and glossary. An Italian version had been published in 1535, at Venice, for the use of the kingdom of Cyprus.

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respectfully consulted as often as any doubtful question arose in the tribunals of Palestine. With the kingdom and city, all was lost [133]: the fragments of the written law were preserved by jealous tradition [134] and variable practice till the middle of the thirteenth century: the code was restored by the pen of John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa, one of the principal feudatories [135]; and the final revision was accomplished in the year thirteen hundred and sixty-nine, for the use of the Latin kingdom of Cyprus [136].

Court of peers.

The justice and freedom of the constitution were maintained by two tribunals of unequal dignity, which were instituted by Godfrey of Bouillon after the conquest of Jerusalem. The king, in person, presided in the upper-court, the court of the barons. Of these the four most conspicuous were the prince of Galilee, the lord of Sidon and Cæsarea, and the counts of Jaffa and Tripoli, who, perhaps with the constable and marshal [137], were in a special manner the compeers and judges of each other. But all the nobles, who held their lands immediately of the crown, were entitled and bound to attend the king's court; and each baron exercised a similar jurisdiction in the subordinate assemblies of his own feudatories. The connection of lord

[133] A la terre perdue, tout fut perdû, is the vigorous expression of the Assise (c. 281.). Yet Jerusalem capitulated with Saladin; the queen and the principal Christians departed in peace; and a code so precious and so portable could not provoke the avarice of the conquerors. I have sometimes suspected the existence of this original copy of the Holy Sepulchre, which might be invented to sanctify and authenticate the traditionary customs of the French in Palestine.

[134] A noble lawyer, Raoul de Tabarie, denied the prayer of king Amauri (A. D. 1195—1205), that he would commit his knowledge to writing, and frankly declared, que de ce qu'il savoit, ne feroit-il ja nul borjois son pareill, ne nul sage homme lettré (c. 281.).

[135] The compiler of this work, Jean d'Ibelin, was count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Baruth (Berytus) and Rames, and died A.D. 1266 (Sanut, l. iii. p. ii. c. 5. 8.). The family of Ibelin, which descended from a younger brother of a count of Chartres in France, long flourished in Palestine and Cyprus (see the Lignages de deça Mer, or d'Outremer, c. 6. at the end of the Assises de Jerusalem, an original book, which records the pedigrees of the French adventurers).

[136] By sixteen commissioners chosen in the states of the island: the work was finished the 3[d] of November 1369, sealed with four seals, and deposited in the cathedral of Nicosia (see the preface to the Assises).

[137] The cautious John d'Ibelin argues, rather than affirms, that Tripoli is the fourth barony, and expresses some doubt concerning the right or pretension of the constable and marshal (c. 323.).

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CHAP. LVIII. and vassal was honourable and voluntary: reverence was due to the benefactor, protection to the dependent; but they mutually pledged their faith to each other; and the obligation on either side might be suspended by neglect or dissolved by injury. The cognizance of marriages and testaments was blended with religion, and usurped by the clergy; but the civil and criminal causes of the nobles, the inheritance and tenure of their fiefs, formed the proper occupation of the supreme court. Each member was the judge and guardian both of public and private rights. It was his duty to assert with his tongue and sword the lawful claims of the lord; but if an unjust superior presumed to violate the freedom or property of a vassal, the confederate peers stood forth to maintain his quarrel by word and deed. They boldly affirmed his innocence and his wrongs; demanded the restitution of his liberty or his lands; suspended, after a fruitless demand, their own service; rescued their brother from prison; and employed every weapon in his defence, without offering direct violence to the person of their lord, which was ever sacred in their eyes [138]. In their pleadings, replies, and rejoinders, the advocates of the court were subtle and copious; but the use of argument and evidence was often superseded by judicial combat; and the Assise of Jerusalem admits in many cases this barbarous institution, which has been slowly abolished by the laws and manners of Europe.

Law of judicial combats.

The trial by battle was established in all criminal cases, which affected the life, or limb, or honour, of any person; and in all civil transactions, of or above the value of one mark of silver. It appears, that in criminal cases the combat was the privilege of the accuser, who, except in a charge of treason, avenged his personal injury, or the death of those persons whom he had a right to represent; but wherever, from

[138] Entre seignor et homme ne n'a que la foi;.... mais tant que l'homme doit à son seignor reverence en toutes choses (c. 206.). Tous les hommes dudit royaume sont par ladite Assise tenus les uns as autres .... et en celle maniere que le seignor mette main ou facè mettre au cors ou au fié d'aucun d'yaus sans esgard et sans connoissance de court, que tous les autres doivent venir devant le seignor, &c. (212.). The form of their remonstrances is conceived with the noble simplicity of freedom.

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the nature of the charge, teſtimony could be obtained, it was neceſſary for him to produce witneſſes of the fact. In civil caſes, the combat was not allowed as the means of eſtabliſhing the claim of the demandant; but he was obliged to produce witneſſes who had, or aſſumed to have, knowledge of the fact. The combat was then the privilege of the defendant; becauſe he charged the witneſs with an attempt by perjury to take away his right. He came therefore to be in the ſame ſituation as the appellant in criminal caſes. It was not then as a mode of proof that the combat was received, nor as making negative evidence (according to the ſuppoſition of Monteſquieu [139]); but in every caſe the right to offer battle was founded on the right to purſue by arms the redreſs of an injury; and the judicial combat was fought on the ſame principle, and with the ſame ſpirit, as a private duel. Champions were only allowed to women, and to men maimed or paſt the age of ſixty. The conſequence of a defeat was death to the perſon accuſed, or to the champion or witneſs, as well as to the accuſer himſelf; but in civil caſes, the demandant was puniſhed with infamy and the loſs of his ſuit, while his witneſs and champion ſuffered an ignominious death. In many caſes it was in the option of the judge to award or to refuſe the combat: but two are ſpecified, in which it was the inevitable reſult of the challenge; if a faithful vaſſal gave the lie to his compeer, who unjuſtly claimed any portion of their lord's demeſnes; or if an unſucceſsful ſuitor preſumed to impeach the judgment and veracity of the court. He might impeach them, but the terms were ſevere and perilous: in the ſame day he ſucceſſively fought *all* the members of the tribunal, even thoſe who had been abſent: a ſingle defeat was followed by death and infamy; and where none could hope for victory, it is highly probable that none would adventure the trial. In the Aſſiſe of Jeruſalem, the legal ſubtlety of the count of Jaffa is more

139 See l'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. In the forty years ſince its publication, no work has been more read and criticiſed; and the ſpirit of enquiry which it has excited, is not the leaſt of our obligations to the author.

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laudably employed to elude, than to facilitate, the judicial combat, which he derives from a principle of honour rather than of superstition [140].

Court of burgesses.

Among the causes which enfranchised the plebeians from the yoke of feudal tyranny, the institution of cities and corporations is one of the most powerful; and if those of Palestine are coeval with the first crusade, they may be ranked with the most ancient of the Latin world. Many of the pilgrims had escaped from their lords under the banner of the cross; and it was the policy of the French princes to tempt their stay by the assurance of the rights and privileges of freemen. It is expressly declared in the Assize of Jerusalem, that after instituting, for his knights and barons, the court of peers, in which he presided himself, Godfrey of Bouillon established a second tribunal, in which his person was represented by his viscount. The jurisdiction of this inferior court extended over the burgesses of the kingdom; and it was composed of a select number of the most discreet and worthy citizens, who were sworn to judge, according to the laws, of the actions and fortunes of their equals [141]. In the conquest and settlement of new cities, the example of Jerusalem was imitated by the kings and their great vassals; and above thirty similar corporations were founded before the loss of the Holy Land. Another

Syrians.

class of subjects, the Syrians [142], or Oriental Christians, were oppressed by the zeal of the clergy, and protected by the toleration of the state. Godfrey listened to their reasonable prayer, that they might be judged

[140] For the intelligence of this obscure and obsolete jurisprudence (c. 80—111.), I am deeply indebted to the friendship of a learned lord, who, with an accurate and discerning eye, has surveyed the philosophic history of law. By his studies, posterity might be enriched: the merit of the orator and the judge can be *felt* only by his contemporaries.

[141] Louis le Gros, who is considered as the father of this institution in France, did not begin his reign till nine years (A.D. 1108) after Godfrey of Bouillon (Assises, c. 2. 324.). For its origin and effects, see the judicious remarks of Dr. Robertson (History of Charles V. vol. i. p. 30—36. 251—265. quarto edition).

[142] Every reader conversant with the historians of the crusades, will understand by the peuble des Suriens, the Oriental Christians, Melchites, Jacobites, or Nestorians, who had all adopted the use of the Arabic language (vol. iv. p. 593.).

by their own national laws. A third court was inſtituted for their uſe, of limited and domeſtic juriſdiction: the ſworn members were Syrians, in blood, language, and religion; but the office of the preſident (in Arabic, of the *rais)* was ſometimes exercifed by the viſcount of the city. At an immeaſurable diſtance below the *nobles*, the *burgeſſes*, and the *ſtrangers*, the Aſſiſe of Jeruſalem condeſcends to mention the *villains* and *ſlaves*, the peaſants of the land and the captives of war, who were almoſt equally conſidered as the objects of property. The relief or protection of theſe unhappy men was not eſteemed worthy of the care of the legiſlator; but he diligently provides for the recovery, though not indeed for the puniſhment, of the fugitives. Like hounds, or hawks, who had ſtrayed from the lawful owner, they might be loſt and claimed: the ſlave and falcon were of the ſame value; but three ſlaves, or twelve oxen, were accumulated to equal the price of the war-horſe; and a ſum of three hundred pieces of gold was fixed, in the age of chivalry, as the equivalent of the more noble animal[143].

Villains and ſlaves.

143 See the Aſſiſes de Jeruſalem (310, 311, 312.). Theſe laws were enacted as late as the year 1350, in the kingdom of Cyprus. In the ſame century, in the reign of Edward I. I underſtand, from a late publication (of his Book of Account), that the price of a war-horſe was not leſs exorbitant in England.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL THE TANJORE

CHAP. LIX.

Preservation of the Greek Empire.—Numbers, Passage, and Event, of the Second and Third Crusades.—St. Bernard.—Reign of Saladin in Egypt and Syria.—His Conquest of Jerusalem.—Naval Crusades.—Richard the First of England.—Pope Innocent the Third; and the Fourth and Fifth Crusades.—The Emperor Frederic the Second.—Louis the Ninth of France; and the two last Crusades.—Expulsion of the Latins or Franks by the Mamalukes.

CHAP. LIX.

Success of Alexius, A. D. 1097—1118.

IN a style less grave than that of history, I should perhaps compare the emperor Alexius [1] to the jackall, who is said to follow the steps, and to devour the leavings, of the lion. Whatever had been his fears and toils in the passage of the first crusade, they were amply recompensed by the subsequent benefits which he derived from the exploits of the Franks. His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice; and from this threatening station the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople. While the crusaders, with blind valour, advanced into the midland countries of Asia, the crafty Greek improved the favourable occasion when the emirs of the sea-coast were recalled to the standard of the sultan. The Turks were driven from the isles of Rhodes and Chios: the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of Sardes, Philadel-

[1] Anna Comnena relates her father's conquests in Asia Minor, Alexiad, l. xi. p. 321—325. l. xiv. p. 419.; his Cilician war against Tancred and Bohemond, p. 328—342.; the war of Epirus, with tedious prolixity, l. xii, xiii. p. 345—406.; the death of Bohemond, l. xiv. p. 419.

Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were reftored to the empire, which Alexius enlarged from the Hellefpont to the banks of the Mæander, and the rocky fhores of Pamphylia. The churches refumed their fplendour; the towns were rebuilt and fortified; and the defert country was peopled with colonies of Chriftians, who were gently removed from the more diftant and dangerous frontier. In thefe paternal cares, we may forgive Alexius, if he forgot the deliverance of the holy fepulchre; but, by the Latins, he was ftigmatized with the foul reproach of treafon and defertion. They had fworn fidelity and obedience to his throne; but *he* had promifed to affift their enterprife in perfon, or, at leaft, with his troops and treafures: his bafe retreat diffolved their obligations; and the fword, which had been the inftrument of their victory, was the pledge and title of their juft independence. It does not appear that the emperor attempted to revive his obfolete claims over the kingdom of Jerufalem [2]; but the borders of Cilicia and Syria were more recent in his poffeffion, and more acceffible to his arms. The great army of the crufaders was annihilated or difperfed; the principality of Antioch was left without a head, by the furprife and captivity of Bohemond: his ranfom had oppreffed him with a heavy debt; and his Norman followers were infufficient to repel the hoftilities of the Greeks and Turks. In this diftrefs, Bohemond embraced a magnanimous refolution, of leaving the defence of Antioch to his kinfman, the faithful Tancred; of arming the Weft againft the Byzantine empire, and of executing the defign which he inherited from the leffons and example of his father Guifcard. His embarkation was clandeftine: and if we may credit a tale of the princefs Anne, he paffed the hoftile fea, clofely fecreted in a coffin [3]. But his reception in France was

[2] The kings of Jerufalem fubmitted however to a nominal dependence, and in the dates of their infcriptions (one is ftill legible in the church of Bethlem), they refpectfully placed before their own, the name of the reigning emperor (Ducange, Differtations fur Joinville, xxvii. p. 319.).

[3] Anna Comnena adds, that to complete the imitation, he was fhut up with a dead cock; and condefcends to wonder how the Barbarian could endure the confinement and putrefaction. This abfurd tale is unknown to the Latins.

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dignified by the public applaufe, and his marriage with the king's daughter: his return was glorious, fince the braveft fpirits of the age enlifted under his veteran command; and he repaffed the Adriatic at the head of five thoufand horfe and forty thoufand foot, affembled from the moft remote climates of Europe[4]. The ftrength of Durazzo, and prudence of Alexius, the progrefs of famine, and approach of Winter, eluded his ambitious hopes; and the venal confederates were feduced from his ftandard. A treaty of peace[5] fufpended the fears of the Greeks; and they were finally delivered by the death of an adverfary, whom neither oaths could bind, nor dangers could appal, nor profperity could fatiate. His children fucceeded to the principality of Antioch; but the boundaries were ftrictly defined, the homage was clearly ftipulated, and the cities of Tarfus and Malmiftra were reftored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coaft of Anatolia, they poffeffed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian dynafty of Roum[6] was feparated on all fides from the fea and their Mufulman brethren; the power of the fultans was fhaken by the victories, and even the defeats of the Franks; and after the lofs of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an obfcure and inland town above three hundred miles from Conftantinople[7]. Inftead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offenfive war againft the Turks, and the firft crufade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

[4] Απο Θυλης, in the Byzantine Geography, muft mean England; yet we are more credibly informed, that our Henry I. would not fuffer him to levy any troops in his kingdom (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad, p. 41.).

[5] The copy of the treaty (Alexiad, l. xiii. p. 406—416.) is an original and curious piece, which would require, and might afford, a good map of the principality of Antioch.

[6] See in the learned work of M. de Guignes (tom. ii. part ii.), the hiftory of the Seljukians of Iconium, Aleppo, and Damafcus, as far as it may be collected from the Greeks, Latins, and Arabians. The laft are ignorant or regardlefs of the affairs of *Roum*.

[7] Iconium is mentioned as a ftation by Xenophon, and by Strabo, with the ambiguous title of Κωμοπολις (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. 121.). Yet St. Paul found in that place a multitude (πληθος) of Jews and Gentiles. Under the corrupt name of *Kunijah*, it is defcribed as a great city, with a river and gardens, three leagues from the mountains, and decorated (I know not why) with Plato's tomb (Abulfeda, tabul. xvii. p. 303. verf. Reifke; and the Index Geographicus of Schultens from Ibn Said).

In

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Expeditions by land: the firſt cruſade, A. D. 1101. the ſecond, of Conrad III. and Louis VII. A. D. 1147. the third, of Frederic I. A. D. 1189.

In the twelfth century, three great emigrations marched by land from the Weſt to the relief of Paleſtine. The ſoldiers and pilgrims of Lombardy, France, and Germany, were excited by the example and ſucceſs of the firſt cruſade[8]. Forty-eight years after the deliverance of the holy ſepulchre, the emperor, and the French king, Conrad the third, and Louis the ſeventh, undertook the ſecond cruſade to ſupport the falling fortunes of the Latins[9]. A grand diviſion of the third cruſade was led by the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa[10], who ſympathiſed with his brothers of France and England in the common loſs of Jeruſalem. Theſe three expeditions may be compared in their reſemblance of the greatneſs of numbers, their paſſage through the Greek empire, and the nature and event of their Turkiſh warfare, and a brief parallel may ſave the repetition of a tedious narrative. However ſplendid it may ſeem, a regular ſtory of the cruſades would exhibit the perpetual return of the ſame cauſes and effects; and the frequent attempts for the defence or recovery of the Holy Land, would appear ſo many faint and unſucceſsful copies of the original.

Their numbers.

I. Of the ſwarms that ſo cloſely trod in the footſteps of the firſt pilgrims, the chiefs were equal in rank, though unequal in fame and merit, to Godfrey of Bouillon and his fellow adventurers. At their head were diſplayed the banners of the dukes of Burgundy, Bavaria, and Aquitain: the firſt a deſcendant of Hugh Capet, the ſecond a father of the Brunſwick line: the archbiſhop of Milan, a

[8] For this ſupplement to the firſt cruſade, ſee Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. xi. p. 331, &c. and the viii[th] book of Albert Aquenſis).

[9] For the ſecond cruſade of Conrad III. and Lewis VII. ſee William of Tyre (l. xvi. c. 18—29.), Otho of Friſingen (l. i. c. 34—45. 59, 60.), Matthew Paris (Hiſt. Major. p. 68.), Struvius (Corpus, Hiſt. Germanicæ, p. 372, 373.), Scriptores Rerum Francicarum à Ducheſne, tom. iv. Nicetas, in Vit. Manuel, l. i. c. 4, 5, 6. p. 41—48. Cinnamus, l. ii. p. 41—49.

[10] For the third cruſade, of Frederic Barbaroſſa, ſee Nicetas in Iſaac. Angel. l. ii. c. 3—8. p. 257—266. Struv. (Corpus, Hiſt. Germ. p. 414.), and two hiſtorians, who probably were ſpectators, Tagino (in Scriptor. Freher. tom. i. p. 406—416. edit. Struv.), and the Anonymus de Expeditione Aſiaticâ, Fred. I. (in Caniſii, Antiq. Lection. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 498—526. edit. Baſnage).

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temporal prince, tranſported, for the benefit of the Turks, the treaſures and ornaments of his church and palace; and the veteran cruſaders, Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, returned to conſummate their unfiniſhed vow. The huge and diſorderly bodies of their followers moved forwards in two columns; and if the firſt conſiſted of two hundred and ſixty thouſand perſons, the second might poſſibly amount to ſixty thouſand horſe, and one hundred thouſand foot[11]. The armies of the ſecond cruſade might have claimed the conqueſt of Aſia: the nobles of France and Germany were animated by the preſence of their ſovereigns; and both the rank and perſonal characters of Conrad and Louis, gave a dignity to their cauſe, and a diſcipline to their force, which might be vainly expected from the feudatory chiefs. The cavalry of the emperor, and that of the king, was each compoſed of ſeventy thouſand knights and their immediate attendants in the field[12]; and if the light-armed troops, the peaſant infantry, the women and children, the prieſts and monks, be rigorouſly excluded, the full account will ſcarcely be ſatisfied with four hundred thouſand ſouls. The Weſt, from Rome to Britain, was called into action; the kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the ſummons of Conrad; and it is affirmed by the Greeks and Latins, that in the paſſage of a ſtreight or river, the Byzantine agents, after a tale of nine hundred thouſand, deſiſted from the endleſs and formidable computation[13]. In the third cruſade, as the French and Engliſh preferred the navigation of the Mediterranean, the hoſt of Frederic Barbaroſſa was leſs numerous. Fifteen thouſand knights,

[11] Anne, who ſtates theſe later ſwarms at 40,000 horſe, and 100,000 foot, calls them Normans, and places at their head two brothers of Flanders. The Greeks were ſtrangely ignorant of the names, families and poſſeſſions of the Latin princes.

[12] William of Tyre, and Matthew Paris, reckon 70,000 loricati in each of the armies.

[13] The imperfect enumeration is mentioned by Cinnamus (ενενηκοντα μυριαδες), and confirmed by Odo de Diogilo apud Ducange ad Cinnanum, with the more preciſe ſum of 900,556. Why muſt therefore the verſion and comment ſuppoſe the modeſt and inſufficient reckoning of 90,000? Does not Godfrey of Viterbo (Pantheon, p. xix. in Muratori, tom. vii. p. 462.) exclaim?

—— Numerum ſi poſcere quæras.
Millia millena milites agmen erat.

and

and as many ſquires, were the flower of the German chivalry: ſixty thouſand horſe, and one hundred thouſand foot, were muſtered by the emperor in the plains of Hungary; and after ſuch repetitions we ſhall no longer be ſtartled at the ſix hundred thouſand pilgrims, which credulity has aſcribed to this laſt emigration [14]. Such extravagant reckonings prove only the aſtoniſhment of contemporaries; but their aſtoniſhment moſt ſtrongly bears teſtimony to the exiſtence of an enormous though indefinite multitude. The Greeks might applaud their ſuperior knowledge of the arts and ſtratagems of war, but they confeſſed the ſtrength and courage of the French cavalry and the infantry of the Germans [15]; and the ſtrangers are deſcribed as an iron race, of gigantic ſtature, who darted fire from their eyes, and ſpilt blood like water on the ground. Under the banners of Conrad, a troop of females rode in the attitude and armour of men; and the chief of theſe Amazons, from her gilt ſpurs and buſkins, obtained the epithet of the Golden-footed Dame.

Paſſage through the Greek empire.

II. The numbers and character of the ſtrangers was an object of terror to the effeminate Greeks, and the ſentiment of fear is nearly allied to that of hatred. This averſion was ſuſpended or ſoftened by the apprehenſion of the Turkiſh power; and the invectives of the Latins will not biaſs our more candid belief, that the emperor Alexius diſſembled their inſolence, eluded their hoſtilities, counſelled their raſhneſs, and opened to their ardour the road of pilgrimage and conqueſt. But when the Turks had been driven from Nice and the ſea-coaſt, when the Byzantine princes no longer dreaded the diſtant Sultans of Cogni, they felt with purer indignation the free

14 This extravagant account is given by Albert of Stade (apud Struvium, p. 414.); my calculation is borrowed from Godfrey of Viterbo, Arnold of Lubeck, apud eundem, and Bernard Theſaur. (c. 169. p. 804.). The original writers are ſilent. The Mahometans gave him 200,000, or 260,000 men (Bohadin, in Vit. Saladin. p. 110.).

15 I muſt obſerve, that in the ſecond and third cruſades, the ſubjects of Conrad and Frederic are ſtyled by the Greeks and Orientals *Alamanni*. The Lechi and Tzechi of Cinnamus, are the Poles and Bohemians; and it is for the French, that he reſerves the ancient appellation of Germans. He likewiſe names the Βρίττοι, or Βριττανοί.

and

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and frequent paſſage of the weſtern Barbarians, who violated the majeſty, and endangered the ſafety, of the empire. The ſecond and third cruſades were undertaken under the reign of Manuel Comnenus and Iſaac Angelus. Of the former, the paſſions were always impetuous, and often malevolent; and the natural union of a cowardly and a miſchievous temper was exemplified in the latter, who, without merit or mercy, could puniſh a tyrant, and occupy his throne. It was ſecretly, and perhaps tacitly, reſolved by the prince and people to deſtroy, or at leaſt to diſcourage, the pilgrims, by every ſpecies of injury and oppreſſion; and their want of prudence and diſcipline continually afforded the pretence or the opportunity. The Weſtern monarchs had ſtipulated a ſafe paſſage and fair market in the country of their Chriſtian brethren; the treaty had been ratified by oaths and hoſtages; and the pooreſt ſoldier of Frederic's army was furniſhed with three marks of ſilver to defray his expences on the road. But every engagement was violated by treachery and injuſtice; and the complaints of the Latins are atteſted by the honeſt confeſſion of a Greek hiſtorian, who has dared to prefer truth to his country[16]. Inſtead of an hoſpitable reception, the gates of the cities, both in Europe and Aſia, were cloſely barred againſt the cruſaders; and the ſcanty pittance of food was let down in baſkets from the walls. Experience or foreſight might excuſe this timid jealouſy; but the common duties of humanity prohibited the mixture of chalk, or other poiſonous ingredients, in the bread; and ſhould Manuel be acquitted of any foul connivance, he is guilty of coining baſe money for the purpoſe of trading with the pilgrims. In every ſtep of their march they were ſtopped or miſled: the governors had private orders to fortify the paſſes and break down the bridges againſt them: the ſtragglers were pillaged and murdered; the

[16] Nicetas was a child at the ſecond cruſade, but in the third he commanded againſt the Franks the important poſt of Philippopolis. Cinnamus is infected with national prejudice and pride.

soldiers

ſoldiers and horſes were pierced in the woods by arrows from an inviſible hand; the ſick were burnt in their beds; and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the highways. Theſe injuries exaſperated the champions of the croſs, who were not endowed with evangelical patience; and the Byzantine princes, who had provoked the unequal conflict, promoted the embarkation and march of theſe formidable gueſts. On the verge of the Turkiſh frontier Barbaroſſa ſpared the guilty Philadelphia [17], rewarded the hoſpitable Laodicea, and deplored the hard neceſſity that had ſtained his ſword with any drops of Chriſtian blood. In their intercourſe with the monarchs of Germany and France, the pride of the Greeks was expoſed to an anxious trial. They might boaſt that on the firſt interview the ſeat of Louis was a low ſtool, beſide the throne of Manuel [18]; but no ſooner had the French king tranſported his army beyond the Boſphorus, than he refuſed the offer of a ſecond conference, unleſs his brother would meet him on equal terms, either on the ſea or land. With Conrad and Frederic, the ceremonial was ſtill nicer and more difficult: like the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, they ſtyled themſelves emperors of the Romans [19]; and firmly maintained the purity of their title and dignity. The firſt of theſe repreſentatives of Charlemagne would only converſe with Manuel on horſeback in the open field; the ſecond, by paſſing the Helleſpont rather than the Boſphorus, declined the view of Conſtantinople and its ſovereign. An emperor, who had been crowned at Rome, was reduced in the Greek epiſtles to the humble appellation of *Rex*, or

[17] The conduct of the Philadelphians is blamed by Nicetas, while the anonymous German accuſes the rudeneſs of his countrymen (culpâ noſtrâ). Hiſtory would be pleaſant, if we were embarraſſed only by *ſuch* contradictions. It is likewiſe from Nicetas, that we learn the pious and humane ſorrow of Frederic.

[18] Χθαμαλη εδρα, which Cinnamus tranſlates into Latin by the word Σελλιον. Ducange works very hard to ſave his king and country from ſuch ignominy (ſur Joinville, diſſertat. xxvii. p. 317—320.). Louis afterwards inſiſted on a meeting in mari ex æquo, not ex equo, according to the laughable readings of ſome MSS.

[19] Ego Romanorum imperator ſum, ille Romaniorum (Anonym. Caniſ. p. 512.). The public and hiſtorical ſtyle of the Greeks was Ρηξ . . . *princeps*. Yet Cinnamus owns, that Ιμπερατορ is ſynonymous to Βασιλευς.

prince

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prince of the Alemanni; and the vain and feeble Angelus affected to be ignorant of the name of one of the greateſt men and monarchs of the age. While they viewed with hatred and ſuſpicion the Latin pilgrims, the Greek emperors maintained a ſtrict, though ſecret, alliance with the Turks and Saracens. Iſaac Angelus complained, that by his friendſhip for the great Saladin he had incurred the enmity of the Franks; and a moſch was founded at Conſtantinople for the public exerciſe of the religion of Mahomet [20].

Turkiſh warfare.

III. The ſwarms that followed the firſt cruſade, were deſtroyed in Anatolia by famine, peſtilence, and the Turkiſh arrows: and the princes only eſcaped with ſome ſquadrons of horſe to accompliſh their lamentable pilgrimage. A juſt opinion may be formed of their knowledge and humanity; of their knowledge from the deſign of ſubduing Perſia and Choraſan in their way to Jeruſalem; of their humanity from the maſſacre of the Chriſtian people, a friendly city, who came out to meet them with palms and croſſes in their hands. The arms of Conrad and Louis were leſs cruel and imprudent; but the event of the ſecond cruſade was ſtill more ruinous to Chriſtendom; and the Greek Manuel is accuſed by his own ſubjects of giving ſeaſonable intelligence to the ſultan, and treacherous guides to the Latin princes. Inſtead of cruſhing the common foe, by a double attack at the ſame time but on different ſides, the Germans were urged by emulation, and the French were retarded by jealouſy. Louis had ſcarcely paſſed the Boſphorus when he was met by the returning emperor, who had loſt the greateſt part of his army in glorious, but unſucceſsful, action on the banks of the Mæander. The contraſt of the pomp of his rival haſtened the retreat of Conrad: the deſertion of his independent vaſſals reduced him to his hereditary troops; and he borrowed ſome Greek veſſels to execute by ſea the pilgrimage of Paleſtine. Without ſtudying the leſſons of experience, or

[20] In the Epiſtles of Innocent III. (xiii. 130.), ſee the views of a pope and a cadhi on p. 184.), and the Hiſtory of Bohadin (p. 129, this *ſingular* toleration.

or the nature of the war, the king of France advanced through the ſame country to a ſimilar fate. The vanguard, which bore the royal banner and the oriflamme of St. Denys [21], had doubled their march with raſh and inconſiderate ſpeed; and the rear which the king commanded in perſon no longer found their companions in the evening camp. In darkneſs and diſorder they were encompaſſed, aſſaulted, and overwhelmed, by the innumerable hoſt of Turks, who in the art of war were ſuperior to the Chriſtians of the twelfth century. Louis, who climbed a tree in the general diſcomfiture, was ſaved by his own valour and the ignorance of his adverſaries; and with the dawn of day he eſcaped alive, but almoſt alone to the camp of the vanguard. But inſtead of purſuing his expedition by land, he was rejoiced to ſhelter the relics of his army in the friendly ſea-port of Satalia. From thence he embarked for Antioch; but ſo penurious was the ſupply of Greek veſſels, that they could only afford room for his knights and nobles; and the plebeian crowd of infantry was left to periſh at the foot of the Pamphylian hills. The emperor and the king embraced and wept at Jeruſalem; their martial trains, the remnant of mighty armies, were joined to the Chriſtian powers of Syria, and a fruitleſs ſiege of Damaſcus was the final effort of the ſecond cruſade. Conrad and Louis embarked for Europe with the perſonal fame of piety and courage; but the Orientals had braved theſe potent monarchs of the Franks, with whoſe names and military forces they had been ſo often threatened [22]. Perhaps they had ſtill more to fear from the veteran genius of Frederic the firſt, who in his youth had ſerved in Aſia under his uncle Conrad. Forty campaigns in Germany and Italy had taught

[21] As counts of Vexin, the kings of France were the vaſſals and advocates of the monaſtery of St. Denys. The ſaint's peculiar banner, which they received from the abbot, was of a ſquare form, and a red or *flaming* colour. The *oriflamme* appeared at the head of the French armies from the xii[th] to the xv[th] century (Ducange ſur Joinville, diſſert. xviii. p. 244—253.).

[22] The original French hiſtories of the ſecond cruſade, are the Geſta Ludovici VII. publiſhed in the iv[th] volume of Ducheſne's Collection. The ſame volume contains many original letters of the king, of Suger his miniſter, &c. the beſt documents of authentic hiſtory.

Barbaroſſa

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Barbaroſſa to command; and his ſoldiers, even the princes of the empire, were accuſtomed under his reign to obey. As ſoon as he loſt ſight of Philadelphia and Laodicea, the laſt cities of the Greek frontier, he plunged into the ſalt and barren deſert, a land (ſays the hiſtorian) of horror and tribulation [23]. During twenty days, every ſtep of his fainting and ſickly march was beſieged by the innumerable hords of Turkmans [24], whoſe numbers and fury ſeemed after each defeat to multiply and inflame. The emperor continued to ſtruggle and to ſuffer; and ſuch was the meaſure of his calamities, that when he reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thouſand knights were able to ſerve on horſeback. By a ſudden and reſolute aſſault, he defeated the guards, and ſtormed the capital of the ſultan [25], who humbly ſued for pardon and peace. The road was now open, and Frederic advanced in a career of triumph, till he was unfortunately drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia [26]. The remainder of his Germans was conſumed by ſickneſs and deſertion; and the emperor's ſon expired with the greateſt part of his Swabian vaſſals at the ſiege of Acre. Among the Latin heroes, Godfrey of Bouillon and Frederic Barbaroſſa could alone atchieve the paſſage of the Leſſer Aſia; yet even their ſucceſs was a warning; and in the laſt and moſt experienced age of the cruſades, every nation preferred the ſea to the toils and perils of an inland expedition [27].

Obſtinacy of the enthuſiaſm of the cruſades.

The enthuſiaſm of the firſt cruſade is a natural and ſimple event, while hope was freſh, danger untried, and enterpriſe congenial to

[23] Terram horroris et ſalſuginis, terram ſiccam, ſterilem inamænam. Anonym. Caniſ. p. 517. The emphatic language of a ſufferer.

[24] Gens innumera, ſylveſtris, indomita, prædones ſine ductore. The ſultan of Cogni might ſincerely rejoice in their defeat. Anonym. Caniſ. p. 517, 518.

[25] See in the anonymous writer in the collection of Caniſius, Tagino, and Bohadin (Vit. Saladin. p. 119, 120.), the ambiguous conduct of Kilidge Arſlan, ſultan of Cogni, who hated and feared both Saladin and Frederic.

[26] The deſire of comparing two great men, has tempted many writers to drown Frederic in the river Cydnus, in which Alexander ſo imprudently bathed (Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4, 5.). But from the march of the emperor, I rather judge, that his Saleph is the Calycadnus, a ſtream of leſs fame, but of a longer courſe.

[27] Marinus Sanutus, A. D. 1321, lays it down as a precept, Quod ſtolus Eccleſiæ per terram nullatenus eſt ducenda. He reſolves, by the Divine aid, the objection, or rather exception, of the firſt cruſade (Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. ii. pars ii. c. i. p. 37.).

the

the ſpirit of the times. But the obſtinate perſeverance of Europe may indeed excite our pity and admiration; that no inſtruction ſhould have been drawn from conſtant and adverſe experience; that the ſame confidence ſhould have repeatedly grown from the ſame failures; that ſix ſucceeding generations ſhould have ruſhed headlong down the precipice that was open before them; and that men of every condition ſhould have ſtaked their public and private fortunes, on the deſperate adventure of poſſeſſing or recovering a tomb-ſtone two thouſand miles from their country. In a period of two centuries after the council of Clermont, each ſpring and ſummer produced a new emigration of pilgrim warriors for the defence of the Holy Land; but the ſeven great armaments or cruſades were excited by ſome impending or recent calamity: the nations were moved by the authority of their pontiffs, and the example of their kings: their zeal was kindled, and their reaſon was ſilenced, by the voice of their holy orators; and among theſe, Bernard [28], the monk, or the ſaint, may claim the moſt honourable place. About eight years before the firſt conqueſt of Jeruſalem, he was born of a noble family in Burgundy; at the age of three-and-twenty, he buried himſelf in the monaſtery of Citeaux, then in the primitive fervour of the inſtitution; at the end of two years he led forth her third colony, or daughter, to the valley of Clairvaux [29] in Champagne; and was content, till the hour of his death, with the humble ſtation of Abbot of his own community. A philoſophic age has aboliſhed, with too liberal and indiſcriminate diſdain, the honours of theſe ſpiritual

Character and miſſion of St. Bernard, A. D. 1091—1153.

[28] The moſt authentic information of St. Bernard muſt be drawn from his own writings, publiſhed in a correct edition by Pére Mabillon, and reprinted at Venice 1750, in ſix volumes in folio. Whatever friendſhip could recollect, or ſuperſtition could add, is contained in the two lives, by his diſciples, in the vi[th] volume: whatever learning and criticiſm could aſcertain, may be found in the prefaces of the Benedictine editor.

[29] Clairvaux, ſurnamed the Valley of Abſynth, is ſituate among the woods near Bar ſur Aube in Champagne. St. Bernard would bluſh at the pomp of the church and monaſtery; he would aſk for the library, and I know not whether he would be much edified by a tun of 800 muids (914$\frac{1}{7}$ hogſheads), which almoſt rivals that of Heidelberg (Melangés Tirés d'une Grande Bibliotheque, tom. xlvi. p. 15—20.).

 heroes.

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heroes. The meaneſt among them are diſtinguiſhed by ſome energies of the mind; they were at leaſt ſuperior to their votaries and diſciples; and, in the race of ſuperſtition, they attained the prize for which ſuch numbers contended. In ſpeech, in writing, in action, Bernard ſtood high above his rivals and contemporaries; his compoſitions are not devoid of wit and eloquence; and he ſeems to have preſerved as much reaſon and humanity as may be reconciled with the character of a ſaint. In a ſecular life, he would have ſhared the ſeventh part of a private inheritance; by a vow of poverty and penance, by cloſing his eyes againſt the viſible world [30], by the refuſal of all eccleſiaſtical dignities, the abbot of Clairvaux became the oracle of Europe, and the founder of one hundred and ſixty convents. Princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apoſtolical cenſures: France, England, and Milan, conſulted and obeyed his judgment in a ſchiſm of the church: the debt was repaid by the gratitude of Innocent the ſecond; and his ſucceſſor Eugenius the third was the friend and diſciple of the holy Bernard. It was in the proclamation of the ſecond cruſade that he ſhone as the miſſionary and prophet of God, who called the nations to the defence of his holy ſepulchre [31]. At the parliament of Vezelay he ſpoke before the king; and Louis the ſeventh, with his nobles, received their croſſes from his hand. The abbot of Clairvaux then marched to the leſs eaſy conqueſt of the emperor Conrad: a phlegmatic people, ignorant of his language, was tranſported by the pathetic vehemence of his tone and geſtures; and his progreſs, from Conſtance to Cologne, was the triumph of eloquence and zeal. Bernard applauds his own ſucceſs in the depopulation of Europe; affirms that cities and caſtles

[30] The diſciples of the ſaint (Vit. 1ma, l. iii. c. 2. p. 1232. Vit. iida, c. 16. N° 45. p. 1383.) record a marvellous example of his pious apathy. Juxta lacum etiam Lauſannenſem totius diei itinere pergens, penitus non attendit aut ſe videre non vidit. Cum enim veſpere facto de eodem lacû ſocii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos ubi lacus ille eſſet; et mirati ſunt univerſi. To admire or deſpiſe St. Bernard as he ought, the reader, like myſelf, ſhould have before the windows of his library the beauties of that incomparable landſkip.

[31] Otho Friſing. l. i. c. 4. Bernard, Epiſt. 363. ad Francos Orientales, Opp. tom. i. p. 328. Vit. 1ma, l. iii. c. 4. tom. vi. p. 1235.

were

were emptied of their inhabitants; and computes, that only one man was left behind for the consolation of seven widows [32]. The blind fanatics were desirous of electing him for their general; but the example of the hermit Peter was before his eyes; and while he assured the Crusaders of the divine favour, he prudently declined a military command, in which failure and victory would have been almost equally disgraceful to his character [33]. Yet, after the calamitous event, the abbot of Clairvaux was loudly accused as a false prophet, the author of the public and private mourning; his enemies exulted, his friends blushed, and his apology was slow and unsatisfactory. He justifies his obedience to the commands of the pope; expatiates on the mysterious ways of providence; imputes the misfortunes of the pilgrims to their own sins; and modestly insinuates, that his mission had been approved by signs and wonders [34]. Had the fact been certain, the argument would be decisive; and his faithful disciples, who enumerate twenty or thirty miracles in a day, appeal to the public assemblies of France and Germany, in which they were performed [35]. At the present hour, such prodigies will not obtain credit beyond the precincts of Clairvaux; but in the preternatural cures of the blind, the lame, and the sick, who were presented to the man of God, it is impossible for us to ascertain the separate shares of accident, of fancy, of imposture, and of fiction.

Progress of the Mahometans.

Omnipotence itself cannot escape the murmurs of its discordant votaries; since the same dispensation which was applauded as a deli-

[32] Mandastis et obedivi .... multiplicati sunt super numerum; vacuantur urbes et castella; et *pene* jam non inveniunt quem apprehendant septem mulieres unum virum; adeo ubique viduæ vivis remanent viris. Bernard. Epist. p. 247. We must be careful not to construe *pene* as a substantive.

[33] Quis ego sum ut disponam acies, ut egrediar ante facies armatorum, aut quid tam remotum a professione meâ, si vires, si peritia, &c. epist. 256. tom. i. p. 259. He speaks with contempt of the hermit Peter, vir quidam, epist. 363.

[34] Sic dicunt forsitan iste, unde scimus quòd a Domino sermo egressus sit? Quæ signa tu facis ut credamus tibi? Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam; percendum verecundiæ meæ, responde tu pro me, et pro te ipso, secundum quæ vidisti et audisti, et secundum quod te inspiraverit Deus. Consolat. l. ii. c. 1. Opp. tom. ii. p. 421—423.

[35] See the testimonies in Vita 1ma l. iv. c. 5, 6. Opp. tom. vi. p. 1258—1261. l. vi. c. 1—17. p. 1286—1314.

verance

CHAP. LIX. verance in Europe, was deplored, and perhaps arraigned, as a calamity in Asia. After the loss of Jerusalem, the Syrian fugitives diffused their consternation and sorrow: Bagdad mourned in the dust; the cadhi Zeineddin of Damascus tore his beard in the caliph's presence; and the whole divan shed tears at his melancholy tale[36]. But the commanders of the faithful could only weep; they were themselves captives in the hands of the Turks: some temporal power was restored to the last age of the Abbassides; but their humble ambition was confined to Bagdad and the adjacent province. Their tyrants, the Seljukian sultans, had followed the common law of the Asiatic dynasties, the unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay: their spirit and power were unequal to the defence of religion; and, in his distant realm of Persia, the Christians were strangers to the name and the arms of Sangiar, the last hero of his race[37]. While the sultans were involved in the silken web of the haram, the pious task was undertaken by their slaves, the Atabeks[38]; a Turkish name, which, like the Byzantine patricians, may be translated by Father of the Prince. Ascansar, a valiant Turk, had been the favourite of Malek Shaw, from whom he received the privilege of standing on the right-hand of the throne; but, in the civil wars that ensued on the monarch's death, he lost his head and the government of Aleppo. His domestic emirs persevered in their attachment to his son Zenghi, who proved his first arms against the Franks in the defeat of Antioch:

The Atabeks of Syria.

Zenghi, A. D. 1127—1145.

[36] Abulmahasen apud de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. P. ii. p. 99.

[37] See his *article* in the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot, and de Guignes, tom. ii. P. i. p. 230—261. Such was his valour, that he was styled the second Alexander; and such the extravagant love of his subjects, that they prayed for the sultan a year after his decease. Yet Sangiar might have been made prisoner by the Franks, as well as by the Uzes. He reigned near fifty years (A. D. 1103—1152.), and was a munificent patron of Persian poetry.

[38] See the Chronology of the Atabeks of Irak and Syria, in de Guignes, tom. i. p. 254; and the reigns of Zenghi and Noureddin in the same writer (tom. ii. P. ii. p. 147—221.), who uses the Arabic text of Benelathir, Ben Schounah, and Abulfeda; the Bibliotheque Orientale, under the articles *Atabeks* and *Noureddin*, and the Dynasties of Abulpharagius, p. 250—267. vers. Pocock.

thirty campaigns in the ſervice of the caliph and ſultan eſtabliſhed his military fame; and he was inveſted with the command of Moſul, as the only champion that could avenge the cauſe of the prophet. The public hope was not diſappointed: after a ſiege of twenty-five days, he ſtormed the city of Edeſſa, and recovered from the Franks their conqueſts beyond the Euphrates [39]: the martial tribes of Curdiſtan were ſubdued by the independent ſovereign of Moſul and Aleppo: his ſoldiers were taught to behold the camp as their only country; they truſted to his liberality for their rewards; and their abſent families were protected by the vigilance of Zenghi. At the head of theſe veterans, his ſon Noureddin gradually united the Mahometan powers; added the kingdom of Damaſcus to that of Aleppo, and waged a long and ſucceſsful war againſt the Chriſtians of Syria; he ſpread his ample reign from the Tigris to the Nile, and the Abbaſſides rewarded their faithful ſervant with all the titles and prerogatives of royalty. The Latins themſelves were compelled to own the wiſdom and courage, and even the juſtice and piety, of this implacable adverſary [40]. In his life and government, the holy warrior revived the zeal and ſimplicity of the firſt caliphs. Gold and ſilk were baniſhed from his palace; the uſe of wine from his dominions; the public revenue was ſcrupulouſly applied to the public ſervice; and the frugal houſehold of Noureddin was maintained from his legitimate ſhare of the ſpoil which he veſted in the purchaſe of a private eſtate. His favourite Sultana ſighed for ſome female object of expence. "Alas," replied the king, "I fear God, "and am no more than the treaſurer of the Moſlems. Their pro-

Noureddin, A. D. 1145—1174.

[39] William of Tyre (l. xvi. c. 4, 5. 7.) deſcribes the loſs of Edeſſa, and the death of Zenghi. The corruption of his name into *Sanguin*, afforded the Latins a comfortable alluſion to his *ſanguinary* character and end, fit ſanguine ſanguinolentus.

[40] Noradinus (ſays William of Tyre, l. xx. 33.) maximus nominis et fidei Chriſtianæ perſecutor; princeps tamen juſtus, vafer, providus, et ſecundum gentis ſuæ traditiones religioſus. To this catholic witneſs, we may add the primate of the Jacobites (Abulpharag. p. 267.), quo non alter erat inter reges vitæ ratione magis laudabili, aut quæ pluribus juſtitiæ experimentis abundaret. The true praiſe of kings is after their death, and from the mouth of their enemies.

" perty

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" perty I cannot alienate; but I ſtill poſſeſs three ſhops in the city " of Hems: theſe you may take; and theſe alone can I beſtow." His chamber of juſtice was the terror of the great and the refuge of the poor. Some years after the ſultan's death, an oppreſſed ſubject called aloud in the ſtreets of Damaſcus, " O Noureddin, Noureddin, " where art thou now? Ariſe, ariſe, to pity and protect us!" A tumult was apprehended, and a living tyrant bluſhed or trembled at the name of a departed monarch.

Conqueſt of Egypt by the Turks, A.D. 1163—1169.

By the arms of the Turks and Franks, the Fatimites had been deprived of Syria. In Egypt, the decay of their character and influence was ſtill more eſſential. Yet they were ſtill revered as the deſcendants and ſucceſſors of the prophet; they maintained their inviſible ſtate in the palace of Cairo; and their perſon was ſeldom violated by the profane eyes of ſubjects or ſtrangers. The Latin ambaſſadors [41] have deſcribed their own introduction through a ſeries of gloomy paſſages, and glittering porticoes: the ſcene was enlivened by the warbling of birds and the murmur of fountains: it was enriched by a diſplay of rich furniture, and rare animals; of the Imperial treaſures, ſomething was ſhewn, and much was ſuppoſed; and the long order of unfolding doors was guarded by black ſoldiers and domeſtic eunuchs. The ſanctuary of the preſence chamber was veiled with a curtain; and the vizir, who conducted the ambaſſadors, laid aſide his ſcymetar, and proſtrated himſelf three times on the ground; the veil was then removed; and they beheld the commander of the faithful, who ſignified his pleaſure to the firſt ſlave of the throne. But this ſlave was his maſter: the vizirs or ſultans had uſurped the ſupreme adminiſtration of Egypt; the claims of the rival candidates were decided by arms; and the name of the moſt worthy, of the ſtrongeſt, was inſerted in the royal patent of command.

[41] From the ambaſſador, William of Tyre (l. xix. c. 17, 18.) deſcribes the palace of Cairo. In the caliphs treaſure were found a pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, a ruby weighing ſeventeen Egyptian drams, an emerald a palm and an half in length, and many vaſes of chryſtal and porcelain of China (Renaudot, p. 536.).

mand. The factions of Dargham and Shawer alternately expelled each other from the capital and country; and the weaker side implored the dangerous protection of the sultan of Damascus or the king of Jerusalem, the perpetual enemies of the sect and monarchy of the Fatimites. By his arms and religion, the Turk was most formidable; but the Frank, in an easy direct march, could advance from Gaza to the Nile; while the intermediate situation of his realm compelled the troops of Noureddin to wheel round the skirts of Arabia, a long and painful circuit, which exposed them to thirst, fatigue, and the burning winds of the desert. The secret zeal and ambition of the Turkish prince aspired to reign in Egypt under the name of the Abbassides; but the restoration of the suppliant Shawer was the ostensible motive of the first expedition; and the success was entrusted to the emir Shiracouh, a valiant and veteran commander. Dargham was oppressed and slain; but the ingratitude, the jealousy, the just apprehensions, of his more fortunate rival, soon provoked him to invite the king of Jerusalem to deliver Egypt from his insolent benefactors. To this union, the forces of Shiracouh were unequal; he relinquished the premature conquest; and the evacuation of Belbeis or Pelusium was the condition of his safe retreat. As the Turks defiled before the enemy, and their general closed the rear, with a vigilant eye, and a battle-axe in his hand, a Frank presumed to ask him if he were not afraid of an attack? "It is doubtless in "your power to begin the attack," replied the intrepid emir; "but "rest assured, that not one of my soldiers will go to paradise till "he has sent an infidel to hell." His report of the riches of the land, the effeminacy of the natives, and the disorders of the government, revived the hopes of Noureddin; the caliph of Bagdad applauded the pious design; and Shiracouh descended into Egypt a second time with twelve thousand Turks and eleven thousand Arabs. Yet his forces were still inferior to the confederate armies of the

Franks and Saracens; and I can difcern an unufual degree of military art, in his paffage of the Nile, his retreat into Thebais, his mafterly evolutions in the battle of Babain, the furprife of Alexandria, and his marches and counter-marches in the flats and valley of Egypt, from the tropic to the fea. His conduct was feconded by the courage of his troops, and on the eve of action a Mamaluke[42] exclaimed, "If we cannot wreft Egypt from the Chriftian "dogs, why do we not renounce the honours and rewards of the "fultan, and retire to labour with the peafants, or to fpin with the "females of the haram?" Yet, after all his efforts in the field[43], after the obftinate defence of Alexandria[44] by his nephew Saladin, an honourable capitulation and retreat concluded the fecond enterprife of Shiracouh; and Noureddin referved his abilities for a third and more propitious occafion. It was foon offered by the ambition and avarice of Amalric or Amaury, king of Jerufalem, who had imbibed the pernicious maxim, that no faith fhould be kept with the enemies of God. A religious warrior, the great mafter of the hofpital, encouraged him to proceed; the emperor of Conftantinople, either gave, or promifed, a fleet to act with the armies of Syria; and the perfidious Chriftian, unfatisfied with fpoil and fubfidy, afpired to the conqueft of Egypt. In this emergency, the Moflems turned their eyes towards the fultan of Damafcus; the vizir, whom danger encompaffed on all fides, yielded to their unanimous wifhes, and Noureddin feemed to be tempted by the fair offer of one third of the revenue of the kingdom. The Franks were already at the

[42] *Mamluc*, plur. *Mamalic*, is defined by Pocock (Prolegom. ad Abulpharag. p. 7.), and d'Herbelot (p. 545.), fervum emptitium, feu qui pretio numerato in domini poffeffionem cedit. They frequently occur in the wars of Saladin (Bohadin, p. 236, &c.); and it was only the *Bahartie* Mamalukes that were firft introduced into Egypt by his defcendants.

[43] Jacobus à Vitriaco (p. 1116.) gives the king of Jerufalem no more than 374 knights. Both the Franks and the Moflems report the fuperior numbers of the enemy; a difference which may be folved by counting or omitting the unwarlike Egyptians.

[44] It was the Alexandria of the Arabs, a middle term in extent and riches between the period of the Greeks and Romans, and that of the Turks (Savary, Lettres fur l'Egypte, tom. i. p. 25, 26.).

gates

gates of Cairo; but the suburbs, the old city, were burnt on their approach; they were deceived by an insidious negociation; and their vessels were unable to surmount the barriers of the Nile. They prudently declined a contest with the Turks, in the midst of an hostile country; and Amaury retired into Palestine, with the shame and reproach that always adhere to unsuccessful injustice. After this deliverance, Shiracouh was invested with a robe of honour, which he soon stained with the blood of the unfortunate Shawer. For a while, the Turkish emirs condescended to hold the office of vizir; but this foreign conquest precipitated the fall of the Fatimites themselves; and the bloodless change was accomplished by a message and a word. The caliphs had been degraded by their own weakness and the tyranny of the vizirs: their subjects blushed, when the descendant and successor of the prophet presented his naked hand to the rude gripe of a Latin ambassador; they wept when he sent the hair of his women, a sad emblem of their grief and terror, to excite the pity of the sultan of Damascus. By the command of Noureddin, and the sentence of the doctors, the holy names of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, were solemnly restored: the caliph Mosthadi, of Bagdad, was acknowledged in the public prayers as the true commander of the faithful; and the green livery of the sons of Ali was exchanged for the black colour of the Abbassides. The last of his race, the caliph Adhed, who survived only ten days, expired in happy ignorance of his fate: his treasures secured the loyalty of the soldiers and silenced the murmurs of the sectaries; and in all subsequent revolutions, Egypt has never departed from the orthodox tradition of the Moslems[45].

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End of the Fatimite caliphs, A.D. 1171.

45 For this great revolution of Egypt, see William of Tyre (l. xix. 5, 6, 7. 12—31. xx. 5—12.), Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin. p. 30—39.), Abulfeda (in Excerpt. Schultens, p. 1—12.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. *Adhed*, *Fathemah*, but very incorrect), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 522—525. 532—537.), Vertot (Hist. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. p. 141—163. in 4to), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 185—215.).

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Reign and character of Saladin, A.D. 1171—1193.

The hilly country beyond the Tigris is occupied by the paſtoral tribes of the Curds [46]: a people hardy, ſtrong, ſavage, impatient of the yoke, addicted to rapine, and tenacious of the government of their national chiefs. The reſemblance of name, ſituation, and manners, ſeem to identify them with the Carduchians of the Greeks [47]; and they ſtill defend againſt the Ottoman Porte the antique freedom which they aſſerted againſt the ſucceſſors of Cyrus. Poverty and ambition prompted them to embrace the profeſſion of mercenary ſoldiers: the ſervice of his father and uncle prepared the reign of the great Saladin [48]; and the ſon of Job or Ayub, a ſimple Curd, magnanimouſly ſmiled at his pedigree, which flattery deduced from the Arabian caliphs [49]. So unconſcious was Noureddin of the impending ruin of his houſe, that he conſtrained the reluctant youth to follow his uncle Shiracouh into Egypt: his military character was eſtabliſhed by the defence of Alexandria; and if we may believe the Latins, he ſolicited and obtained from the Chriſtian general the *profane* honours of knighthood [50]. On the death of Shiracouh, the office of grand vizir was beſtowed on Saladin, as the youngeſt and leaſt powerful of the emirs; but with the advice of his father, whom he invited to Cairo, his genius obtained the

[46] For the Curds, ſee de Guignes, tom. i. p. 416, 417. the Index Geographicus of Schultens, and Tavernier, Voyages, p. i. p. 308, 309. The Ayoubites deſcended from the tribe of the Rawadiæi, one of the nobleſt; but as *they* were infected with the hereſy of the Metempſychoſis, the orthodox ſultans inſinuated, that their deſcent was only on the mother's ſide, and that their anceſtor was a ſtranger who ſettled among the Curds.

[47] See the the iv[th] book of the Anabaſis of Xenophon. The ten thouſand ſuffered more from the arrows of the free Carduchians, than from the ſplendid weakneſs of the great king.

[48] We are indebted to the profeſſor Schultens (Lugd. Bat. 1755, in folio) for the richeſt and moſt authentic materials, a life of Saladin by his friend and miniſter the Cadhi Bohadin, and copious extracts from the hiſtory of his kinſman the prince Abulfeda of Hamah. To theſe we may add, the article of *Salaheddin* in the Bibliotheque Orientale, and all that may be gleaned from the Dynaſties of Abulpharagius.

[49] Since Abulfeda was himſelf an Ayoubite, he may ſhare the praiſe, for imitating, at leaſt tacitly, the modeſty of the founder.

[50] Hiſt. Hieroſol. in the Geſta Dei per Francos, p. 1152. A ſimilar example may be found in Joinville (p. 42. edition du Louvre); but the pious St. Louis refuſed to dignify infidels with the order of Chriſtian knighthood (Ducange, Obſervations, p. 70.).

aſcendant

aſcendant over his equals, and attached the army to his perſon and intereſt. While Noureddin lived, theſe ambitious Curds were the moſt humble of his ſlaves; and the indiſcreet murmurs of the divan were ſilenced by the prudent Ayub, who loudly proteſted that at the command of the ſultan he himſelf would lead his ſon in chains to the foot of the throne. "Such language," he added in private, "was prudent and proper in an aſſembly of your rivals; but we "are now above fear and obedience; and the threats of Noureddin "ſhall not extort the tribute of a ſugar-cane." His ſeaſonable death relieved them from the odious and doubtful conflict: his ſon, a minor of eleven years of age, was left for a while to the emirs of Damaſcus; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title [51] that could ſanctify his uſurpation in the eyes of the people. Nor was Saladin long content with the poſſeſſion of Egypt; he deſpoiled the Chriſtians of Jeruſalem, and the Atabeks of Damaſcus, Aleppo, and Diarbekir: Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector: his brother ſubdued the diſtant regions of Yemen, or the happy Arabia; and at the hour of his death, his empire was ſpread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian ocean to the mountains of Armenia. In the judgment of his character, the reproaches of treaſon and ingratitude ſtrike forcibly on *our* minds, impreſſed, as they are, with the principle and experience of law and loyalty. But his ambition may in ſome meaſure be excuſed by the revolutions of Aſia [52], which had eraſed every notion of legitimate ſucceſſion; by the recent example of the Atabeks themſelves; by his reverence to the ſon of his benefactor, his humane and generous behaviour to the collateral

[51] In theſe Arabic titles, *religionis* muſt always be underſtood; *Noureddin*, lumen r.; *Ezzodin*, decus; *Amadoddin*, columen: our hero's proper name was Joſeph, and he was ſtyled *Salahoddin*, ſalus; *Al Malichus*, *Al Naſirus*, rex defenſor; *Abu Modaffir*, pater victoriæ. Schultens, Præfat.

[52] Abulfeda, who deſcended from a brother of Saladin, obſerves from many examples, that the founders of dynaſties took the guilt for themſelves, and left the reward to their innocent collaterals (Excerpt. p. 10.).

branches;

CHAP. LIX. branches; by *their* incapacity and *his* merit; by the approbation of the caliph, the ſole ſource of all legitimate power; and, above all, by the wiſhes and intereſt of the people, whoſe happineſs is the firſt object of government. In *his* virtues, and in thoſe of his patron, they admired the ſingular union of the hero and the ſaint; for both Noureddin and Saladin are ranked among the Mahometan ſaints; and the conſtant meditation of the holy war appears to have ſhed a ſerious and ſober colour over their lives and actions. The youth of the latter[53] was addicted to wine and women; but his aſpiring ſpirit ſoon renounced the temptations of pleaſure, for the graver follies of fame and dominion: the garment of Saladin was a coarſe woollen; water was his only drink; and, while he emulated the temperance, he ſurpaſſed the chaſtity, of his Arabian prophet. Both in faith and practice he was a rigid Muſulman; he ever deplored that the defence of religion had not allowed him to accompliſh the pilgrimage of Mecca; but at the ſtated hours, five times each day, the ſultan devoutly prayed with his brethren: the involuntary omiſſion of faſting was ſcrupulouſly repaid; and his peruſal of the Koran, on horſeback between the approaching armies, may be quoted as a proof, however oſtentatious, of piety and courage[54]. The ſuperſtitious doctrine of the ſect of Shafei was the only ſtudy that he deigned to encourage: the poets were ſafe in his contempt; but all profane ſcience was the object of his averſion; and a philoſopher, who had vented ſome ſpeculative novelties, was ſeized and ſtrangled by the command of the royal ſaint. The juſtice of his divan was acceſſible to the meaneſt ſuppliant againſt himſelf and his miniſters; and it was only for a kingdom that Saladin would deviate from the rule of equity. While the deſcendants of Seljuk and Zenghi held his ſtirrup and ſmoothed his garments, he was affable and patient with the meaneſt of his ſervants. So boundleſs was his libe-

[53] See his life and character in Renaudot, p. 537—548.

[54] His civil and religious virtues are celebrated in the firſt chapter of Bohadin (p. 4—30.), himſelf an eye-witneſs, and an honeſt bigot.

 rality,

rality, that he distributed twelve thousand horses at the siege of Acre; and, at the time of his death, no more than forty-seven drams of silver and one piece of gold coin were found in the treasury; yet in a martial reign, the tributes were diminished, and the wealthy citizens enjoyed without fear or danger the fruits of their industry. Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were adorned by the royal foundations of hospitals, colleges, and moschs; and Cairo was fortified with a wall and citadel; but his works were consecrated to public use [55], nor did the sultan indulge himself in a garden or palace of private luxury. In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic, the genuine virtues of Saladin commanded the esteem of the Christians: the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendship [56]: the Greek emperor solicited his alliance [57]; and the conquest of Jerusalem diffused, and perhaps magnified, his fame both in the East and West.

His conquest of the kingdom, A. D. 1187, July 3.

During its short existence, the kingdom of Jerusalem [58] was supported by the discord of the Turks and Saracens; and both the Fatimite caliphs and the sultans of Damascus were tempted to sacrifice the cause of their religion to the meaner considerations of private and present advantage. But the powers of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were now united by an hero, whom nature and fortune had armed against the Christians. All without, now bore the most threatening aspect; and all was feeble and hollow in the internal state of Jerusalem. After the two first Baldwins, the brother and cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the sceptre devolved by female succession to Melisenda, daughter of the second Baldwin, and her husband Fulk, count of Anjou, the father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets. Their two sons, Baldwin the third and Amaury,

[55] In many works, particularly Joseph's well in the castle of Cairo, the sultan and the patriarch have been confounded by the ignorance of natives and travellers.

[56] Anonym. Canisii, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 504.

[57] Bohadin, p. 129, 130.

[58] For the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, see William of Tyre, from the ix[th] to the xxii[d] book. Jacob. à Vitriaco, Hist. Hierosolem. l. i. and Sanutus, Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. iii. p. vi, vii, viii, ix.

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waged a ſtrenuous, and not unſucceſsful, war againſt the infidels; but the ſon of Amaury, Baldwin the fourth, was deprived, by the leproſy, a gift of the cruſades, of the faculties both of mind and body. His ſiſter Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin the fifth, was his natural heireſs: after the ſuſpicious death of her child, ſhe crowned her ſecond huſband, Guy of Luſignan, a prince of a handſome perſon, but of ſuch baſe renown, that his own brother Jeffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, ſurely they "would have made *me* a god!" The choice was generally blamed; and the moſt powerful vaſſal, Raymond count of Tripoli, who had been excluded from the ſucceſſion and regency, entertained an implacable hatred againſt the king, and expoſed his honour and conſcience to the temptations of the ſultan. Such were the guardians of the holy city; a leper, a child, a woman, a coward, and a traitor: yet its fate was delayed twelve years by ſome ſupplies from Europe, by the valour of the military orders, and by the diſtant or domeſtic avocations of their great enemy. At length, on every ſide the ſinking ſtate was encircled and preſſed by an hoſtile line; and the truce was violated by the Franks, whoſe exiſtence it protected. A ſoldier of fortune, Reginald of Chatillon, had ſeized a fortreſs on the edge of the deſert, from whence he pillaged the caravans, inſulted Mahomet, and threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina. Saladin condeſcended to complain; rejoiced in the denial of juſtice; and at the head of fourſcore thouſand horſe and foot, invaded the Holy Land. The choice of Tiberias for his firſt ſiege was ſuggeſted by the count of Tripoli, to whom it belonged; and the king of Jeruſalem was perſuaded to drain his garriſons, and to arm his people, for the relief of that important place[59]. By the advice of the perfidious Raymond,

[59] Templarii ut apes bombabant et Hoſpitalarii ut venti ſtridebant, et barones ſe exitio offerebant, et Turcopuli (the Chriſtian light troops) ſemet ipſi in ignem injiciebant (Iſpahani de Expugnatione Kudſiticâ, p. 18. apud Schultens); a ſpecimen of Arabian eloquence, ſomewhat different from the ſtyle of Xenophon!

mond, the Chriftians were betrayed into a camp deftitute of water: he fled on the firft onfet with the curfes of both nations [60]: Lufignan was overthrown with the lofs of thirty thoufand men; and the wood of the true crofs, a dire misfortune! was left in the power of the infidels. The royal captive was conducted to the tent of Saladin; and as he fainted with thirft and terror, the generous victor prefented him with a cup of fherbet cooled in fnow, without fuffering his companion, Reginald of Chatillon, to partake of this pledge of hofpitality and pardon. "The perfon and dignity of a king," faid the fultan, "are facred; but this impious robber muft inftantly acknowledge "the prophet, whom he has blafphemed, or meet the death which "he has fo often deferved." On the proud or confcientious refufal of the Chriftian warrior, Saladin ftruck him on the head with his fcymetar, and Reginald was difpatched by the guards [61]. The trembling Lufignan was fent to Damafcus to an honourable prifon and fpeedy ranfom; but the victory was ftained by the execution of two hundred and thirty knights of the hofpital, the intrepid champions and martyrs of their faith. The kingdom was left without a head; and of the two grand mafters of the military orders, the one was flain and the other was a prifoner. From all the cities, both of the fea-coaft and the inland country, the garrifons had been drawn away for this fatal field: Tyre and Tripoli alone could efcape the rapid inroad of Saladin; and three months after the battle of Tiberias he appeared in arms before the gates of Jerufalem [62].

[60] The Latins affirm, the Arabians infinuate, the treafon of Raymond; but had he really embraced their religion, he would have been a faint and a hero in the eyes of the latter.

[61] Renaud, Reginald, or Arnold de Chatillon, is celebrated by the Latins in his life and death; but the circumftances of the latter are more diftinctly related by Bohadin and Abulfeda; and Joinville (Hift. de St. Louis, p. 70.) alludes to the practice of Saladin, of never putting to death a prifoner who had tafted his bread and falt. Some of the companions of Arnold had been flaughtered, and almoft facrificed, in a valley of Mecca, ubi facrificia mactantur (Abulfeda, p. 32.).

[62] Vertot, who well defcribes the lofs of the kingdom and city (Hift. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. l. ii. p. 226—278.), inferts two original epiftles of a knight templar.

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and city of Jerufalem, A. D. 1187, October 2.

He might expect, that the fiege of a city, fo venerable on earth and in heaven, fo interefting to Europe and Afia, would rekindle the laft fparks of enthufiafm; and that, of fixty thoufand Chriftians, every man would be a foldier, and every foldier a candidate for martyrdom. But queen Sybilla trembled for herfelf and her captive hufband; and the barons and knights, who had efcaped from the fword and chains of the Turks, difplayed the fame factious and felfifh fpirit in the public ruin. The moft numerous portion of the inhabitants was compofed of the Greek and Oriental Chriftians, whom experience had taught to prefer the Mahometan before the Latin yoke [63]; and the holy fepulchre attracted a bafe and needy crowd, without arms or courage, who fubfifted only on the charity of the pilgrims. Some feeble and hafty efforts were made for the defence of Jerufalem; but in the fpace of fourteen days, a victorious army drove back the fallies of the befieged, planted their engines, opened the wall to the breadth of fifteen cubits, applied their fcaling-ladders, and erected on the breach twelve banners of the prophet and the fultan. It was in vain that a bare-foot proceffion of the queen, the women, and the monks, implored the Son of God to fave his tomb and his inheritance from impious violation. Their fole hope was in the mercy of the conqueror, and to the firft fuppliant deputation that mercy was fternly denied. "He had fworn to "avenge the patience and long-fuffering of the Moflems; the hour "of forgivenefs was elapfed, and the moment was now arrived to "expiate in blood, the innocent blood, which had been fpilt by God-"frey and the firft crufaders." But a defperate and fuccefsful ftruggle of the Franks admonifhed the fultan that his triumph was not yet fecure; he liftened with reverence to a folemn adjuration in the name of the common father of mankind; and a fentiment of human fympathy mollified the rigour of fanaticifm and conqueft. He confented to accept the city, and to fpare the inhabitants. The

[63] Renaudot, Hift. Patriarch. Alex. p. 545.

Greek

Greek and Oriental Chriſtians were permitted to live under his dominion; but it was ſtipulated, that in forty days all the Franks and Latins ſhould evacuate Jeruſalem, and be ſafely conducted to the ſea-ports of Syria and Egypt; that ten pieces of gold ſhould be paid for each man, five for each woman, and one for every child; and that thoſe who were unable to purchaſe their freedom ſhould be detained in perpetual ſlavery. Of ſome writers it is a favourite and invidious theme to compare the humanity of Saladin with the maſſacre of the firſt cruſade. The difference would be merely perſonal; but we ſhould not forget that the Chriſtians had offered to capitulate, and that the Mahometans of Jeruſalem ſuſtained the laſt extremities of an aſſault and ſtorm. Juſtice is indeed due to the fidelity with which the Turkiſh conqueror fulfilled the conditions of the treaty; and he may be deſervedly praiſed for the glance of pity which he caſt on the miſery of the vanquiſhed. Inſtead of a rigorous exaction of his debt, he accepted a ſum of thirty thouſand byzants, for the ranſom of ſeven thouſand poor; two or three thouſand more were diſmiſſed by his gratuitous clemency; and the number of ſlaves was reduced to eleven or fourteen thouſand perſons. In his interview with the queen, his words, and even his tears, ſuggeſted the kindeſt conſolations; his liberal alms were diſtributed among thoſe who had been made orphans or widows by the fortune of war; and while the knights of the hoſpital were in arms againſt him, he allowed their more pious brethren to continue, during the term of a year, the care and ſervice of the ſick. In theſe acts of mercy the virtue of Saladin deſerves our admiration and love: he was above the neceſſity of diſſimulation, and his ſtern fanaticiſm would have prompted him to diſſemble, rather than to affect, this profane compaſſion for the enemies of the Koran. After Jeruſalem had been delivered from the preſence of the ſtrangers, the ſultan made his triumphant entry, his banners waving in the wind and to the harmony of martial muſic. The great moſch of Omar, which had been converted into

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a church, was again consecrated to one God and his prophet Mahomet; the walls and pavement were purified with rose water; and a pulpit, the labour of Noureddin, was erected in the sanctuary. But when the golden cross that glittered on the dome was cast down, and dragged through the streets, the Christians of every sect uttered a lamentable groan, which was answered by the joyful shouts of the Moslems. In four ivory chests the patriarch had collected the crosses, the images, the vases, and the relics, of the holy place: they were seized by the conqueror, who was desirous of presenting the caliph with the trophies of Christian idolatry. He was persuaded however to entrust them to the patriarch and prince of Antioch; and the pious pledge was redeemed by Richard of England, at the expence of fifty-two thousand byzants of gold[64].

The third crusade, by sea, A.D. 1188.

The nations might fear and hope the immediate and final expulsion of the Latins from Syria; which was yet delayed above a century after the death of Saladin[65]. In the career of victory, he was first checked by the resistance of Tyre; the troops and garrisons, which had capitulated, were imprudently conducted to the same port: their numbers were adequate to the defence of the place; and the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat inspired the disorderly crowd with confidence and union. His father, a venerable pilgrim, had been made prisoner in the battle of Tiberias; but that disaster was unknown in Italy and Greece, when the son was urged by ambition and piety to visit the inheritance of his royal nephew, the infant Baldwin. The view of the Turkish banners warned him from the hostile coast of Jaffa; and Conrad was unanimously hailed as the prince and champion of Tyre, which was already besieged by the conqueror of Jerusalem. The firmness of his zeal, and perhaps

[64] For the conquest of Jerusalem, Bohadin (p. 67—75.) and Abulfeda (p. 40—43.) are our Moslem witnesses. Of the Christian, Bernard Thesaurarius (c. 151—167.) is the most copious and authentic; see likewise Matthew Paris (p. 120—124.).

[65] The sieges of Tyre and Acre are most copiously described by Bernard Thesaurarius (de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ, c. 167—179.), the author of the Historia Hierosolymitana (p. 1150—1172. in Bongarsius), Abulfeda (p. 43—50.), and Bohadin (p. 75—179.).

his knowledge of a generous foe, enabled him to brave the threats of the ſultan, and to declare, that ſhould his aged parent be expoſed before the walls, he himſelf would diſcharge the firſt arrow, and glory in his deſcent from a Chriſtian martyr [66]. The Egyptian fleet was allowed to enter the harbour of Tyre; but the chain was ſuddenly drawn, and five gallies were either ſunk or taken: a thouſand Turks were ſlain in a ſally; and Saladin, after burning his engines, concluded a glorious campaign by a diſgraceful retreat to Damaſcus. He was ſoon aſſailed by a more formidable tempeſt. The pathetic narratives, and even the pictures, that repreſented in lively colours the ſervitude and profanation of Jeruſalem, awakened the torpid ſenſibility of Europe: the emperor, Frederic Barbaroſſa, and the kings of France and England, aſſumed the croſs; and the tardy magnitude of their armaments was anticipated by the maritime ſtates of the Mediterranean and the Ocean. The ſkilful and provident Italians firſt embarked in the ſhips of Genoa, Piſa, and Venice. They were ſpeedily followed by the moſt eager pilgrims of France, Normandy, and the Weſtern Iſles. The powerful ſuccour of Flanders, Friſe, and Denmark, filled near an hundred veſſels; and the northern warriors were diſtinguiſhed in the field by a lofty ſtature and a ponderous battle-axe [67]. Their encreaſing multitudes could no longer be confined within the walls of Tyre, or remain obedient to the voice of Conrad. They pitied the misfortunes, and revered the dignity, of Luſignan, who was releaſed from priſon, perhaps, to divide the army of the Franks. He propoſed the recovery of Ptolemais, or Acre, thirty miles to the ſouth of Tyre; and the place was firſt inveſted by two thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot under his nominal command. I ſhall not expatiate on the ſtory of

[66] I have followed a moderate and probable repreſentation of the fact: by Vertot, who adopts without reluctance a romantic tale, the old marquis is actually expoſed to the darts of the beſieged.

[67] Northmanni et Gothi, et cæteri populi inſularum quæ inter occidentem et ſeptemtrionem ſitæ ſunt, gentes bellicoſæ, corporis proceri, mortis intrepidæ, bipennibus armatæ, navibus rotundis quæ Yſnachiæ dicuntur advectæ.

this

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Siege of Acre, A. D. 1189, July— A. D. 1191, July.

this memorable ſiege; which laſted near two years, and conſumed, in a narrow ſpace, the forces of Europe and Aſia. Never did the flame of enthuſiaſm burn with fiercer and more deſtructive rage; nor could the true believers, a common appellation, who conſecrated their own martyrs, refuſe ſome applauſe to the miſtaken zeal and courage of their adverſaries. At the ſound of the holy trumpet, the Moſlems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces, aſſembled under the ſervant of the prophet[68]: his camp was pitched and removed within a few miles of Acre; and he laboured, night and day, for the relief of his brethren and the annoyance of the Franks. Nine battles, not unworthy of the name, were fought in the neighbourhood, of mount Carmel, with ſuch viciſſitude of fortune, that in one attack, the ſultan forced his way into the city; that in one ſally, the Chriſtians penetrated to the royal tent. By the means of divers and pigeons, a regular correſpondence was maintained with the beſieged: and, as often as the ſea was left open, the exhauſted garriſon was withdrawn, and a freſh ſupply was poured into the place. The Latin camp was thinned by famine, the ſword, and the climate; but the tents of the dead were repleniſhed with new pilgrims, who exaggerated the ſtrength and ſpeed of their approaching countrymen. The vulgar was aſtoniſhed by the report, that the pope himſelf, with an innumerable cruſade, was advanced as far as Conſtantinople. The march of the emperor filled the Eaſt with more ſerious alarms; the obſtacles which he encountered in Aſia, and perhaps in Greece, were raiſed by the policy of Saladin; his joy on the death of Barbaroſſa was meaſured by his eſteem; and the Chriſtians were rather diſmayed than encouraged at the ſight of the duke of Swabia and his way-worn remnant of five thouſand Germans. At length, in the ſpring of the ſecond year, the royal

[68] The hiſtorian of Jeruſalem (p. 1108.) adds the nations of the Eaſt from the Tigris to India, and the ſwarthy tribes of Moors and Getulians, ſo that Aſia and Africa fought againſt Europe.

fleets

fleets of France and England caſt anchor in the bay of Acre, and the ſiege was more vigorouſly proſecuted by the youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip Auguſtus and Richard Plantagenet. After every reſource had been tried, and every hope was exhauſted, the defenders of Acre ſubmitted to their fate; a capitulation was granted, but their lives and liberties were taxed at the hard conditions of a ranſom of two hundred thouſand pieces of gold, the deliverance of one hundred nobles and fifteen hundred inferior captives, and the reſtoration of the wood of the holy croſs. Some doubts in the agreement, and ſome delay in the execution, rekindled the fury of the Franks, and three thouſand Moſlems, almoſt in the ſultan's view, were beheaded by the command of the ſanguinary Richard [69]. By the conqueſt of Acre, the Latin powers acquired a ſtrong town and a convenient harbour; but the advantage was moſt dearly purchaſed. The miniſter and hiſtorian of Saladin computes, from the report of the enemy, that their numbers, at different periods, amounted to five or ſix hundred thouſand; that more than one hundred thouſand Chriſtians were ſlain; that a far greater number was loſt by diſeaſe or ſhipwreck; and that a ſmall portion of this mighty hoſt could return in ſafety to their native countries [70].

Richard of England, in Paleſtine, A.D. 1191, 1192.

Philip Auguſtus, and Richard the firſt, are the only kings of France and England, who have fought under the ſame banners; but the holy ſervice, in which they were enliſted, was inceſſantly diſturbed by their national jealouſy; and the two factions, which they protected in Paleſtine, were more averſe to each other than to the

[69] Bohadin, p. 180.; and this maſſacre is neither denied nor blamed by the Chriſtian hiſtorians. Alacriter juſſa complentes (the Engliſh ſoldiers), ſays Galfridus à Vineſauf (l. iv. c. 4. p. 346.), who fixes at 2700 the number of victims; who are multiplied to 5000 by Roger Hoveden (p. 697, 698.). The humanity or avarice of Philip Auguſtus was perſuaded to ranſom his priſoners (Jacob. à Vitriaco, l. i. c. 98. p. 1122.).

[70] Bohadin, p. 14. He quotes the judgment of Balianus, and the prince of Sidon, and adds, ex illo mundo quaſi hominum pauciſſimi redierunt. Among the Chriſtians who died before St. John d'Acre, I find the Engliſh names of de Ferrers earl of Derby (Dugdale, Baronage, part i. p. 260.), Mowbray (idem, p. 124.), de Mandevil, de Fiennes, St. John, Scrope, Pigot, Talbot, &c.

common

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common enemy. In the eyes of the Orientals, the French monarch was ſuperior in dignity and power; and in the emperor's abſence, the Latins revered him as their temporal chief[71]. His exploits were not adequate to his fame. Philip was brave, but the ſtateſman predominated in his character; he was ſoon weary of ſacrificing his health and intereſt on a barren coaſt; the ſurrender of Acre became the ſignal of his departure; nor could he juſtify this unpopular deſertion, by leaving the duke of Burgundy, with five hundred knights and ten thouſand foot, for the ſervice of the Holy Land. The king of England, though inferior in dignity, ſurpaſſed his rival in wealth and military renown[72]; and if heroiſm be confined to brutal and ferocious valour, Richard Plantagenet will ſtand high among the heroes of the age. The memory of *Cœur de Lion*, of the lion-hearted prince, was long dear and glorious to his Engliſh ſubjects; and, at the diſtance of ſixty years, it was celebrated in proverbial ſayings by the grandſons of the Turks and Saracens, againſt whom he had fought: his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to ſilence their infants; and if an horſe ſuddenly ſtarted from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Doſt thou think king Richard is in that "buſh[73]?" His cruelty to the Mahometans was the effect of temper and zeal; but I cannot believe that a ſoldier, ſo free and fearleſs in the uſe of his lance, would have deſcended to whet a dagger againſt his valiant brother Conrad of Montferrat, who was ſlain at Tyre by ſome ſecret aſſaſſins[74]. After the ſurrender of Acre, and the depar-

[71] Magnus hic apud eos, interque reges eorum tum virtute, tum majeſtate eminens.... ſummus rerum arbiter (Bohadin, p. 159.). He does not ſeem to have known the names either of Philip or Richard.

[72] Rex Angliæ, præſtrenuus....rege Gallorum minor apud eos cenſebatur ratione regni atque dignitatis; ſed tum divitiis florentior, tum bellicâ virtute multo erat celebrior (Bohadin, p. 161.). A ſtranger might admire thoſe riches; the national hiſtorians will tell with what lawleſs and waſteful oppreſſion they were collected.

[73] Joinville, p. 17. Cuides-tu que ce ſoit le roi Richart?

[74] Yet he was guilty in the opinion of the Moſlems, who atteſt the confeſſion of the aſſaſſins, that they were ſent by the king of England (Bohadin, p. 225.); and his only defence is an abſurd and palpable forgery (Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvi. p. 155—163.), a pretended letter from the prince of the aſſaſſins, the Sheich, or old man of the mountain, who juſtified Richard, by aſſuming to himſelf the guilt or merit of the murder.

ture

ture of Philip, the king of England led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea-coast; and the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan. A march of one hundred miles from Acre to Ascalon, was a great and perpetual battle of eleven days. In the disorder of his troops, Saladin remained on the field with seventeen guards, without lowering his standard, or suspending the sound of his brazen kettle-drum: he again rallied and renewed the charge; and his preachers or heralds called aloud on the *unitarians*, manfully to stand up against the Christian idolaters. But the progress of these idolaters was irresistible: and it was only by demolishing the walls and buildings of Ascalon, that the sultan could prevent them from occupying an important fortress on the confines of Egypt. During a severe winter, the armies slept; but in the spring, the Franks advanced within a day's march of Jerusalem, under the leading standard of the English king; and his active spirit intercepted a convoy, or caravan, of seven thousand camels. Saladin[75] had fixed his station in the holy city; but the city was struck with consternation and discord: he fasted; he prayed; he preached; he offered to share the dangers of the siege; but his Mamalukes, who remembered the fate of their companions at Acre, pressed the sultan with loyal or seditious clamours, to reserve *his* person and *their* courage for the future defence of the religion and empire[76]. The Moslems were delivered by the sudden, or, as they deemed, the miraculous, retreat of the Christians[77]; and the laurels of Richard were blasted by the prudence, or envy, of his compa-

75 See the distress and pious firmness of Saladin, as they are described by Bohadin (p. 7—9. 235—237.), who himself harangued the defenders of Jerusalem; their fears were not unknown to the enemy (Jacob. à Vitriaco, l. i. c. 100. p. 1123. Vinisauf, l. v. c. 50. p. 399.).

76 Yet unless the sultan, or an Ayoubite prince, remained in Jerusalem, nec Curdi, Turcis, nec Turci essent obtemperaturi Curdis (Bohadin, p. 236.). He draws aside a corner of the political curtain.

77 Bohadin (p. 237.) and even Jeffrey de Vinisauf (l. vi. c. 1—8. p. 403—409.) ascribe the retreat to Richard himself; and Jacobus à Vitriaco observes, that in his impatience to depart, in alterum virum mutatus est (p. 1123.). Yet Joinville, a French knight, accuses the envy of Hugh duke of Burgundy (p. 116.), without supposing, like Matthew Paris, that he was bribed by Saladin.

nions.

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nions. The hero, aſcending an hill, and veiling his face, exclaimed with an indignant voice, " Thoſe who are unwilling to reſcue, are " unworthy to view, the ſepulchre of Chriſt!" After his return to Acre, on the news that Jaffa was ſurpriſed by the ſultan, he ſailed with ſome merchant veſſels, and leaped foremoſt on the beach; the caſtle was relieved by his preſence; and ſixty thouſand Turks and Saracens fled before his arms. The diſcovery of his weakneſs provoked them to return in the morning; and they found him careleſsly encamped before the gates with only ſeventeen knights and three hundred archers. Without counting their numbers, he ſuſtained their charge; and we learn from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, graſping his lance, rode furiouſly along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adverſary who dared to encounter his career [78]. Am I writing the hiſtory of Orlando or Amadis?

His treaty and departure, A.D. 1192, September.

During theſe hoſtilities, a languid and tedious negociation [79] between the Franks and Moſlems, was ſtarted, and continued, and broken, and again reſumed, and again broken. Some acts of royal courteſy, the gift of ſnow and fruit, the exchange of Norway hawks and Arabian horſes, ſoftened the aſperity of religious war: from the viciſſitude of ſucceſs, the monarchs might learn to ſuſpect that Heaven was neuter in the quarrel; nor, after the trial of each other, could either hope for a deciſive victory [80]. The health both of Richard and Saladin appeared to be in a declining ſtate; and they

[78] The expeditions to Aſcalon, Jeruſalem, and Jaffa, are related by Bohadin (p. 184—249.) and Abulfeda (p. 51, 52.). The author of the Itinerary, or the monk of St. Alban's, cannot exaggerate the Cadhi's account of the proweſs of Richard (Viniſauf, l. vi. c. 14—24. p. 412—421. Hiſt. Major, p. 137—143.); and on the whole of this war, there is a marvellous agreement between the Chriſtian and Mahometan writers, who mutually praiſe the virtues of their enemies.

[79] See the progreſs of negociation and hoſtility in Bohadin (p. 207—260.), who was himſelf an actor in the treaty. Richard declared his intention of returning with new armies to the conqueſt of the Holy Land; and Saladin anſwered the menace with a civil compliment (Viniſauf, l. vi. c. 28. p. 423.).

[80] The moſt copious and original account of this holy war, is Galfridi à Viniſauf Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi et aliorum in Terram Hieroſolymorum, in ſix books, publiſhed in the ii[d] volume of Gale's Scriptores Hiſt. Anglicanæ (p. 247—429.). Roger Hoveden and Matthew Paris afford likewiſe many valuable materials; and the former deſcribes, with accuracy, the diſcipline and navigation of the Engliſh fleet.

reſpectively

reſpectively ſuffered the evils of diſtant and domeſtic warfare: Plantagenet was impatient to puniſh a perfidious rival who had invaded Normandy in his abſence; and the indefatigable ſultan was ſubdued by the cries of the people, who was the victim, and of the ſoldiers, who were the inſtruments, of his martial zeal. The firſt demands of the king of England were the reſtitution of Jeruſalem, Paleſtine, and the true croſs; and he firmly declared, that himſelf and his brother pilgrims would end their lives in the pious labour, rather than return to Europe with ignominy and remorſe. But the conſcience of Saladin refuſed, without ſome weighty compenſation, to reſtore the idols, or promote the idolatry, of the Chriſtians: he aſſerted, with equal firmneſs, his religious and civil claim to the ſovereignty of Paleſtine; deſcanted on the importance and ſanctity of Jeruſalem; and rejected all terms of the eſtabliſhment, or partition, of the Latins. The marriage which Richard propoſed, of his ſiſter with the ſultan's brother, was defeated by the difference of faith: the princeſs abhorred the embraces of a Turk; and Adel, or Saphadin, would not eaſily renounce a plurality of wives. A perſonal interview was declined by Saladin, who alleged their mutual ignorance of each other's language; and the negociation was managed with much art and delay by their interpreters and envoys. The final agreement was equally diſapproved by the zealots of both parties, by the Roman pontiff and the caliph of Bagdad. It was ſtipulated that Jeruſalem and the holy ſepulchre ſhould be open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrimage of the Latin Chriſtians; that, after the demolition of Aſcalon, they ſhould incluſively poſſeſs the ſea-coaſt from Jaffa to Tyre; that the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch ſhould be compriſed in the truce; and that, during three years and three months, all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe. The principal chiefs of the two armies ſwore to the obſervance of the treaty; but the monarchs were ſatisfied with giving their word and their right-hand; and the royal majeſty was excuſed from an oath, which always implies ſome ſuſpicion of falſehood and diſhonour.

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Death of Saladin, A. D. 1193, March 4.

nour. Richard embarked for Europe to ſeek a long captivity and a premature grave; and the ſpace of a few months concluded the life and glories of Saladin. The Orientals deſcribe his edifying death, which happened at Damaſcus; but they ſeem ignorant of the equal diſtribution of his alms among the three religions [81], or of the diſplay of a ſhroud, inſtead of a ſtandard, to admoniſh the Eaſt of the inſtability of human greatneſs. The unity of empire was diſſolved by his death; his ſons were oppreſſed by the ſtronger arm of their uncle Saphadin; the hoſtile intereſts of the ſultans of Egypt, Damaſcus, and Aleppo [82], were again revived; and the Franks or Latins ſtood, and breathed, and hoped, in their fortreſſes along the Syrian coaſt.

Innocent III. A. D. 1198—1216.

The nobleſt monument of a conqueror's fame, and of the terror which he inſpired, is the Saladine tenth, a general tax, which was impoſed on the laity, and even the clergy, of the Latin church for the ſervice of the holy war. The practice was too lucrative to expire with the occaſion; and this tribute became the foundation of all the tithes and tenths on eccleſiaſtical benefices, which have been granted by the Roman pontiffs to Catholic ſovereigns, or reſerved for the immediate uſe of the apoſtolic ſee [83]. This pecuniary emolument muſt have tended to encreaſe the intereſt of the popes in the recovery of Paleſtine; after the death of Saladin they preached the cruſade, by their epiſtles, their legates, and their miſſionaries; and the accompliſhment of the pious work might have been expected from the zeal and talents of Innocent the third [84]. Under that

[81] Even Vertot (tom. i. p. 251.) adopts the fooliſh notion of the indifference of Saladin, who profeſſed the Koran with his laſt breath.

[82] See the ſucceſſion of the Ayoubites, in Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 277, &c.), and the tables of M. de Guignes, l'Art de Verifier les Dates, and the Bibliotheque Orientale.

[83] Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. iii. p. 311—374.) has copiouſly treated of the origin, abuſes, and reſtrictions of theſe *tenths*. A theory was ſtarted, but not purſued, that they were rightfully due to the pope, a tenth of the Levites' tenth to the high prieſt (Selden on Tithes; ſee his Works, vol. iii. p. ii. p. 1083.).

[84] See the Geſta Innocentii III. in Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. (tom. iii. p. i. p. 486—568.).

young and ambitious prieſt, the ſucceſſors of St. Peter attained the full meridian of their greatneſs; and in a reign of eighteen years, he exerciſed a deſpotic command over the emperors and kings, whom he raiſed and depoſed; over the nations, whom an interdict of months or years deprived, for the offence of their rulers, of the exerciſe of Chriſtian worſhip. In the council of the Lateran he acted as the eccleſiaſtical, almoſt as the temporal, ſovereign of the Eaſt and Weſt. It was at the feet of his legate that John of England ſurrendered his crown; and Innocent may boaſt of the two moſt ſignal triumphs over ſenſe and humanity, the eſtabliſhment of tranſubſtantiation, and the origin of the inquiſition. At his voice, two cruſades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken; but, except a king of Hungary, the princes of the ſecond order were at the head of the pilgrims; the forces were inadequate to the deſign; nor did the effects correſpond with the hopes and wiſhes of the pope and the people. The fourth cruſade was diverted from Syria to Conſtantinople; and the conqueſt of the Greek or Roman empire by the Latins will form the proper and important ſubject of the next chapter. In the fifth [85], two hundred thouſand Franks were landed at the eaſtern mouth of the Nile. They reaſonably hoped that Paleſtine muſt be ſubdued in Egypt, the ſeat and ſtorehouſe of the ſultan; and, after a ſiege of ſixteen months, the Moſlems deplored the loſs of Damietta. But the Chriſtian army was ruined by the pride and inſolence of the legate Pelagius, who, in the pope's name, aſſumed the character of general: the ſickly Franks were encompaſſed by the waters of the Nile and the Oriental forces; and it was by the evacuation of Damietta that they obtained a ſafe retreat, ſome conceſſions for the pilgrims, and the tardy reſtitution of the doubtful

The fourth cruſade, A.D. 1203.

The fifth, A.D. 1218.

[85] See the vth cruſade, and the ſiege of Damietta, in Jacobus à Vitriaco (l. iii. p. 1125—1149. in the Geſta Dei of Bongarſius), an eye-witneſs, Bernard Theſaurarius (in Script. Muratori, tom. vii. p. 825—846. c. 190—207.), a contemporary, and Sanutus (Secreta Fidel. Crucis, l. iii. p. xi. c. 4—9.), a diligent compiler; and of the Arabians, Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 294.), and the Extracts at the end of Joinville (p. 533. 537. 540. 547, &c.).

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relic of the true crofs. The failure may in fome meafure be afcribed to the abufe and multiplication of the crufades, which were preached at the fame time againft the Pagans of Livonia, the Moors of Spain, the Albigeois of France, and the kings of Sicily, of the Imperial family [86]. In thefe meritorious fervices, the volunteers might acquire at home the fame fpiritual indulgence, and a larger meafure of temporal rewards; and even the popes, in their zeal againft a domeftic enemy, were fometimes tempted to forget the diftrefs of their Syrian brethren. From the laft age of the crufades they derived the occafional command of an army and revenue; and fome deep reafoners have fufpected that the whole enterprife, from the firft fynod of Placentia, was contrived and executed by the policy of Rome. The fufpicion is not founded, either in nature or in fact. The fucceffors of St. Peter appear to have followed, rather than guided, the impulfe of manners and prejudice; without much forefight of the feafons, or cultivation of the foil, they gathered the ripe and fpontaneous fruits of the fuperftition of the times. They gathered thefe fruits without toil or perfonal danger: in the council of the Lateran, Innocent the third declared an ambiguous refolution of animating the crufaders by his example; but the pilot of the facred veffel could not abandon the helm; nor was Paleftine ever bleffed with the prefence of a Roman pontiff [87].

The emperor Frederic II. in Paleftine, A.D. 1228.

The perfons, the families, and eftates of the pilgrims, were under the immediate protection of the popes; and thefe fpiritual patrons foon claimed the prerogative of directing their operations, and enforcing, by commands and cenfures, the accomplifhment of their vow. Frederic the fecond [88], the grandfon of Barbaroffa, was fucceffively

[86] To thofe who took the crofs againft Mainfroy, the pope (A.D. 1255) granted pleniffimam peccatorum remiffionem. Fideles mirabantur quòd tantum eis promitteret pro fanguine Chriftianorum effundendo quantum pro cruore infidelium aliquando (Matthew Paris, p. 785.). A high flight for the reafon of the xiiith century.

[87] This fimple idea is agreeable to the good fenfe of Mofheim (Inftitut. Hift. Ecclef. p. 332.) and the fine philofophy of Hume (Hift. of England, vol. i. p. 330.).

[88] The original materials for the crufade of Frederic II. may be drawn from Richard de

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL. TANJORE

cessively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim, of the church. At the age of twenty-one years, and in obedience to his guardian Innocent the third, he assumed the cross; the same promise was repeated at his royal and imperial coronations; and his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem for ever bound him to defend the kingdom of his son Conrad. But as Frederic advanced in age and authority, he repented of the rash engagements of his youth: his liberal sense and knowledge taught him to despise the phantoms of superstition and the crowns of Asia: he no longer entertained the same reverence for the successors of Innocent; and his ambition was occupied by the restoration of the Italian monarchy from Sicily to the Alps. But the success of this project would have reduced the popes to their primitive simplicity; and, after the delays and excuses of twelve years, they urged the emperor, with intreaties and threats, to fix the time and place of his departure for Palestine. In the harbours of Sicily and Apulia, he prepared a fleet of one hundred gallies, and of one hundred vessels, that were framed to transport and land two thousand five hundred knights, with their horses and attendants; his vassals of Naples and Germany formed a powerful army; and the number of English crusaders was magnified to sixty thousand by the report of fame. But the inevitable, or affected, slowness of these mighty preparations, consumed the strength and provisions of the more indigent pilgrims: the multitude was thinned by sickness and desertion, and the sultry summer of Calabria anticipated the mischiefs of a Syrian campaign. At length the emperor hoisted sail at Brundusium, with a fleet and army of forty thousand men; but he kept the sea no more than three days; and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed by his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience.

de St. Germano (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vii. p. 1002—1013.) and Matthew Paris (p. 286. 291. 300. 302. 304.). The most rational moderns are, Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. xvi.), Vertot (Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. l. iii.), Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. l. xvi.), and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. x.).

CHAP. LIX. ence. For ſuſpending his vow, was Frederic excommunicated by Gregory the ninth; for preſuming, the next year, to accompliſh his vow, he was again excommunicated by the ſame pope [89]. While he ſerved under the banner of the croſs, a cruſade was preached againſt him in Italy; and after his return he was compelled to aſk pardon for the injuries which he had ſuffered. The clergy and military orders of Paleſtine were previouſly inſtructed to renounce his communion and diſpute his commands; and in his own kingdom, the emperor was forced to conſent that the orders of the camp ſhould be iſſued in the name of God and of the Chriſtian republic. Frederic entered Jeruſalem in triumph; and with his own hands (for no prieſt would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the holy ſepulchre. But the patriarch caſt an interdict on the church which his preſence had profaned; and the knights of the hoſpital and temple informed the ſultan how eaſily he might be ſurpriſed and ſlain in his unguarded viſit to the river Jordan. In ſuch a ſtate of fanaticiſm and faction, victory was hopeleſs and defence was difficult; but the concluſion of an advantageous peace may be imputed to the diſcord of the Mahometans and their perſonal eſteem for the character of Frederic. The enemy of the church is accuſed of maintaining with the miſcreants an intercourſe of hoſpitality and friendſhip, unworthy of a Chriſtian; of deſpiſing the barrenneſs of the land; and of indulging a profane thought, that if Jehovah had ſeen the kingdom of Naples, he never would have ſelected Paleſtine for the inheritance of his choſen people. Yet Frederic obtained from the ſultan the reſtitution of Jeruſalem, of Bethlem and Nazareth, of Tyre and Sidon: the Latins were allowed to inhabit and fortify the city; an equal code of civil and religious freedom was ratified for the ſectaries of Jeſus and thoſe of Mahomet; and, while the former worſhipped at the holy ſepulchre, the latter

[89] Poor Muratori knows what to think, but knows not what to ſay, "Chino qûi "il capo," &c. p. 322.

might

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might pray and preach in the mofch of the temple[90], from whence the prophet undertook his nocturnal journey to heaven. The clergy deplored this fcandalous toleration; and the weaker Moflems were gradually expelled; but every rational object of the crufades was accomplifhed without bloodfhed; the churches were reftored, the monafteries were replenifhed; and, in the fpace of fifteen years, the Latins of Jerufalem exceeded the number of fix thoufand. This peace and profperity, for which they were ungrateful to their benefactor, was terminated by the irruption of the ftrange and favage hords of Carizmians[91]. Flying from the arms of the Moguls, thofe fhepherds of the Cafpian rolled headlong on Syria; and the union of the Franks with the fultans of Aleppo, Hems, and Damafcus, was infufficient to ftem the violence of the torrent. Whatever ftood againft them, was cut off by the fword, or dragged into captivity; the military orders were almoft exterminated in a fingle battle; and in the pillage of the city, in the profanation of the holy fepulchre, the Latins confefs and regret the modefty and difcipline of the Turks and Saracens.

Invafion of the Carizmians, A.D. 1243.

Of the feven crufades, the two laft were undertaken by Louis the ninth, king of France; who loft his liberty in Egypt, and his life on the coaft of Africa. Twenty-eight years after his death, he was canonized at Rome; and fixty-five miracles were readily found, and folemnly attefted, to juftify the claim of the royal faint[92]. The voice of hiftory renders a more honourable teftimony, that he united the virtues of a king, an hero, and a man; that his martial fpirit was tempered by the love of private and public juftice; and that Louis was the father of his people, the friend of his neighbours, and

St. Louis, and the fixth crufade, A.D. 1248—1254.

[90] The clergy artfully confounded the mofch or church of the temple with the holy fepulchre, and their wilful error has deceived both Vertot and Muratori.

[91] The irruption of the Carizmians, or Corafmins, is related by Matthew Paris (p. 546, 547.), and by Joinville, Nangis, and the Arabians (p. 111, 112. 191, 192. 528. 530.).

[92] Read, if you can, the life and miracles of St. Louis, by the confeffor of queen Margaret (p. 291—523. Joinville, du Louvre).

 the

CHAP. LIX. the terror of the infidels. Superftition alone, in all the extent of her baleful influence [93], corrupted his underftanding and his heart; his devotion ftooped to admire and imitate the begging friars of Francis and Dominic; he purfued with blind and cruel zeal the enemies of the faith; and the beft of kings twice defcended from his throne to feek the adventures of a fpiritual knight-errant. A monkifh hiftorian would have been content to applaud the moft defpicable part of his character; but the noble and gallant Joinville [94], who fhared the friendfhip and captivity of Louis, has traced with the pencil of nature the free portrait of his virtues as well as of his failings. From this intimate knowledge, we may learn to fufpect the political views of depreffing their great vaffals, which are fo often imputed to the royal authors of the crufades. Above all the princes of the middle ages, Louis the ninth fuccefsfully laboured to reftore the prerogatives of the crown; but it was at home, and not in the Eaft, that he acquired for himfelf and his pofterity; his vow was the refult of enthufiafm and ficknefs; and if he were the promoter, he was likewife the victim, of this holy madnefs. For the invafion of Egypt, France was exhaufted of her troops and treafures; he covered the fea of Cyprus with eighteen hundred fails; the moft modeft enumeration amounts to fifty thoufand men; and, if we might truft his own confeffion, as it is reported by Oriental vanity, he difembarked nine thoufand five hundred horfe, and one hundred and thirty thoufand foot, who performed their pilgrimage under the fhadow of his power [95].

[93] He believed all that mother church taught (Joinville, p. 10.), but he cautioned Joinville againft difputing with infidels. " L'omme lay (faid he in his old language) " quand il ot medire de la loy Creftienne, ne " doit pas deffendre la loy Creftienne ne mais " que de l'efpée, dequoi il doit donner parmi " le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y peut " entrer" (p. 12.).

[94] I have two editions of Joinville, the one (Paris, 1668) moft valuable for the obfervations of Ducange; the other (Paris au Louvre, 1761) moft precious for the pure and authentic text, a MS. of which has been recently difcovered. The laft editor proves, that the hiftory of St. Louis was finifhed A. D. 1309, without explaining, or even admiring, the age of the author, which muft have exceeded ninety years (Preface, p. xi. Obfervations de Ducange, p. 17.).

[95] Joinville, p. 32. Arabic Extracts, p. 549.

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He takes Damietta, A.D. 1249.

In complete armour, the oriflamme waving before him, Louis leaped foremoſt on the beach; and the ſtrong city of Damietta, which had coſt his predeceſſors a ſiege of ſixteen months, was abandoned on the firſt aſſault by the trembling Moſlems. But Damietta was the firſt and the laſt of his conqueſts; and in the fifth and ſixth cruſades, the ſame cauſes, almoſt on the ſame ground, were productive of ſimilar calamities[96]. After a ruinous delay, which introduced into the camp the ſeeds of an epidemical diſeaſe, the Franks advanced from the ſea-coaſt towards the capital of Egypt, and ſtrove to ſurmount the unſeaſonable inundation of the Nile, which oppoſed their progreſs. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France diſplayed their invincible contempt of danger and diſcipline: his brother, the count of Artois, ſtormed with inconſiderate valour the town of Maſſoura; and the carrier pigeons announced to the inhabitants of Cairo, that all was loſt. But a ſoldier, who afterwards uſurped the ſceptre, rallied the flying troops: the main body of the Chriſtians was far behind their vanguard; and Artois was overpowered and ſlain. A ſhower of Greek fire was inceſſantly poured on the invaders; the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian gallies, the open country by the Arabs; all proviſions were intercepted; each day aggravated the ſickneſs and famine; and about the ſame time a retreat was found to be neceſſary and impracticable. The Oriental writers confeſs, that Louis might have eſcaped, if he would have deſerted his ſubjects: he was made priſoner, with the greateſt part of his nobles; all who could not redeem their lives by ſervice or ranſom, were inhumanly maſſacred; and the walls of Cairo were decorated with a circle of Chriſtian heads[97]. The king of France was loaded with chains; but

His captivity in Egypt,

[96] The laſt editors have enriched their Joinville with large and curious extracts from the Arabic hiſtorians, Macrizi, Abulfeda, &c. See likewiſe Abulpharagius (Dynaſt. p. 322—325.), who calls him by the corrupt name of *Redefrans*. Matthew Paris (p. 683, 684.) has deſcribed the rival folly of the French and Engliſh who fought and fell at Maſſoura.

[97] Savary, in his agreeable Lettres ſur l'Egypte,

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A. D. 1250, April 5— May 6.

but the generous victor, a great grandſon of the brother of Saladin, ſent a robe of honour to his royal captive; and his deliverance, with that of his ſoldiers, was obtained by the reſtitution of Damietta[98] and the payment of four hundred thouſand pieces of gold. In a ſoft and luxurious climate, the degenerate children of the companions of Noureddin and Saladin were incapable of reſiſting the flower of European chivalry: they triumphed by the arms of their ſlaves or Mamalukes, the hardy natives of Tartary, who at a tender age had been purchaſed of the Syrian merchants, and were educated in the camp and palace of the ſultan. But Egypt ſoon afforded a new example of the danger of prætorian bands; and the rage of theſe ferocious animals, who had been let looſe on the ſtrangers, was provoked to devour their benefactor. In the pride of conqueſt, Touran Shaw, the laſt of his race, was murdered by his Mamalukes; and the moſt daring of the aſſaſſins entered the chamber of the captive king, with drawn ſcymetars, and their hands imbrued in the blood of their ſultan. The firmneſs of Louis commanded their reſpect[99]; their avarice prevailed over cruelty and zeal; the treaty was accompliſhed; and the king of France, with the relics of his army, was permitted to embark for Paleſtine. He waſted four years within the walls of Acre, unable to viſit Jeruſalem, and unwilling to return without glory to his native country.

The memory of his defeat excited Louis, after ſixteen years of wiſdom and repoſe, to undertake the ſeventh and laſt of the cruſades.

l'Egypte, has given a deſcription of Damietta (tom. i. lettre xxiii. p. 274—290.), and a narrative of the expedition of St. Louis (xxv. p. 306—350.).

[98] For the ranſom of St. Louis, a million of byzants was aſked and granted; but the ſultan's generoſity reduced that ſum to 800,000 byzants, which are valued by Joinville at 400,000 French livres of his own time, and expreſſed by Matthew Paris by 100,000 marks of ſilver (Ducange, Diſſertation xx. ſur Joinville).

[99] The idea of the emirs to chuſe Louis for their ſultan, is ſeriouſly atteſted by Joinville (p. 77, 78.), and does not appear to me ſo abſurd as to M. de Voltaire (Hiſt. Generale, tom. ii. p. 386, 387.). The Mamalukes themſelves were ſtrangers, rebels, and equals; they had felt his valour, they hoped his converſion; and ſuch a motion, which was not ſeconded, might be made, perhaps by a ſecret Chriſtian, in their tumultuous aſſembly.

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His finances were reſtored, his kingdom was enlarged; a new generation of warriors had ariſen, and he embarked with freſh confidence at the head of ſix thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot. The loſs of Antioch had provoked the enterpriſe: a wild hope of baptiſing the king of Tunis, tempted him to ſteer for the African coaſt; and the report of an immenſe treaſure reconciled his troops to the delay of their voyage to the Holy Land. Inſtead of a proſelyte, he found a ſiege; the French panted and died on the burning ſands; St. Louis expired in his tent; and no ſooner had he cloſed his eyes, than his ſon and ſucceſſor gave the ſignal of the retreat[100]. "It is thus," ſays a lively writer, "that a Chriſtian king died near the ruins of "Carthage, waging war againſt the ſectaries of Mahomet, in a land "to which Dido had introduced the deities of Syria[101]."

His death before Tunis, in the ſeventh cruſade, A.D. 1270, Auguſt 25.

A more unjuſt and abſurd conſtitution cannot be deviſed, than that which condems the natives of a country to perpetual ſervitude, under the arbitrary dominion of ſtrangers and ſlaves. Yet ſuch has been the ſtate of Egypt above five hundred years. The moſt illuſtrious ſultans of the Baharite and Borgite dynaſties[102], were themſelves promoted from the Tartar and Circaſſian bands; and the four-and-twenty beys or military chiefs, have ever been ſucceeded, not by their ſons, but by their ſervants. They produce the great charter of their liberties, the treaty of Selim the firſt with the republic[103]; and the Othman emperor ſtill accepts from Egypt a ſlight acknow-

The Mamalukes of Egypt, A.D. 1250—1517.

[100] See the expedition in the Annals of St. Louis, by William de Nangis, p. 270—287. and the Arabic Extracts, p. 545. 555. of the Louvre edition of Joinville.

[101] Voltaire, Hiſt. Generale, tom. ii. p. 391.

[102] The chronology of the two dynaſties of Mamalukes, the Baharites, Turks or Tartars of Kipzak, and the Borgites, Circaſſians, is given by Pocock (Prolegom. ad Abulpharag. p. 6—31.) and de Guignes (tom. i. p. 264—270.); their hiſtory from Abulfeda, Macrizi, &c. to the beginning of the xv[th] century, by the ſame M. de Guignes (tom. iv. p. 110—328.).

[103] Savary, Lettres ſur l'Egypte, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 189—208. I much queſtion the authenticity of this copy; yet it is true, that ſultan Selim concluded a treaty with the Circaſſians or Mamalukes of Egypt, and left them in poſſeſſion of arms, riches, and power. See a new Abregé de l'Hiſtoire Ottomane, compoſed in Egypt, and tranſlated by M. Digeon (tom. i. p. 55—58. Paris, 1781), a curious, authentic, and national hiſtory.

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ledgment of tribute and ſubjection. With ſome breathing intervals of peace and order, the two dynaſties are marked as a period of rapine and bloodſhed [104]: but their throne, however ſhaken, repoſed on the two pillars of diſcipline and valour; their ſway extended over Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, and Syria; their Mamalukes were multiplied from eight hundred to twenty-five thouſand horſe; and their numbers were encreaſed by a provincial militia of one hundred and ſeven thouſand foot, and the occaſional aid of ſixty-ſix thouſand Arabs [105]. Princes of ſuch power and ſpirit could not long endure on their coaſt an hoſtile and independent nation; and if the ruin of the Franks was poſtponed about forty years, they were indebted to the cares of an unſettled reign, to the invaſion of the Mogols, and to the occaſional aid of ſome warlike pilgrims. Among theſe, the Engliſh reader will obſerve the name of our firſt Edward, who aſſumed the croſs in the lifetime of his father Henry. At the head of a thouſand ſoldiers, the future conqueror of Wales and Scotland delivered Acre from a ſiege; marched as far as Nazareth with an army of nine thouſand men; emulated the fame of his uncle Richard; extorted, by his valour, a ten years truce; and eſcaped, with a dangerous wound, from the dagger of a fanatic *aſſaſſin* [106]. Antioch [107], whoſe ſituation had been leſs expoſed to the calamities of the holy war, was finally occupied and ruined by Bondocdar, or Bibars, ſultan of Egypt and Syria; the Latin principality was extinguiſhed; and the firſt ſeat of the Chriſtian name was diſpeopled by the ſlaughter of

Loſs of Antioch, A. D. 1268, June 12.

[104] Si totum quo regnum occupârunt tempus reſpicias, preſertim quod fini propius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis, ac rapinis refertum (Al Jannabi, apud Pocock, p. 31.). The reign of Mohammed (A. D. 1311—1341) affords] an happy exception (de Guignes, tom. iv. p. 208—210.).

[105] They are now reduced to 8500: but the expence of each Mamaluke may be rated at 100 louis; and Egypt groans under the avarice and inſolence of theſe ſtrangers (Voyages de Volney, tom. i. p. 89—187.).

[106] See Carte's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 165—175. and his original authors, Thomas Wikes and Walter Hemingford (l. iii. c. 34, 35.), in Gale's Collection (tom. ii. p. 97. 589—592.). They are both ignorant of the princeſs Eleanor's piety in ſucking the poiſoned wound, and ſaving her huſband at the riſk of her own life.

[107] Sanutus, Secret. Fidelium Crucis, l. iii. p. xii. c. 9. and de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 143. from the Arabic hiſtorians.

ſeventeen,

ſeventeen, and the captivity of one hundred, thouſand of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, and the ſtronger caſtles of the Hoſpitalers and Templars, ſucceſſively fell; and the whole exiſtence of the Franks was confined to the city and colony of St. John of Acre, which is ſometimes deſcribed by the more claſſic title of Ptolemais.

After the loſs of Jeruſalem, Acre [108], which is diſtant about ſeventy miles, became the metropolis of the Latin Chriſtians, and was adorned with ſtrong and ſtately buildings, with aqueducts, an artificial port, and a double wall. The population was encreaſed by the inceſſant ſtreams of pilgrims and fugitives: in the pauſes of hoſtility, the trade of the Eaſt and Weſt was attracted to this convenient ſtation; and the market could offer the produce of every clime and the interpreters of every tongue. But in this conflux of nations, every vice was propagated and practiſed: of all the diſciples of Jeſus and Mahomet, the male and female inhabitants of Acre were eſteemed the moſt corrupt; nor could the abuſe of religion be corrected by the diſcipline of law. The city had many ſovereigns, and no government. The kings of Jeruſalem and Cyprus, of the houſe of Luſignan, the princes of Antioch, the counts of Tripoli and Sidon, the great maſters of the hoſpital, the temple, and the Teutonic order, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, the pope's legate, the kings of France and England, aſſumed an independent command: ſeventeen tribunals exerciſed the power of life and death; every criminal was protected in the adjacent quarter; and the perpetual jealouſy of the nations often burſt forth in acts of violence and blood. Some adventurers, who diſgraced the enſign of the croſs, compenſated their want of pay by the plunder of the Mahometan villages: nineteen Syrian merchants, who traded under the public faith, were deſpoiled and hanged by the Chriſtians; and the

108 The ſtate of Acre is repreſented in all the chronicles of the times, and moſt accurately in John Villani, l. vii. c. 144. in Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. xiii. p. 337, 338.

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denial of ſatisfaction juſtified the arms of the ſultan Khalil. He marched againſt Acre, at the head of ſixty thouſand horſe and one hundred and forty thouſand foot: his train of artillery (if I may uſe the word) was numerous and weighty; the ſeparate timbers of a ſingle engine were tranſported in one hundred waggons; and the royal hiſtorian Abulfeda, who ſerved with the troops of Hamah, was himſelf a ſpectator of the holy war. Whatever might be the vices of the Franks, their courage was rekindled by enthuſiaſm and deſpair; but they were torn by the diſcord of ſeventeen chiefs, and overwhelmed on all ſides by the powers of the ſultan. After a ſiege of thirty-three days, the double wall was forced by the Moſlems; the principal tower yielded to their engines; the Mamalukes made a general aſſault; the city was ſtormed; and death or ſlavery was the lot of ſixty thouſand Chriſtians. The convent, or rather fortreſs, of the Templars reſiſted three days longer; but the great maſter was pierced with an arrow; and, of five hundred knights, only ten were left alive, leſs happy than the victims of the ſword, if they lived to ſuffer on a ſcaffold in the unjuſt and cruel proſcription of the whole order. The king of Jeruſalem, the patriarch, and the great maſter of the hoſpital, effected their retreat to the ſhore; but the ſea was rough; the veſſels were inſufficient; and great numbers of the fugitives were drowned before they could reach the iſle of Cyprus, which might comfort Luſignan for the loſs of Paleſtine. By the command of the ſultan, the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demoliſhed: a motive of avarice or fear ſtill opened the holy ſepulchre to ſome devout and defenceleſs pilgrims; and a mournful and ſolitary ſilence prevailed along the coaſt which had ſo long reſounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE [109].

The loſs of Acre and the Holy Land, A.D. 1291, May 18.

[109] See the final expulſion of the Franks, in Sanutus, l. iii. p. xii. c. 11—22. Abulfeda, Macrizi, &c. in de Guignes, tom. iv. p. 162. 164. and Vertot, tom. i. l. iii. p. 407—428.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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Schism of the Greeks and Latins.—State of Constantinople.—Revolt of the Bulgarians.—Isaac Angelus dethroned by his Brother Alexius.—Origin of the Fourth Crusade.—Alliance of the French and Venetians with the Son of Isaac.—Their naval Expedition to Constantinople.—The two Sieges and final Conquest of the City by the Latins.

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Schism of the Greeks.

THE restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne, was speedily followed by the separation of the Greek and Latin churches[1]. A religious and national animosity still divides the two largest communions of the Christian world; and the schism of Constantinople, by alienating her most useful allies and provoking her most dangerous enemies, has precipitated the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East.

Their aversion to the Latins.

In the course of the present history, the aversion of the Greeks for the Latins has been often visible and conspicuous. It was originally derived from the disdain of servitude, inflamed, after the time of Constantine, by the pride of equality or dominion; and finally exasperated by the preference which their rebellious subjects had given to the alliance of the Franks. In every age, the Greeks were proud of their superiority in profane and religious knowledge: they had first received the light of Christianity; they had pronounced the decrees of the seven general councils: they alone possessed the language of

[1] In the successive centuries, from the ixth to the xviiith, Mosheim traces the schism of the Greeks, with learning, clearness, and impartiality: the *filioque* (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 277.), Leo III. p. 303. Photius, p. 307, 308. Michael Cerularius, p. 370, 371, &c.

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of ſcripture and philoſophy; nor ſhould the Barbarians, immerſed in the darkneſs of the Weſt [2], preſume to argue on the high and myſterious queſtions of theological ſcience. Thoſe Barbarians deſpiſed in their turn the reſtleſs and ſubtle levity of the Orientals, the authors of every hereſy; and bleſſed their own ſimplicity, which was content to hold the tradition of the apoſtolic church. Yet in the ſeventh century, the ſynods of Spain, and afterwards of France, improved or corrupted the Nicene creed, on the myſterious ſubject of the third perſon of the Trinity [3]. In the long controverſies of the Eaſt, the nature and generation of the Chriſt had been ſcrupulouſly defined; and the well-known relation of father and ſon ſeemed to convey a faint image to the human mind. The idea of birth was leſs analogous to the Holy Spirit, who, inſtead of a divine gift or attribute, was conſidered by the Catholics, as a ſubſtance, a perſon, a god; he was not begotten, but in the orthodox ſtyle he *proceeded*. Did he proceed from the Father alone, perhaps *by* the Son? or from the Father and the Son? The firſt of theſe opinions was aſſerted by the Greeks, the ſecond by the Latins; and the addition to the Nicene creed of the word *filioque*, kindled the flame of diſcord between the Oriental and the Gallic churches. In the origin of the diſpute, the Roman pontiffs affected a character of neutrality and moderation [4]: they condemned the innovation, but they acquieſced in the ſentiment, of their Tranſalpine brethren: they ſeemed deſirous of caſting a veil of ſilence and charity over the ſuperfluous reſearch; and in the correſpondence of Charlemagne and Leo the third, the pope aſſumes the liberality of

Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt.

[2] Ανδρες δυσσεβεις και αποτροπαιοι, ανδρες εκ σκοτυς αναδυντες, της γαρ Ἑσπεριυ μοιρας ὑπηρχον γεννηματα (Phot. Epiſt. p. 47. edit. Montacut.). The Oriental patriarch continues to apply the images of thunder, earthquake, hail, wild-boar, præcurſors of Antichriſt, &c. &c.

[3] The myſterious ſubject of the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, is diſcuſſed in the hiſtorical, theological, and controverſial ſenſe, or nonenſe, by the Jeſuit Petavius (Dogmata Theologica, tom. ii. l. vii. p. 362—440.).

[4] Before the ſhrine of St. Peter, he placed two ſhields of the weight of 94½ pounds of pure ſilver; on which he inſcribed the text of both creeds (utroque ſymbolo), pro amore et *cautelâ* orthodoxæ fidei (Anaſtaſ. in Leon. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars i. p. 208.). His language moſt clearly proves, that neither the filioque, nor the Athanaſian creed, were received at Rome about the year 830.

a ſtateſman,

a ſtateſman, and the prince deſcends to the paſſions and prejudices of a prieſt[5]. But the orthodoxy of Rome ſpontaneouſly obeyed the impulſe of her temporal policy; and the *filioque*, which Leo wiſhed to eraſe, was tranſcribed in the ſymbol and chaunted in the liturgy of the Vatican. The Nicene and Athanaſian creeds are held as the Catholic faith, without which none can be ſaved; and both Papiſts and Proteſtants muſt now ſuſtain and return the anathemas of the Greeks, who deny the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son, as well as from the Father. Such articles of faith are not ſuſceptible of treaty; but the rules of diſcipline will vary in remote and independent churches; and the reaſon, even of divines, might allow, that the difference is inevitable and harmleſs. The craft or ſuperſtition of Rome has impoſed on her prieſts and deacons the rigid obligation of celibacy; among the Greeks, it is confined to the biſhops; the loſs is compenſated by dignity or annihilated by age; and the parochial clergy, the papas, enjoy the conjugal ſociety of the wives whom they have married before their entrance into holy orders. A queſtion concerning the *Azyms* was fiercely debated in the eleventh century, and the eſſence of the Euchariſt was ſuppoſed in the Eaſt and Weſt, to depend on the uſe of leavened or unleavened bread. Shall I mention in a ſerious hiſtory the furious reproaches that were urged againſt the Latins, who, for a long while remained on the defenſive? They neglected to abſtain, according to the apoſtolical decree, from things ſtrangled, and from blood: they faſted, a Jewiſh obſervance! on the Saturday of each week: during the firſt week of Lent they permitted the uſe of milk and cheeſe[6]; their infirm monks were indulged in the taſte of fleſh; and animal greaſe was ſubſtituted for the want

Variety of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

[5] The Miſſi of Charlemagne preſſed him to declare, that all who rejected the *filioque*, at leaſt the doctrine, muſt be damned. All, replies the pope, are not capable of reaching the altiora myſteria; qui potuerit, et non voluerit, ſalvus eſſe non poteſt (Collect. Concil. tom. ix. p. 277—286.). The *potuerit* would leave a large loop-hole of ſalvation!

[6] In France, after ſome harſher laws, the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline is now relaxed: milk, cheeſe, and butter, are become a perpetual, and eggs an annual, indulgence in Lent (Vie privée des François, tom. ii. p. 27—38.).

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of vegetable oil: the holy chrifm or unction in baptifm, was referved to the epifcopal order: the bifhops, as the bridegrooms of their churches, were decorated with rings; their priefts fhaved their faces, and baptized by a fingle immerfion. Such were the crimes which provoked the zeal of the patriarchs of Conftantinople; and which were juftified with equal zeal by the doctors of the Latin church[7].

Ambitious quarrels of Photius, patriarch of Conftantinople, with the popes, A. D. 857—886.

Bigotry and national averfion are powerful magnifiers of every object of difpute; but the immediate caufe of the fchifm of the Greeks may be traced in the emulation of the leading prelates, who maintained the fupremacy of the old metropolis fuperior to all, and of the reigning capital, inferior to none, in the Chriftian world. About the middle of the ninth century, Photius[8], an ambitious layman, the captain of the guards and principal fecretary, was promoted by merit and favour to the more defirable office of patriarch of Conftantinople. In fcience, even ecclefiaftical fcience, he furpaffed the clergy of the age; and the purity of his morals has never been impeached: but his ordination was hafty, his rife was irregular; and Ignatius, his abdicated predeceffor, was yet fupported by the public compaffion and the obftinacy of his adherents. They appealed to the tribunal of Nicholas the firft, one of the proudeft and moft afpiring of the Roman pontiffs, who embraced the welcome opportunity of judging and condemning his rival of the Eaft. Their quarrel was embittered by a conflict of jurifdiction over the king and nation of the Bulgarians; nor was their recent converfion to Chriftianity of much avail to either prelate, unlefs he could number the profelytes among the fubjects of his power. With the aid of his court the Greek patriarch was victorious; but in the furious conteft he depofed in his turn the fucceffor of St. Peter, and involved

[7] The original monuments of the fchifm, of the charges of the Greeks againft the Latins, are depofited in the Epiftles of Photius (Epift. Encyclica, ii. p. 47—61.) and of Michael Cerularius (Canifii Antiq. Lectiones, tom. iii. p. i. p. 281—324. edit. Bafnage, with the prolix anfwer of cardinal Humbert).

[8] The xth volume of the Venice edition of the Councils, contains all the acts of the fynods, and hiftory of Photius: they are abridged, with a faint tinge of prejudice or prudence, by Dupin and Fleury.

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the Latin church in the reproach of herefy and fchifm. Photius facrificed the peace of the world to a fhort and precarious reign: he fell with his patron, the Cæfar Bardas; and Bafil the Macedonian performed an act of juftice in the reftoration of Ignatius, whofe age and dignity had not been fufficiently refpected. From his monaftery, or prifon, Photius folicited the favour of the emperor by pathetic complaints and artful flattery; and the eyes of his rival were fcarcely clofed, when he was again reftored to the throne of Conftantinople. After the death of Bafil, he experienced the viciffitudes of courts and the ingratitude of a royal pupil: the patriarch was again depofed, and in his laft folitary hours he might regret the freedom of a fecular and ftudious life. In each revolution, the breath, the nod, of the fovereign had been accepted by a fubmiffive clergy; and a fynod of three hundred bifhops was always prepared to hail the triumph, or to ftigmatize the fall, of the holy, or the execrable, Photius [9]. By a delufive promife of fuccour or reward, the popes were tempted to countenance thefe various proceedings; and the fynods of Conftantinople were ratified by their epiftles or legates. But the court and the people, Ignatius and Photius, were equally adverfe to their claims; their minifters were infulted or imprifoned; the proceffion of the Holy Ghoft was forgotten; Bulgaria was for ever annexed to the Byzantine throne; and the fchifm was prolonged by their rigid cenfure of all the multiplied ordinations of an irregular patriarch. The darknefs and corruption of the tenth century fufpended the intercourfe, without reconciling the minds, of the two nations. But when the Norman fword reftored the churches of Apulia to the jurifdiction of Rome, the departing flock was warned, by a petulant epiftle of the Greek patriarch, to avoid and abhor the errors of the Latins. The rifing majefty of Rome could no longer

9 The fynod of Conftantinople, held in the year 869, is the viii[th] of the general councils, the laft affembly of the Eaft which is recognifed by the Roman church. She rejects the fynods of Conftantinople of the years 867 and 879, which were, however, equally numerous and noify; but they were favourable to Photius.

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The popes excommunicate the patriarch of Conſtantinople and the Greeks, A. D. 1054, July 16.

brook the inſolence of a rebel; and Michael Cerularius was excommunicated in the heart of Conſtantinople by the pope's legates. Shaking the duſt from their feet, they depoſited on the altar of St. Sophia a direful anathema [10], which enumerates the ſeven mortal hereſies of the Greeks, and devotes the guilty teachers, and their unhappy ſectaries, to the eternal ſociety of the devil and his angels. According to the emergencies of the church and ſtate, a friendly correſpondence was ſometimes reſumed; the language of charity and concord was ſometimes affected; but the Greeks have never recanted their errors; the popes have never repealed their ſentence: and from this thunderbolt we may date the conſummation of the ſchiſm. It was enlarged by each ambitious ſtep of the Roman pontiffs: the emperors bluſhed and trembled at the ignominious fate of their royal brethren of Germany; and the people was ſcandalized by the temporal power and military life of the Latin clergy [11].

Enmity of the Greeks and Latins, A. D. 1100—1200.

The averſion of the Greeks and Latins was nouriſhed and manifeſted in the three firſt expeditions to the Holy Land. Alexius Comnenus contrived the abſence at leaſt of the formidable pilgrims: his ſucceſſors, Manuel and Iſaac Angelus, conſpired with the Moſlems for the ruin of the greateſt princes of the Franks; and their crooked and malignant policy was ſeconded by the active and voluntary obedience of every order of their ſubjects. Of this hoſtile temper, a large portion may doubtleſs be aſcribed to the difference of language, dreſs, and manners, which ſevers and alienates the nations of the globe. The pride, as well as the prudence, of the ſovereign, was deeply wounded by the intruſion of foreign armies, that claimed a right of traverſing his dominions and paſſing under the walls of his capital: his ſubjects were inſulted and plundered by the rude ſtrangers of the Weſt; and the hatred of the puſillanimous Greeks

[10] See this anathema in the Councils, tom. xi. p. 1457—1460.

[11] Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. i. p. 31—33.) repreſents the abhorrence, not only of the church, but of the palace, for Gregory VII. the popes, and the Latin communion. The ſtyle of Cinnamus and Nicetas is ſtill more vehement. Yet how calm is the voice of hiſtory compared with that of polemics!

was

was ſharpened by ſecret envy of the bold and pious enterpriſes of the Franks. But theſe profane cauſes of national enmity were fortified and inflamed by the venom of religious zeal. Inſtead of a kind embrace, an hoſpitable reception from their Chriſtian brethren of the Eaſt, every tongue was taught to repeat the names of ſchiſmatic and heretic, more odious to an orthodox ear than thoſe of pagan and infidel: inſtead of being loved for the general conformity of faith and worſhip, they were abhorred for ſome rules of diſcipline, ſome queſtions of theology, in which themſelves or their teachers might differ from the Oriental church. In the cruſade of Louis the ſeventh, the Greek clergy waſhed and purified the altars which had been defiled by the ſacrifice of a French prieſt. The companions of Frederic Barbaroſſa deplore the injuries which they endured, both in word and deed, from the peculiar rancour of the biſhops and monks. Their prayers and ſermons excited the people againſt the impious Barbarians; and the patriarch is accuſed of declaring, that the faithful might obtain the redemption of all their ſins by the extirpation of the ſchiſmatics [12]. An enthuſiaſt, named Dorotheus, alarmed the fears, and reſtored the confidence, of the emperor, by a prophetic aſſurance, that the German heretic, after aſſaulting the gate of Blachernes, would be made a ſignal example of the divine vengeance. The paſſage of theſe mighty armies were rare and perilous events; but the cruſades introduced a frequent and familiar intercourſe between the two nations, which enlarged their knowledge, without abating their prejudices. The wealth and luxury of Conſtantinople

[12] His anonymous hiſtorian (de Expedit. Aſiat. Fred. I. in Caniſii Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 511. edit. Baſnage) mentions the ſermons of the Greek patriarch, quomodo Græcis injunxerat in remiſſionem peccatorum peregrinos occidere et delere de terra. Tagino obſerves (in Scriptores Freher. tom. i. p. 409. edit. Struv.), Græci hæreticos nos appellant: clerici et monachi dictis et factis perſequuntur. We may add the declaration of the emperor Baldwin fifteen years afterwards: Hæc eſt *(gens)* quæ Latinos omnes non hominum nomine, ſed canum dignabatur; quorum ſanguinem effundere penè inter merita reputabant (Geſta Innocent. III. c. 92. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum. tom. iii. pars i. p. 536.). There may be ſome exaggeration, but it was as effectual for the action and re-action of hatred.

demanded

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The Latins at Conſtantinople:

demanded the productions of every climate: theſe imports were balanced by the art and labour of her numerous inhabitants; her ſituation invites the commerce of the world; and, in every period of her exiſtence, that commerce has been in the hands of foreigners. After the decline of Amalphi, the Venetians, Piſans, and Genoeſe, introduced their factories and ſettlements into the capital of the empire: their ſervices were rewarded with honours and immunities; they acquired the poſſeſſion of lands and houſes; their families were multiplied by marriages with the natives; and, after the toleration of a Mahometan moſch, it was impoſſible to interdict the churches of the Roman rite[13]. The two wives of Manuel Comnenus[14] were of the race of the Franks; the firſt, a ſiſter-in-law of the emperor Conrad; the ſecond, a daughter of the prince of Antioch: he obtained for his ſon Alexius a daughter of Philip Auguſtus king of France; and he beſtowed his own daughter on a marquis of Montferrat, who was educated and dignified in the palace of Conſtantinople. The Greek encountered the arms, and aſpired to the empire, of the Weſt; he eſteemed the valour, and truſted the fidelity, of the Franks[15]; their military talents were unfitly recompenſed by the lucrative offices of judges and treaſurers; the policy of Manuel had ſolicited the alliance of the pope; and the popular voice accuſed him of a partial bias to the nation and religion of the Latins[16]. During his reign, and that of his ſucceſſor Alexius, they

[13] See Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. vi. p. 161, 162.), and a remarkable paſſage of Nicetas (in Manuel. l. v. c. 9.), who obſerves of the Venetians, κατα σμηνη και φρατριας την Κωνςαντινȣ πολιν της οικειας ηλλαξαντο, &c.

[14] Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 186, 187.

[15] Nicetas in Manuel. l. vii. c. 2. Regnante enim (Manuele) .... apud eum tantam Latinus populus repererat gratiam ut neglectis Græculis ſuis tanquam viris mollibus et effœminatis, ... ſolis Latinis grandia committeret negotia .... erga eos profuſâ liberalitate abundabat ... ex omni orbe ad eum tanquam ad benefactorem nobiles et ignobiles concurrebant. Willerm. Tyr. xxii. c. 10.

[16] The ſuſpicions of the Greeks would have been confirmed, if they had ſeen the political epiſtles of Manuel to pope Alexander III. the enemy of his enemy Frederic I. in which the emperor declares his wiſh of uniting the Greeks and Latins as one flock under one ſhepherd, &c. (See Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xv. p. 187. 213. 243.)

were

were expofed at Conftantinople to the reproach of foreigners, here- C H A P. LX.
tics, and favourites; and this triple guilt was feverely expiated in the tumult, which announced the return and elevation of Andronicus [17]. The people rofe in arms; from the Afiatic fhore the tyrant difpatched his troops and gallies to affift the national revenge; and the hopelefs refiftance of the ftrangers ferved only to juftify the rage, and fharpen the daggers, of the affaffins. Neither age, nor fex, nor the ties of friendfhip or kindred, could fave the victims of national hatred, and avarice, and religious zeal: the Latins were flaughtered in their houfes and in the ftreets; their quarter was reduced to afhes; the clergy was burnt in their churches, and the fick in their hofpitals; and fome eftimate may be formed of the flain from the clemency which fold above four thoufand Chriftians in perpetual flavery to the Turks. The priefts and monks were the loudeft and moft active in the deftruction of the fchifmatics; and they chaunted a thankfgiving to the Lord, when the head of a Roman cardinal, the pope's legate, was fevered from his body, faftened to the tail of a dog, and dragged, with favage mockery, through the city. The more diligent of the ftrangers had retreated, on the firft alarm, to their veffels, and efcaped through the Hellefpont from the fcene of blood. In their flight, they burnt and ravaged two hundred miles of the fea-coaft; inflicted a fevere revenge on the guiltlefs fubjects of the empire; marked the priefts and monks as their peculiar enemies; and compenfated, by the accumulation of plunder, the lofs of their property and friends. On their return, they expofed to Italy and Europe the wealth and weaknefs, the perfidy and malice, of the Greeks, whofe vices were painted as the genuine characters of herefy and fchifm. The fcruples of the firft crufaders had neglected the faireft opportunities of fecuring, by the poffeffion of Conftantinople, the way to the Holy Land: a domeftic revolution in-

their maffacre, A.D. 1183.

[17] See the Greek and Latin narratives in Nicetas (in Alexio Comneno, c. 10.) and William of Tyre (l. xxii. c. 10, 11, 12, 13.); the firft foft and concife, the fecond loud, copious, and tragical.

vited,

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vited, and almoſt compelled, the French and Venetians to atchieve the conqueſt of the Roman empire of the Eaſt.

Reign and character of Iſaac Angelus, A. D. 1185—1195, Sept. 12.

In the ſeries of the Byzantine princes, I have exhibited the hypocriſy and ambition, the tyranny and fall, of Andronicus, the laſt male of the Comnenian family who reigned at Conſtantinople. The revolution, which caſt him headlong from the throne, ſaved and exalted Iſaac Angelus[18], who deſcended by the females from the ſame Imperial dynaſty. The ſucceſſor of a ſecond Nero might have found it an eaſy taſk to deſerve the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects: they ſometimes had reaſon to regret the adminiſtration of Andronicus. The ſound and vigorous mind of the tyrant was capable of diſcerning the connection between his own and the public intereſt; and while he was feared by all who could inſpire him with fear, the unſuſpected people, and the remote provinces, might bleſs the inexorable juſtice of their maſter. But his ſucceſſor was vain and jealous of the ſupreme power, which he wanted courage and abilities to exerciſe; his vices were pernicious, his virtues (if he poſſeſſed any virtues) were uſeleſs, to mankind; and the Greeks, who imputed their calamities to his negligence, denied him the merit of any tranſient or accidental benefits of the times. Iſaac ſlept on the throne, and was awakened only by the ſound of pleaſure: his vacant hours were amuſed by comedians and buffoons, and even to theſe buffoons the emperor was an object of contempt; his feaſts and buildings exceeded the examples of royal luxury; the number of his eunuchs and domeſtics amounted to twenty thouſand; and a daily ſum of four thouſand pounds of ſilver would ſwell to four millions ſterling the annual expence of his houſehold and table. His poverty was relieved by oppreſſion; and the public diſcontent was inflamed by equal abuſes in the collection, and the application,

[18] The hiſtory of the reign of Iſaac Angelus is compoſed, in three books, by the ſenator Nicetas (p. 228—290.); and his offices of logothete, or principal ſecretary, and judge of the veil or palace, could not bribe the impartiality of the hiſtorian. He wrote, it is true, after the fall and death of his benefactor.

of

of the revenue. While the Greeks numbered the days of their ſervitude, a flattering prophet, whom he rewarded with the dignity of patriarch, aſſured him of a long and victorious reign of thirty-two years; during which he ſhould extend his ſway to mount Libanus, and his conqueſts beyond the Euphrates. But his only ſtep towards the accompliſhment of the prediction, was a ſplendid and ſcandalous embaſſy to Saladin[19], to demand the reſtitution of the holy ſepulchre, and to propoſe an offenſive and defenſive league with the enemy of the Chriſtian name. In theſe unworthy hands, of Iſaac and his brother, the remains of the Greek empire crumbled into duſt. The iſland of Cyprus, whoſe name excites the ideas of elegance and pleaſure, was uſurped by his nameſake, a Comnenian prince: and by a ſtrange concatenation of events, the ſword of our Engliſh Richard beſtowed that kingdom on the houſe of Luſignan, a rich compenſation for the loſs of Jeruſalem.

Revolt of the Bulgarians, A. D. 1186.

The honour of the monarchy, and the ſafety of the capital, were deeply wounded by the revolt of the Bulgarians and Walachians. Since the victory of the ſecond Baſil, they had ſupported, above an hundred and ſeventy years, the looſe dominion of the Byzantine princes; but no effectual meaſures had been adopted to impoſe the yoke of laws and manners on theſe ſavage tribes. By the command of Iſaac, their ſole means of ſubſiſtence, their flocks and herds, were driven away, to contribute towards the pomp of the royal nuptials; and their fierce warriors were exaſperated by the denial of equal rank and pay in the military ſervice. Peter and Aſan, two powerful chiefs, of the race of the ancient kings[20], aſſerted their own rights and the national freedom: their dæmoniac impoſtors proclaimed to the crowd, that their glorious patron St. Demetrius had

[19] See Bohadin, Vit. Saladin. p. 129—131. 226. verſ. Schultens. The ambaſſador of Iſaac was equally verſed in the Greek, French, and Arabic languages; a rare inſtance in thoſe times. His embaſſies were received with honour, diſmiſſed without effect, and reported with ſcandal in the Weſt.

[20] Ducange, Familiæ Dalmaticæ, p. 318, 319, 320. The original correſpondence of the Bulgarian king and the Roman pontiff, is inſcribed in the Geſta Innocent. III. c. 66—82. p. 513—525.

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for ever deserted the cause of the Greeks; and the conflagration spread from the banks of the Danube to the hills of Macedonia and Thrace. After some faint efforts, Isaac Angelus and his brother acquiesced in their independence; and the Imperial troops were soon discouraged by the bones of their fellow-soldiers, that were scattered along the passes of mount Hæmus. By the arms and policy of John or Joannices, the second kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly established. The subtle Barbarian sent an embassy to Innocent the third, to acknowledge himself a genuine son of Rome in descent and religion[21]; and humbly received from the pope, the licence of coining money, the royal title, and a Latin archbishop or patriarch. The Vatican exulted in the spiritual conquest of Bulgaria, the first object of the schism; and if the Greeks could have preserved the prerogatives of the church, they would gladly have resigned the rights of the monarchy.

Usurpation and character of Alexius Angelus, A. D. 1195—1203, April 8.

The Bulgarians were malicious enough to pray for the long life of Isaac Angelus, the surest pledge of their freedom and prosperity. Yet their chiefs could involve in the same indiscriminate contempt, the family and nation of the emperor. "In all the Greeks," said Asan to his troops, "the same climate, and character, and education, will be productive of the same fruits. Behold my lance," continued the warrior, "and the long streamers that float in the wind. They differ only in colour; they are formed of the same silk and fashioned by the same workman; nor has the stripe that is stained in purple, any superior price or value above its fellows[22]." Several of these candidates for the purple successively

[21] The pope acknowledges his pedigree, a nobili urbis Romæ prosapiâ genitores tui originem traxerunt. This tradition, and the strong resemblance of the Latin and Walachian idioms, is explained by M. d'Anville (Etats de l'Europe, p. 258—262.). The Italian colonies of the Dacia of Trajan, were swept away by the tide of emigration from the Danube to the Volga, and brought back by another wave from the Volga to the Danube. Possible, but strange!

[22] This parable is in the best savage style; but I wish the Walach had not introduced the classic name of Mysians, the experiment of the magnet or loadstone, and the passage of an old comic poet (Nicetas, in Alex. Comneno, l. i. p. 299, 300.).

rose

rose and fell under the empire of Isaac: a general who had repelled the fleets of Sicily, was driven to revolt and ruin by the ingratitude of the prince; and his luxurious repose was disturbed by secret conspiracies and popular insurrections. The emperor was saved by accident, or the merit of his servants: he was at length oppressed by an ambitious brother, who, for the hope of a precarious diadem, forgot the obligations of nature, of loyalty, and of friendship [23]. While Isaac in the Thracian vallies pursued the idle and solitary pleasures of the chace, his brother, Alexius Angelus, was invested with the purple, by the unanimous suffrage of the camp: the capital and the clergy subscribed to their choice; and the vanity of the new sovereign rejected the name of his fathers, for the lofty and royal appellation of the Comnenian race. On the despicable character of Isaac, I have exhausted the language of contempt; and can only add, that in a reign of eight years, the baser Alexius [24] was supported by the masculine vices of his wife Euphrosyne. The first intelligence of his fall was conveyed to the late emperor by the hostile aspect and pursuit of the guards, no longer his own: he fled before them above fifty miles as far as Stagyra in Macedonia; but the fugitive, without an object or a follower, was arrested, brought back to Constantinople, deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower, on a scanty allowance of bread and water. At the moment of the revolution, his son Alexius, whom he educated in the hope of empire, was twelve years of age. He was spared by the usurper, and reduced to attend his triumph both in peace and war; but as the army was encamped on the sea-shore, an Italian vessel facilitated the escape of the royal youth; and, in the disguise of a common sailor, he eluded the search of his enemies, passed the Hellespont, and found a secure refuge in the isle of Sicily. After

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[23] The Latins aggravate the ingratitude of Alexius, by supposing that he had been released by his brother Isaac from Turkish captivity. This pathetic tale had doubtless been repeated at Venice and Zara: but I do not readily discover its grounds in the Greek historians.

[24] See the reign of Alexius Angelus, or Comnenus, in the three books of Nicetas, p. 291—352.

saluting

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saluting the threshold of the apostles, and imploring the protection of pope Innocent the third, Alexius accepted the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, king of the Romans. But in his passage through Italy, he heard that the flower of Western chivalry was assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the Holy Land; and a ray of hope was kindled in his bosom, that their invincible swords might be employed in his father's restoration.

The fourth crusade, A.D. 1198.

About ten or twelve years after the loss of Jerusalem, the nobles of France were again summoned to the holy war by the voice of a third prophet, less extravagant, perhaps, than Peter the hermit, but far below St. Bernard in the merit of an orator and a statesman. An illiterate priest of the neighbourhood of Paris, Fulk of Neuilly [25], forsook his parochial duty, to assume the more flattering character of a popular and itinerant missionary. The fame of his sanctity and miracles was spread over the land; he declaimed, with severity and vehemence, against the vices of the age; and his sermons, which he preached in the streets of Paris, converted the robbers, the usurers, the prostitutes, and even the doctors and scholars of the university. No sooner did Innocent the third ascend the chair of St. Peter, than he proclaimed in Italy, Germany, and France, the obligation of a new crusade [26]. The eloquent pontiff described the ruin of Jerusalem, the triumph of the Pagans, and the shame of Christendom: his liberality proposed the redemption of sins, a plenary indulgence to all who should serve in Palestine, either a year in person, or two years by a substitute [27]; and among his legates and orators who blew the sacred trumpet, Fulk of Neuilly was the loudest

[25] See Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 26, &c. and Villehardouin, N° 1. with the observations of Ducange, which I always mean to quote with the original text.

[26] The contemporary life of pope Innocent III. published by Baluze and Muratori (Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. pars i. p. 486—568.), is most valuable for the important and original documents which are inserted in the text. The bull of the crusade may be read, c. 84, 85.

[27] Por-ce que cil pardon fut issi gran, si s'en esmeurent mult li cuers des genz, et mult s'en croisierent, porce que li pardons ere si gran. Villehardouin, N° 1. Our philosophers may refine on the causes of the crusades, but such were the genuine feelings of a French knight.

loudeſt and moſt ſucceſsful. The ſituation of the principal monarchs was averſe to the pious ſummons. The emperor Frederic the ſecond was a child; and his kingdom of Germany was diſputed by the rival houſes of Brunſwick and Swabia, the memorable factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. Philip Auguſtus of France had performed, and could not be perſuaded to renew, the perilous vow; but as he was not leſs ambitious of praiſe than of power, he chearfully inſtituted a perpetual fund for the defence of the Holy Land. Richard of England was ſatiated with the glory and misfortunes of his firſt adventure, and he preſumed to deride the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly, who was not abaſhed in the preſence of kings. "You adviſe me," ſaid Plantagenet, "to diſmiſs my three daughters, pride, avarice, and incontinence: I bequeath them to the moſt deſerving; my pride to the knights-templars, my avarice to the monks of Ciſteaux, and my incontinence to the prelates." But the preacher was heard and obeyed by the great vaſſals, the princes of the ſecond order; and Theobald, or Thibaut, count of Champagne, was the foremoſt in the holy race. The valiant youth, at the age of twenty-two years, was encouraged by the domeſtic examples of his father, who marched in the ſecond cruſade, and of his elder brother, who had ended his days in Paleſtine with the title of king of Jeruſalem: two thouſand two hundred knights owed ſervice and homage to his peerage[28]: the nobles of Champagne excelled in all the exerciſes of war[29]; and, by his marriage with the heireſs of Navarre, Thibaut could draw a band of hardy Gaſcons from either ſide of the Pyrenæan mountains. His companion in arms was Louis, count of Blois and Chartres; like himſelf of regal lineage, for both the princes were nephews, at the

embraced by the barons of France.

[28] This number of fiefs (of which 1800 owed liege homage) was enrolled in the church of St. Stephen at Troyes, and atteſted A. D. 1213, by the marſhal and butler of Champagne (Ducange, Obſerv. p. 254.).

[29] Campania.... militiæ privilegio ſingularius excellit.... in tyrociniis.... proluſione armorum, &c. Ducange, p. 249. from the old Chronicle of Jeruſalem, A. D. 1177—1199.

ſame

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ſame time, of the kings of France and England. In a crowd of prelates and barons, who imitated their zeal, I diſtinguiſh the birth and merit of Matthew of Montmorency; the famous Simon of Montfort, the ſcourge of the Albigeois; and a valiant noble, Jeffrey of Villehardouin [30], marſhal of Champagne [31], who has condeſcended, in the rude idiom of his age and country [32], to write or dictate [33] an original narrative of the councils and actions, in which he bore a memorable part. At the ſame time, Baldwin count of Flanders, who had married the ſiſter of Thibaut, aſſumed the croſs at Bruges, with his brother Henry and the principal knights and citizens of that rich and induſtrious province [34]. The vow which the chiefs had pronounced in churches, they ratified in tournaments: the operations of the war were debated in full and frequent aſſemblies; and it was reſolved to ſeek the deliverance of Paleſtine in Egypt, a country, ſince Saladin's death, which was almoſt ruined by famine and civil war. But the fate of ſo many royal armies diſplayed the toils and perils of a land expedition; and, if the Flemings dwelt along the ocean, the French barons were deſtitute of ſhips and ignorant of navigation. They embraced the wiſe reſolution of chuſing ſix deputies or repreſentatives, of whom Villehardouin was one, with a diſcre-

[30] The name of Ville-hardouin, was taken from a village and caſtle in the dioceſe of Troyes, near the river Aube, between Bar and Arceis. The family was ancient and noble; the elder branch of our hiſtorian exiſted after the year 1400; the younger, which acquired the principality of Achaia, merged in the houſe of Savoy (Ducange, p. 235—245.).

[31] This office was held by his father and his deſcendants, but Ducange has not hunted it with his uſual ſagacity. I find that, in the year 1356, it was in the family of Conflans; but theſe provincial, have been long ſince eclipſed by the national, marſhals of France.

[32] This language, of which I ſhall produce ſome ſpecimens, is explained by Vigenere and Ducange in a verſion and gloſſary. The preſident des Broſſes (Mechaniſme des Langues, tom. ii. p. 83.) gives it as the example of a language which has ceaſed to be French, and is underſtood only by grammarians.

[33] His age, and his own expreſſion, moi qui ceſte oeuvre *dicta* (N° 62, &c.), may juſtify the ſuſpicion (more probable than Mr. Wood's on Homer), that he could neither read nor write. Yet Champagne may boaſt of the two firſt hiſtorians, the noble authors of French proſe, Villehardouin and Joinville.

[34] The cruſade and reigns of the counts of Flanders, Baldwin and his brother Henry, are the ſubject of a particular hiſtory by the Jeſuit Doutremens (Conſtantinopolis Belgica; Turnaci, 1638, in4to), which I have only ſeen with the eyes of Ducange.

a discretionary truſt to direct the motions, and to pledge the faith, of the whole confederacy. The maritime ſtates of Italy were alone poſſeſſed of the means of tranſporting the holy warriors with their arms and horſes; and the ſix deputies proceeded to Venice to ſolicit, on motives of piety or intereſt, the aid of that powerful republic. CHAP. LX.

State of the Venetians, A. D. 697—1200.

In the invaſion of Italy by Attila, I have mentioned [35] the flight of the Venetians from the fallen cities of the continent, and their obſcure ſhelter in the chain of iſlands that line the extremity of the Adriatic gulf. In the midſt of the waters, free, indigent, laborious, and inacceſſible, they gradually coaleſced into a republic: the firſt foundations of Venice were laid in the iſland of Rialto; and the annual election of the twelve tribunes was ſuperſeded by the permanent office of a duke or doge. On the verge of the two empires the Venetians exult in the belief of primitive and perpetual independence [36]. Againſt the Latins, their antique freedom has been aſſerted by the ſword, and may be juſtified by the pen. Charlemagne himſelf reſigned all claims of ſovereignty to the iſlands of the Adriatic gulf; his ſon Pepin was repulſed in the attacks of the *lagunas* or canals, too deep for the cavalry, and too ſhallow for the veſſels; and in every age, under the German Cæſars, the lands of the republic have been clearly diſtinguiſhed from the kingdom of Italy. But the inhabitants of Venice were conſidered by themſelves, by ſtrangers, and by their ſovereigns, as an inalienable portion of the Greek empire [37]; in the ninth and tenth centuries, the proofs of

35 Hiſtory, &c. vol. iii. p. 420—422.

36 The foundation and independence of Venice, and Pepin's invaſion, are diſcuſſed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. A. D. 810, N°4, &c.) and Beretti (Diſſert. Chorograph. Italiæ medii Ævi, in Muratori, Script. tom. x. p. 153.). The two critics have a ſlight bias, the Frenchman adverſe, the Italian favourable, to the republic.

37 When the ſon of Charlemagne aſſerted his right of ſovereignty, he was anſwered by the loyal Venetians, ὀτι ἡμεις δȣλοι θελομεν ειναι τȣ Ρωμαιων βασιλεως (Conſtantin. Porphyrogenit. de Adminiſtrat. Imperii, pars ii. c. 28. p. 85.); and the report of the ix[th], eſtabliſhes the fact of the xth century, which is confirmed by the embaſſy of Liutprand of Cremona. The annual tribute, which the emperor allows them to pay to the king of Italy, alleviates, by doubling, their ſervitude; but the hateful word δȣλοι muſt be tranſlated, as in the charter of 827 (Laugier, Hiſt. de Veniſe, tom. i. p. 67, &c.), by the ſofter appellation of *ſubditi*, or *fideles*.

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their subjection are numerous and unquestionable; and the vain titles, the servile honours, of the Byzantine court, so ambitiously solicited by their dukes, would have degraded the magistrates of a free people. But the bands of this dependence, which was never absolute or rigid, were imperceptibly relaxed by the ambition of Venice and the weakness of Constantinople. Obedience was softened into respect, privilege ripened into prerogative, and the freedom of domestic government was fortified by the independence of foreign dominion. The maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia bowed to the sovereigns of the Adriatic; and when they armed against the Normans in the cause of Alexius, the emperor applied, not to the duty of his subjects, but to the gratitude and generosity of his faithful allies. The sea was their patrimony [38]: the western parts of the Mediterranean, from Tuscany to Gibraltar, were indeed abandoned to their rivals of Pisa and Genoa; but the Venetians acquired an early and lucrative share of the commerce of Greece and Egypt. Their riches encreased with the encreasing demand of Europe: their manufactures of silk and glass, perhaps the institution of their bank, are of high antiquity; and they enjoyed the fruits of their industry in the magnificence of public and private life. To assert her flag, to avenge her injuries, to protect the freedom of navigation, the republic could launch and man a fleet of an hundred gallies; and the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans, were encountered by her naval arms. The Franks of Syria were assisted by the Venetians in the reduction of the sea-coast; but their zeal was neither blind nor disinterested; and in the conquest of Tyre, they shared the sovereignty of a city, the first seat of the commerce of the world. The policy of Venice was marked by the avarice of a trading, and the

[38] See the xxvth and xxxth dissertations of the Antiquitates medii Ævi of Muratori. From Anderson's History of Commerce, I understand that the Venetians did not trade to England before the year 1323. The most flourishing state of their wealth and commerce in the beginning of the xvth century, is agreeably described by the Abbé Dubos (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 443—480.).

insolence of a maritime, power; yet her ambition was prudent; nor did she often forget that if armed gallies were the effect and safeguard, merchant vessels were the cause and supply, of her greatness. In her religion, she avoided the schism of the Greeks, without yielding a servile obedience to the Roman pontiff; and a free intercourse with the infidels of every clime appears to have allayed betimes the fever of superstition. Her primitive government was a loose mixture of democracy and monarchy: the doge was elected by the votes of the general assembly; as long as he was popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and authority of a prince; but in the frequent revolutions of the state, he was deposed, or banished, or slain, by the justice or injustice of the multitude. The twelfth century produced the first rudiments of the wise and jealous aristocracy, which has reduced the doge to a pageant and the people to a cypher [39].

Alliance of the French and Venetians, A. D. 1201.

When the six ambassadors of the French pilgrims arrived at Venice, they were hospitably entertained in the palace of St. Mark, by the reigning duke: his name was Henry Dandolo [40]; and he shone in the last period of human life as one of the most illustrious characters of the times. Under the weight of years, and after the loss of his eyes [41], Dandolo retained a sound understanding and a manly

[39] The Venetians have been slow in writing and publishing their history. Their most ancient monuments are, 1. The rude Chronicle (perhaps) of John Sagorninus (Venezia, 1765, in octavo), which represents the state and manners of Venice in the year 1008. 2. The larger history of the doge (1342—1354) Andrew Dandolo, published for the first time in the xii[th] tom. of Muratori, A. D. 1728. The History of Venice by the Abbé Laugier (Paris, 1728), is a work of some merit, which I have chiefly used for the constitutional part.

[40] Henry Dandolo was eighty-four at his election (A. D. 1192), and ninety-seven at his death (A. D. 1205). See the Observations of Ducange sur Villehardouin, N° 204. But this *extraordinary* longevity is not observed by the original writers, nor does there exist another example of an hero near an hundred years of age. Theophrastus might afford an instance of a writer of ninety-nine; but instead of ἐννενήκοντα (Procem. ad Character.), I am much inclined to read ἑβδομήκοντα, with his last editor Fischer, and the first thoughts of Casaubon. It is scarcely possible that the powers of the mind and body should support themselves till such a period of life.

[41] The modern Venetians (Laugier, tom. ii. p. 119.) accuse the emperor Manuel: but the calumny is refuted by Villehardouin and the older writers, who suppose that Dandolo lost his eyes by a wound (N° 34. and Ducange).

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courage; the ſpirit of an hero, ambitious to ſignalize his reign by ſome memorable exploits, and the wiſdom of a patriot, anxious to build his fame on the glory and advantage of his country. He praiſed the bold enthuſiaſm and liberal confidence of the barons and their deputies; in ſuch a cauſe, and with ſuch aſſociates, he ſhould aſpire, were he a private man, to terminate his life; but he was the ſervant of the republic, and ſome delay was requiſite to conſult, on this arduous buſineſs, the judgment of his colleagues. The propoſal of the French was firſt debated by the ſix *ſages* who had been recently appointed to control the adminiſtration of the doge; it was next diſcloſed to the forty members of the council of ſtate; and finally communicated to the legiſlative aſſembly of four hundred and fifty repreſentatives, who were annually choſen in the ſix quarters of the city. In peace and war, the doge was ſtill the chief of the republic; his legal authority was ſupported by the perſonal reputation of Dandolo: his arguments of public intereſt were balanced and approved; and he was authoriſed to inform the ambaſſadors of the following conditions of the treaty[42]. It was propoſed that the cruſaders ſhould aſſemble at Venice, on the feaſt of St. John of the enſuing year: that flat-bottomed veſſels ſhould be prepared for four thouſand five hundred horſes, and nine thouſand ſquires, with a number of ſhips ſufficient for the embarkation of four thouſand five hundred knights, and twenty thouſand foot: that during a term of nine months they ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions, and tranſported to whatſoever coaſt the ſervice of God and Chriſtendom ſhould require; and that the republic ſhould join the armament with a ſquadron of fifty gallies. It was required that the pilgrims ſhould pay, before their departure, a ſum of eighty-five thouſand marks of ſilver; and that all conqueſts, by ſea and land, ſhould be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were hard; but the emergency was preſſing, and the French

[42] See the original treaty in the Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 323—326.

barons

barons were not lefs profufe of money than of blood. A general affembly was convened to ratify the treaty: the ftately chapel and place of St. Mark were filled with ten thoufand citizens; and the noble deputies were taught a new leffon of humbling themfelves before the majefty of the people. "Illuftrious Venetians," faid the marfhal of Champagne, "we are fent by the greateft and moft powerful barons of France, to implore the aid of the mafters of the fea for the deliverance of Jerufalem. They have enjoined us to fall proftrate at your feet; nor will we rife from the ground, till you have promifed to avenge with us the injuries of Chrift." The eloquence of their words and tears[43], their martial afpect, and fuppliant attitude, were applauded by an univerfal fhout; as it were, fays Jeffrey, by the found of an earthquake. The venerable doge afcended the pulpit to urge their requeft by thofe motives of honour and virtue, which alone can be offered to a popular affembly: the treaty was tranfcribed on parchment; attefted with oaths and feals, mutually accepted by the weeping and joyful reprefentatives of France and Venice; and difpatched to Rome for the approbation of pope Innocent the third. Two thoufand marks were borrowed of the merchants for the firft expences of the armament. Of the fix deputies, two repaffed the Alps to announce their fuccefs, while their four companions made a fruitlefs trial of the zeal and emulation of the republics of Genoa and Pifa.

Affembly and departure of the crufade from Venice, A. D. 1202, October 8.

The execution of the treaty was ftill oppofed by unforefeen difficulties and delays. The marfhal, on his return to Troyes, was embraced and approved by Thibaut count of Champagne, who had been unanimoufly chofen general of the confederates. But the health of that valiant youth already declined, and foon became

43 A reader of Villehardouin muft obferve the frequent tears of the marfhal and his brother knights. Sachiez que la ot mainte lerme plorée de pitié (N° 17.); mult plorant (ibid.); mainte lerme plorée (N° 34.); fi orent mult pitié et plorerent mult durement (N° 60.); i ot maint lerme plorée de pitié (N° 202.). They weep on every occafion of grief, joy, or devotion.

hopelefs;

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hopeleſs; and he deplored the untimely fate, which condemned him to expire, not in a field of battle, but on a bed of ſickneſs. To his brave and numerous vaſſals, the dying prince diſtributed his treaſures: they ſwore in his preſence to accompliſh his vow and their own; but ſome there were, ſays the marſhal, who accepted his gifts and forfeited their word. The more reſolute champions of the croſs held a parliament at Soiſſons for the election of a new general; but ſuch was the incapacity, or jealouſy, or reluctance, of the princes of France, that none could be found both able and willing to aſſume the conduct of the enterpriſe. They acquieſced in the choice of a ſtranger, of Boniface marquis of Montferrat, deſcended of a race of heroes, and himſelf of conſpicuous fame in the wars and negociations of the times[44]; nor could the piety or ambition of the Italian chief decline this honourable invitation. After viſiting the French court, where he was received as a friend and kinſman, the marquis, in the church of Soiſſons, was inveſted with the croſs of a pilgrim and the ſtaff of a general; and immediately repaſſed the Alps, to prepare for the diſtant expedition of the Eaſt. About the feſtival of the Pentecoſt he diſplayed his banner, and marched towards Venice at the head of the Italians: he was preceded or followed by the counts of Flanders and Blois, and the moſt reſpectable barons of France; and their numbers were ſwelled by the pilgrims of Germany[45], whoſe object and motives were ſimilar to their own. The Venetians had fulfilled, and even ſurpaſſed, their engagements: ſtables were conſtructed for the horſes, and barracks for the troops; the magazines were abundantly repleniſhed with forage and proviſions; and the fleet of tranſports, ſhips, and gallies, was ready

[44] By a victory (A.D. 1191) over the citizens of Aſti, by a cruſade to Paleſtine, and by an embaſſy from the pope to the German princes (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 163. 202.).

[45] See the cruſade of the Germans in the Hiſtoria C. P. of Gunther (Caniſii Antiq. Lect. tom. iv. p. v—viii.), who celebrates the pilgrimage of his abbot Martin, one of the preaching rivals of Fulk of Neuilly. His monaſtery, of the Ciſtercian order, was ſituate in the dioceſe of Baſil.

to hoift fail, as foon as the republic had received the price of the freight and armament. But that price far exceeded the wealth of the crufaders who were affembled at Venice. The Flemings, whofe obedience to their count was voluntary and precarious, had embarked in their veffels for the long navigation of the ocean and Mediterranean; and many of the French and Italians had preferred a cheaper and more convenient paffage from Marfeilles and Apulia to the Holy Land. Each pilgrim might complain, that after he had furnifhed his own contribution he was made refponfible for the deficiency of his abfent brethren: the gold and filver plate of the chiefs, which they freely delivered to the treafury of St. Mark, was a generous but inadequate facrifice; and after all their efforts, thirty-four thoufand marks were ftill wanting to complete the ftipulated fum. The obftacle was removed by the policy and patriotifm of the doge, who propofed to the barons, that if they would join their arms in reducing fome revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expofe his perfon in the holy war, and obtain from the republic a long indulgence, till fome wealthy conqueft fhould afford the means of fatisfying the debt. After much fcruple and hefitation they chofe rather to accept the offer than to relinquifh the enterprife; and the firft hoftilities of the fleet and army were directed againft Zara [46], a ftrong city of the Sclavonian coaft, which had renounced its allegiance to Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary [47]. The crufaders burft the chain or boom of the harbour; landed their horfes, troops, and military engines; and compelled the

Siege of Zara, Nov. 10.

46 Jadera, now Zara, was a Roman colony, which acknowledged Auguftus for its parent. It is now only two miles round, and contains five or fix thoufand inhabitants; but the fortifications are ftrong, and it is joined to the main land by a bridge. See the travels of the two companions, Spon and Wheeler (Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grece, &c. tom. i. p. 64—70. Journey into Greece, p. 8—14.); the laft of whom, by miftaking *Seftertia* for *Seftertii*, values an arch with ftatues and columns at twelve pounds. If, in his time, there were no trees near Zara, the cherry-trees were not yet planted which produce our incomparable *marafquin*.

47 Katona (Hift. Critica Reg. Hungariæ, Stirpis Arpad. tom. iv. p. 536—558.) collects all the facts and teftimonies moft adverfe to the conquerors of Zara.

inhabitants, after a defence of five days, to ſurrender at diſcretion; their lives were ſpared, but the revolt was puniſhed by the pillage of their houſes and the demolition of their walls. The ſeaſon was far advanced; the French and Venetians reſolved to paſs the winter in a ſecure harbour and plentiful country; but their repoſe was diſturbed by national and tumultuous quarrels of the ſoldiers and mariners. The conqueſt of Zara had ſcattered the ſeeds of diſcord and ſcandal: the arms of the allies had been ſtained in their outſet with the blood, not of infidels, but of Chriſtians: the king of Hungary and his new ſubjects were themſelves enliſted under the banner of the croſs; and the ſcruples of the devout, were magnified by the fear or laſſitude of the reluctant, pilgrims. The pope had excommunicated the falſe cruſaders who had pillaged and maſſacred their brethren [48], and only the marquis Boniface and Simon of Montfort eſcaped theſe ſpiritual thunders; the one by his abſence from the ſiege, the other by his final departure from the camp. Innocent might abſolve the ſimple and ſubmiſſive penitents of France; but he was provoked by the ſtubborn reaſon of the Venetians, who refuſed to confeſs their guilt, to accept their pardon, or to allow, in their temporal concerns, the interpoſition of a prieſt.

Alliance of the cruſaders with the Greek prince, the young Alexius.

The aſſembly of ſuch formidable powers by ſea and land, had revived the hopes of young [49] Alexius; and, both at Venice and Zara, he ſolicited the arms of the cruſaders, for his own reſtoration and his father's [50] deliverance. The royal youth was recommended by Philip king of Germany: his prayers and preſence excited the

[48] See the whole tranſaction, and the ſentiments of the pope, in the Epiſtles of Innocent III. Geſta, c. 86, 87, 88.

[49] A modern reader is ſurpriſed to hear of the valet de Conſtantinople, as applied to young Alexius, on account of his youth, like the *infants* of Spain, and the *nobiliſſimus puer* of the Romans. The pages and *valets* of the knights were as noble as themſelves (Villehardouin and Ducange, N° 36.).

[50] The emperor Iſaac is ſtyled by Villehardouin, *Surſac* (N° 35, &c.), which may be derived from the French *Sire*, or the Greek Κυρ (κυριος) melted into his proper name; the farther corruptions of Turſac and Conſerac will inſtruct us what licence may have been uſed in the old dynaſties of Aſſyria and Egypt.

compaſſion

compaſſion of the camp; and his cauſe was embraced and pleaded by the marquis of Montferrat and the doge of Venice. A double alliance, and the dignity of Cæſar, had connected with the Imperial family the two elder brothers of Boniface [51]: he expected to derive a kingdom from the important ſervice; and the more generous ambition of Dandolo was eager to ſecure the ineſtimable benefits of trade and dominion that might accrue to his country [52]. Their influence procured a favourable audience for the ambaſſadors of Alexius; and if the magnitude of his offers excited ſome ſuſpicion, the motives and rewards which he diſplayed might juſtify the delay and diverſion of thoſe forces which had been conſecrated to the deliverance of Jeruſalem. He promiſed, in his own and his father's name, that as ſoon as they ſhould be ſeated on the throne of Conſtantinople, they would terminate the long ſchiſm of the Greeks, and ſubmit themſelves and their people to the lawful ſupremacy of the Roman church. He engaged to recompenſe the labours and merits of the cruſaders, by the immediate payment of two hundred thouſand marks of ſilver; to accompany them in perſon to Egypt; or, if it ſhould be judged more advantageous, to maintain, during a year, ten thouſand men, and, during his life, five hundred knights, for the ſervice of the Holy Land. Theſe tempting conditions were accepted by the republic of Venice; and the eloquence of the doge and marquis perſuaded the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Pol, with eight barons of France, to join in the glorious enterpriſe. A treaty of offenſive and defenſive alliance was confirmed by their oaths and ſeals; and each individual, according to his ſituation and character, was ſwayed by the hope of public or private advantage;

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[51] Reinier and Conrad; the former married Maria, daughter of the emperor Manuel Comnenus; the latter was the huſband of Theodora Angela, ſiſter of the emperors Iſaac and Alexius. Conrad abandoned the Greek court and princeſs for the glory of defending Tyre againſt Saladin (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 187. 203.).

[52] Nicetas (in Alexio Comneno, l. iii. c. 9.) accuſes the doge and Venetians as the firſt authors of the war againſt Conſtantinople, and conſiders only as a κυμα ὑπερ κυματι, the arrival and ſhameful offers of the royal exile.

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by the honour of reftoring an exiled monarch; or by the fincere and probable opinion, that their efforts in Paleftine would be fruitlefs and unavailing, and that the acquifition of Conftantinople muft precede and prepare the recovery of Jerufalem. But they were the chiefs or equals of a valiant band of freemen and volunteers, who thought and acted for themfelves: the foldiers and clergy were divided; and, if a large majority fubfcribed to the alliance, the numbers and arguments of the diffidents were ftrong and refpectable[53]. The boldeft hearts were appalled by the report of the naval power and impregnable ftrength of Conftantinople; and their apprehenfions were difguifed to the world, and perhaps to themfelves, by the more decent objections of religion and duty. They alleged the fanctity of a vow, which had drawn them from their families and homes to the refcue of the holy fepulchre; nor fhould the dark and crooked counfels of human policy divert them from a purfuit, the event of which was in the hands of the Almighty. Their firft offence, the attack of Zara, had been feverely punifhed by the reproach of their confcience and the cenfures of the pope; nor would they again imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-chriftians. The apoftle of Rome had pronounced; nor would they ufurp the right of avenging with the fword the fchifm of the Greeks and the doubtful ufurpation of the Byzantine monarch. On thefe principles or pretences, many pilgrims, the moft diftinguifhed for their valour and piety, withdrew from the camp; and their retreat was lefs pernicious than the open or fecret oppofition of a difcontented party, that laboured, on every occafion, to feparate the army and difappoint the enterprife.

Voyage from Zara to Conftantinople, A. D. 1203, April 7— June 24.

Notwithftanding this defection, the departure of the fleet and army was vigoroufly preffed by the Venetians; whofe zeal for the fervice of the royal youth concealed a juft refentment to his nation

[53] Villehardouin and Gunther reprefent the fentiments of the two parties. The abbot Martin left the army at Zara, proceeded to Paleftine, was fent ambaffador to Conftantinople, and became a reluctant witnefs of the fecond fiege.

and

and family. They were mortified by the recent preference which had been given to Pisa the rival of their trade; they had a long arrear of debt and injury to liquidate with the Byzantine court; and Dandolo might not discourage the popular tale, that he had been deprived of his eyes by the emperor Manuel, who perfidiously violated the sanctity of an ambassador. A similar armament, for ages, had not rode the Adriatic: it was composed of one hundred and twenty flat-bottomed vessels or *palanders* for the horses; two hundred and forty transports filled with men and arms; seventy storeships laden with provisions; and fifty stout gallies, well prepared for the encounter of an enemy [54]. While the wind was favourable, the sky serene, and the water smooth, every eye was fixed with wonder and delight on the scene of military and naval pomp which overspread the sea. The shields of the knights and squires, at once an ornament and a defence, were arranged on either side of the ships; the banners of the nations and families were displayed from the stern; our modern artillery was supplied by three hundred engines for casting stones and darts: the fatigues of the way were cheered with the sound of music; and the spirits of the adventurers were raised by the mutual assurance, that forty thousand christian heroes were equal to the conquest of the world [55]. In the navigation [56] from Venice and Zara, the fleet was successfully steered by the skill and experience of the Venetian pilots: at Durazzo, the confederates first landed on the territories of the Greek empire: the isle of Corfu afforded a station and repose; they doubled without accident the perilous cape of Malea, the southern point of Peloponesus or the

[54] The birth and dignity of Andrew Dandolo gave him the motive and the means of searching in the archives of Venice the memorable story of his ancestor. His brevity seems to accuse the copious and more recent narratives of Sanudo (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxii.), Blondus, Sabellicus, and Rhamnusius.

[55] Villehardouin, N°62. His feelings and expressions are original; he often weeps, but he rejoices in the glories and perils of war with a spirit unknown to a sedentary writer.

[56] In this voyage, almost all the geographical names are corrupted by the Latins. The modern appellation of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, is derived from its *Euripus*, *Evripo*, *Negri-po*, *Negropont*, which dishonours our maps (d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 263.).

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Morea; made a deſcent in the iſlands of Negropont and Andros; and caſt anchor at Abydus on the Aſiatic ſide of the Helleſpont. Theſe preludes of conqueſt were eaſy and bloodleſs; the Greeks of the provinces, without patriotiſm or courage, were cruſhed by an irreſiſtible force; the preſence of the lawful heir might juſtify their obedience; and it was rewarded by the modeſty and diſcipline of the Latins. As they penetrated through the Helleſpont, the magnitude of their navy was compreſſed in a narrow channel; and the face of the waters was darkened with innumerable ſails. They again expanded in the baſon of the Propontis, and traverſed that placid ſea, till they approached the European ſhore, at the abbey of St. Stephen, three leagues to the weſt of Conſtantinople. The prudent doge diſſuaded them from diſperſing themſelves in a populous and hoſtile land; and, as their ſtock of proviſions was reduced, it was reſolved, in the ſeaſon of harveſt, to repleniſh their ſtoreſhips in the fertile iſlands of the Propontis. With this reſolution, they directed their courſe; but a ſtrong gale, and their own impatience, drove them to the eaſtward; and ſo near did they run to the ſhore and the city, that ſome vollies of ſtones and darts were exchanged between the ſhips and the rampart. As they paſſed along, they gazed with admiration on the capital of the Eaſt, or, as it ſhould ſeem, of the earth; riſing from her ſeven hills, and towering over the continents of Europe and Aſia. The ſwelling domes and lofty ſpires of five hundred palaces and churches, were gilded by the ſun and reflected in the waters; the walls were crowded with ſoldiers and ſpectators, whoſe numbers they beheld, of whoſe temper they were ignorant; and each heart was chilled by the reflection, that, ſince the beginning of the world, ſuch an enterpriſe had never been undertaken by ſuch an handful of warriors. But the momentary apprehenſion was diſpelled by hope and valour; and every man, ſays the marſhal of Champagne, glanced his eye on the ſword or

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lance which he muſt ſpeedily uſe in the glorious conflict[57]. The Latins caſt anchor before Chalcedon; the mariners only were left in the veſſels; the ſoldiers, horſes, and arms, were ſafely landed; and, in the luxury of an Imperial palace, the barons taſted the firſt fruits of their ſucceſs. On the third day, the fleet and army moved towards Scutari, the Aſiatic ſuburb of Conſtantinople; a detachment of five hundred Greek horſe was ſurpriſed and defeated by fourſcore French knights; and in a halt of nine days, the camp was plentifully ſupplied with forage and proviſions.

Fruitleſs negociation of the emperor.

In relating the invaſion of a great empire, it may ſeem ſtrange that I have not deſcribed the obſtacles which ſhould have checked the progreſs of the ſtrangers. The Greeks, in truth, were an unwarlike people; but they were rich, induſtrious, and ſubject to the will of a ſingle man: had that man been capable of fear, when his enemies were at a diſtance, or of courage, when they approached his perſon. The firſt rumour of his nephew's alliance with the French and Venetians was deſpiſed by the uſurper Alexius; his flatterers perſuaded him, that in this contempt he was bold and ſincere; and each evening in the cloſe of the banquet, he thrice diſcomfited the Barbarians of the Weſt. Theſe Barbarians had been juſtly terrified by the report of his naval power; and the ſixteen hundred fiſhing-boats of Conſtantinople[58] could have manned a fleet, to ſink them in the Adriatic, or ſtop their entrance in the mouth of the Helleſpont. But all force may be annihilated by the negligence of the prince and the venality of his miniſters. The great duke, or admiral, made a ſcandalous, almoſt a public, auction of the ſails, the maſts, and the rigging: the royal foreſts were reſerved for the more important purpoſe of the chace; and the trees, ſays Nicetas, were

[57] Et ſachiez que il ne ot ſi hardi cui le cuer ne fremiſt (c. 67.)..... Chaſcuns regardoit ſes armes.... que par tems en aront meſtier (c. 68.). Such is the honeſty of courage.

[58] Eandem urbem plus in ſolis navibus piſcatorum abundare, quam illos in toto navigio. Habebat enim mille et ſexcentas piſcatorias naves..... Bellicas autem ſive mercatorias habebant infinitæ multitudinis et portum tutiſſimum. Gunther, Hiſt. C. P. c. 8. p. 10.

guarded

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guarded by the eunuchs, like the groves of religious worſhip[59]. From his dream of pride, Alexius was awakened by the ſiege of Zara and the rapid advances of the Latins; as ſoon as he ſaw the danger was real, he thought it inevitable; and his vain preſumption was loſt in abject deſpondency and deſpair. He ſuffered theſe contemptible Barbarians to pitch their camp in the ſight of the palace; and his apprehenſions were thinly diſguiſed by the pomp and menace of a ſuppliant embaſſy. The ſovereign of the Romans was aſtoniſhed (his ambaſſadors were inſtructed to ſay) at the hoſtile appearance of the ſtrangers. If theſe pilgrims were ſincere in their vow for the deliverance of Jeruſalem, his voice muſt applaud, and his treaſures ſhould aſſiſt, their pious deſign; but ſhould they dare to invade the ſanctuary of empire, their numbers, were they ten times more conſiderable, ſhould not protect them from his juſt reſentment. The anſwer of the doge and barons was ſimple and magnanimous. "In the cauſe of honour and juſtice," they ſaid, "we "deſpiſe the uſurper of Greece, his threats, and his offers. *Our* "friendſhip and *his* allegiance are due to the lawful heir, to the "young prince who is ſeated among us, and to his father, the em- "peror Iſaac, who has been deprived of his ſceptre, his freedom, "and his eyes, by the crime of an ungrateful brother. Let that "brother confeſs his guilt, and implore forgiveneſs, and we our- "ſelves will intercede, that he may be permitted to live in affluence "and ſecurity. But let him not inſult us by a ſecond meſſage: "our reply will be made in arms, in the palace of Conſtantinople."

Paſſage of the Boſphorus, July 6.

On the tenth day of their encampment at Scutari, the cruſaders prepared themſelves, as ſoldiers and as catholics, for the paſſage of the Boſphorus. Perilous indeed was the adventure; the ſtream was broad and rapid; in a calm the current of the Euxine might drive down the liquid and unextinguiſhable fires of the Greeks; and the oppoſite ſhores of Europe were defended by ſeventy thouſand horſe

[59] Καθαπερ ἱερων αλσεων, ειπειν δε και θεοφυτευτων παραδεισων εφειδοντο τουτων. Nicetas in Alex. Comneno, l. iii. c. 9. p. 348.

and foot in formidable array. On this memorable day, which happened to be bright and pleaſant, the Latins were diſtributed in ſix battles or diviſions; the firſt, or vanguard, was led by the count of Flanders, one of the moſt powerful of the Chriſtian princes in the ſkill and number of his croſs-bows. The four ſucceſſive battles of the French were commanded by his brother Henry, the counts of St. Pol and Blois, and Matthew of Montmorency, the laſt of whom was honoured by the voluntary ſervice of the marſhal and nobles of Champagne. The ſixth diviſion, the rear-guard and reſerve of the army, was conducted by the marquis of Montferrat, at the head of the Germans and Lombards. The chargers, ſaddled, with their long capariſons dragging on the ground, were embarked in the flat *palanders*[60]; and the knights ſtood by the ſide of their horſes, in complete armour, their helmets laced, and their lances in their hands. Their numerous train of *ſerjeants*[61] and archers occupied the tranſports; and each tranſport was towed by the ſtrength and ſwiftneſs of a galley. The ſix diviſions traverſed the Boſphorus, without encountering an enemy or an obſtacle; to land the foremoſt was the wiſh, to conquer or die was the reſolution, of every diviſion and of every ſoldier. Jealous of the pre-eminence of danger, the knights in their heavy armour leaped into the ſea, when it roſe as high as their girdle; the ſerjeants and archers were animated by their valour; and the ſquires, letting down the draw-bridges of the palanders, led the horſes to the ſhore. Before the ſquadrons could mount, and form, and couch their lances, the ſeventy thouſand Greeks had vaniſhed

[60] From the verſion of Vignere I adopt the well-ſounding word *palander*, which is ſtill uſed, I believe, in the Mediterranean. But had I written in French, I ſhould have preferred the original and expreſſive denomination of *veſſiers* or *huiſſiers*, from the *huis*, or door, which was let down as a draw-bridge; but which, at ſea, was cloſed into the ſide of the ſhip (ſee Ducange au Villehardouin, N° 14. and Joinville, p. 27, 28. edit. du Louvre).

[61] To avoid the vague expreſſions of followers, &c. I uſe, after Villehardouin, the word *ſerjeants* for all horſemen who were not knights. There were ſerjeants at arms, and ſerjeants at law; and if we viſit the parade and Weſtminſter-hall, we may obſerve the ſtrange reſult of the diſtinction (Ducange, Gloſſar. Latin. *Servientes*, &c. tom. vi. p. 226—231.).

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vanished from their sight; the timid Alexius gave the example to his troops; and it was only by the plunder of his rich pavillions that the Latins were informed that they had fought against an emperor. In the first consternation of the flying enemy, they resolved by a double attack to open the entrance of the harbour. The tower of Galata [62], in the suburb of Pera, was attacked and stormed by the French, while the Venetians assumed the more difficult task of forcing the boom or chain that was stretched from that tower to the Byzantine shore. After some fruitless attempts, their intrepid perseverance prevailed: twenty ships of war, the relics of the Grecian navy, were either sunk or taken: the enormous and massy links of iron were cut asunder by the shears, or broken by the weight, of the gallies [63]; and the Venetian fleet, safe and triumphant, rode at anchor in the port of Constantinople. By these daring atchievements, a remnant of twenty thousand Latins solicited the licence of besieging a capital which contained above four hundred thousand inhabitants [64], able, though not willing, to bear arms in the defence of their country. Such an account would indeed suppose a population of near two millions; but whatever abatement may be required in the numbers of the Greeks, the *belief* of those numbers will equally exalt the fearless spirit of their assailants.

[62] It is needless to observe, that on the subject of Galata, the chain, &c. Ducange is accurate and full. Consult likewise the proper chapters of the C. P. Christiana of the same author. The inhabitants of Galata were so vain and ignorant, that they applied to themselves St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

[63] The vessel that broke the chain was named the Eagle, *Aquila* (Dandol. Chronicon. p. 322.), which Blondus (de Gestis Venet.) has changed into *Aquilo* the north-wind. Ducange, Observations, N° 83. maintains the latter reading; but he had not seen the respectable text of Dandolo, nor did he enough consider the topography of the harbour. The south-east would have been a more effectual wind.

[64] Quatre cens mil homes ou plus (Villehardouin, N° 134.), must be understood of *men* of a military age. Le Beau (Hist. du Bas Empire, tom. xx. p. 417.) allows Constantinople a million of inhabitants, of whom 60,000 horse, and an infinite number of foot soldiers. In its present decay, the capital of the Ottoman empire may contain 400,000 souls (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 401, 402.); but as the Turks keep no registers, and as circumstances are fallacious, it is impossible to ascertain (Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 18, 19.) the real populousness of their cities.

In the choice of the attack, the French and Venetians were divided by their habits of life and warfare. The former affirmed with truth, that Conftantinople was moft acceffible on the fide of the fea and the harbour. The latter might affert with honour, that they had long enough trufted their lives and fortunes to a frail bark and a precarious element, and loudly demanded a trial of knighthood, a firm ground, and a clofe onfet, either on foot or horfeback. After a prudent compromife, of employing the two nations by fea and land, in the fervice beft fuited to their character, the fleet covering the army, they both proceeded from the entrance to the extremity of the harbour: the ftone bridge of the river was haftily repaired; and the fix battles of the French formed their encampment againft the front of the capital, the bafis of the triangle which runs about four miles from the port to the Propontis [65]. On the edge of a broad ditch, at the foot of a lofty rampart, they had leifure to contemplate the difficulties of their enterprife. The gates to the right and left of their narrow camp poured forth frequent fallies of cavalry and light-infantry, which cut off their ftragglers, fwept the country of provifions, founded the alarm five or fix times in the courfe of each day, and compelled them to plant a pallifade, and fink an entrenchment, for their immediate fafety. In the fupplies and convoys the Venetians had been too fparing, or the Franks too voracious: the ufual complaints of hunger and fcarcity were heard, and perhaps felt: their ftock of flour would be exhaufted in three weeks; and their difguft of falt meat tempted them to tafte the flefh of their horfes. The trembling ufurper was fupported by Theodore Lafcaris, his fon-in-law, a valiant youth, who afpired to fave and to rule his country; the Greeks, regardlefs of that country, were awakened to the defence of their religion; but their firmeft hope was in the ftrength and

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First fiege and conqueft of Conftantinople by the Latins, July 7—18.

65 On the moft correct plans of Conftantinople, I know not how to meafure more than 4000 paces. Yet Villehardouin computes the fpace at three leagues (N° 86.). If his eye were not deceived, he muft reckon by the old Gallic league of 1500 paces, which might ftill be ufed in Champagne.

 fpirit

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ſpirit of the Varangian guards, of the Danes and Engliſh, as they are named in the writers of the times[66]. After ten days inceſſant labour, the ground was levelled, the ditch filled, the approaches of the beſiegers were regularly made, and two hundred and fifty engines of aſſault exerciſed their various powers to clear the rampart, to batter the walls, and to ſap the foundations. On the firſt appearance of a breach, the ſcaling-ladders were applied: the numbers that defended the vantage ground repulſed and oppreſſed the adventurous Latins; but they admired the reſolution of fifteen knights and ſerjeants, who had gained the aſcent, and maintained their perilous ſtation till they were precipitated or made priſoners by the Imperial guards. On the ſide of the harbour the naval attack was more ſuccefsfully conducted by the Venetians; and that induſtrious people employed every reſource that was known and practiſed before the invention of gunpowder. A double line, three bow-ſhots in front, was formed by the gallies and ſhips; and the ſwift motion of the former was ſupported by the weight and loftineſs of the latter, whoſe decks, and poops, and turret, were the platforms of military engines, that diſcharged their ſhot over the heads of the firſt line. The ſoldiers, who leaped from the gallies on ſhore, immediately planted and aſcended their ſcaling-ladders, while the large ſhips, advancing more ſlowly into the intervals, and lowering a draw-bridge, opened a way through the air from their maſts to the rampart. In the midſt of the conflict, the doge, a venerable and conſpicuous form, ſtood aloft in complete armour on the prow of his galley. The great ſtandard of St. Mark was diſplayed before him; his threats, promiſes, and exhortations, urged the diligence of the rowers; his veſſel was the firſt that ſtruck; and Dandolo was the firſt warrior on the ſhore. The nations admired the magnanimity of the blind old man, without reflecting that his age and infirmities diminiſhed the price of life,

[66] The guards, the Varangi, are ſtyled by Villehardouin (N° 89. 95, &c.), Englois et Danois avec leurs haches. Whatever had been their origin, a French pilgrim could not be miſtaken in the nations of which they were at that time compoſed.

life, and enhanced the value of immortal glory. On a ſudden, by an inviſible hand (for the ſtandard-bearer was probably ſlain), the banner of the republic was fixed on the rampart: twenty-five towers were rapidly occupied; and, by the cruel expedient of fire, the Greeks were driven from the adjacent quarter. The doge had diſpatched the intelligence of his ſucceſs, when he was checked by the danger of his confederates. Nobly declaring that he would rather die with the pilgrims than gain a victory by their deſtruction, Dandolo relinquiſhed his advantage, recalled his troops, and haſtened to the ſcene of action. He found the ſix weary diminutive *battles* of the French encompaſſed by ſixty ſquadrons of the Greek cavalry, the leaſt of which was more numerous than the largeſt of their diviſions. Shame and deſpair had provoked Alexius to the laſt effort of a general ſally; but he was awed by the firm order and manly aſpect of the Latins; and, after ſkirmiſhing at a diſtance, withdrew his troops in the cloſe of the evening. The ſilence or tumult of the night exaſperated his fears; and the timid uſurper, collecting a treaſure of ten thouſand pounds of gold, baſely deſerted his wife, his people, and his fortune; threw himſelf into a bark, ſtole through the Boſphorus, and landed in ſhameful ſafety in an obſcure harbour of Thrace. As ſoon as they were appriſed of his flight, the Greek nobles ſought pardon and peace in the dungeon where the blind Iſaac expected each hour the viſit of the executioner. Again ſaved and exalted by the viciſſitudes of fortune, the captive in his Imperial robes was replaced on the throne, and ſurrounded with proſtrate ſlaves, whoſe real terror and affected joy he was incapable of diſcerning. At the dawn of day, hoſtilities were ſuſpended; and the Latin chiefs were ſurpriſed by a meſſage from the lawful and reigning emperor, who was impatient to embrace his ſon and to reward his generous deliverers [67].

But

[67] For the firſt ſiege and conqueſt of Conſtantinople, we may read the original letter of the cruſaders to Innocent III. Geſta, c. 91. p. 533, 534. Villehardouin, N° 75—99.

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Reftoration of the emperor Ifaac Angelus, and his fon Alexius, July 19.

But thefe generous deliverers were unwilling to releafe their hoftage, till they had obtained from his father the payment, or at leaft the promife, of their recompenfe. They chofe four ambaffadors, Matthew of Montmorency, our hiftorian the marfhal of Champagne, and two Venetians, to congratulate the emperor. The gates were thrown open on their approach, the ftreets on both fides were lined with the battle-axes of the Danifh and Englifh guard: the prefence-chamber glittered with gold and jewels, the falfe fubftitutes of virtue and power; by the fide of the blind Ifaac, his wife was feated, the fifter of the king of Hungary; and by her appearance, the noble matrons of Greece were drawn from their domeftic retirement, and mingled with the circle of fenators and foldiers. The Latins, by the mouth of the marfhal, fpoke like men, confcious of their merits, but who refpected the work of their own hands; and the emperor clearly underftood, that his fon's engagements with Venice and the pilgrims muft be ratified without hefitation or delay. Withdrawing into a private chamber with the emprefs, a chamberlain, an interpreter, and the four ambaffadors, the father of young Alexius enquired with fome anxiety into the nature of his ftipulations. The fubmiffion of the Eaftern empire to the pope, the fuccour of the Holy Land, and a prefent contribution of two hundred thoufand marks of filver—"Thefe conditions are weighty," was his prudent reply; "they are hard to accept, and difficult to perform. But no "conditions can exceed the meafure of your fervices and deferts." After this fatisfactory affurance, the barons mounted on horfeback, and introduced the heir of Conftantinople to the city and palace: his youth and marvellous adventures engaged every heart in his favour, and Alexius was folemnly crowned with his father in the dome of St. Sophia. In the firft days of his reign, the people, already bleffed

99. Nicetas in Alexio Comnen. l. iii. c. 10. p. 349—352. Dandolo, in Chron. p. 322. Gunther, and his abbot Martin, were not yet returned from their obftinate pilgrimage to Jerufalem, or St. John d'Acre, where the greateft part of the company had died of the plague.

with

with the reſtoration of plenty and peace, was delighted by the joyful cataſtrophe of the tragedy; and the diſcontent of the nobles, their regret, and their fears, were covered by the poliſhed ſurface of pleaſure and loyalty. The mixture of two diſcordant nations in the ſame capital, might have been pregnant with miſchief and danger; and the ſuburb of Galata, or Pera, was aſſigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians. But the liberty of trade and familiar intercourſe was allowed between the friendly nations; and each day the pilgrims were tempted by devotion or curioſity to viſit the churches and palaces of Conſtantinople. Their rude minds, inſenſible perhaps of the finer arts, were aſtoniſhed by the magnificent ſcenery: and the poverty of their native towns enhanced the populouſneſs and riches of the firſt metropolis of Chriſtendom [68]. Deſcending from his ſtate, young Alexius was prompted by intereſt and gratitude to repeat his frequent and familiar viſits to his Latin allies; and in the freedom of the table, the gay petulance of the French ſometimes forgot the emperor of the Eaſt [69]. In their more ſerious conferences, it was agreed, that the re-union of the two churches muſt be the reſult of patience and time; but avarice was leſs tractable than zeal; and a large ſum was inſtantly diſburſed to appeaſe the wants, and ſilence the importunity, of the cruſaders [70]. Alexius was alarmed by the approaching hour of their departure: their abſence might have relieved him from the engagement which he was yet incapable of performing;

68 Compare, in the rude energy of Villehardouin (N° 66. 100.), the inſide and outſide views of Conſtantinople, and their impreſſion on the minds of the pilgrims: cette ville (ſays he) que de totes les autres ére ſouveraine. See the parallel paſſages of Fulcherius Carnotenſis, Hiſt. Hieroſol. l. i. c. 4. and Will. Tyr. ii. 3. xx. 26.

69 As they played at dice, the Latins took off his diadem, and clapped on his head a woollen or hairy cap, το μεγαλοπρεπες και παγκλειστον κατερρυπαινεν ονομα (Nicetas, p. 358.). If theſe merry companions were Venetians, it was the inſolence of trade and a commonwealth.

70 Villehardouin, N° 101. Dandolo, p. 322. The doge affirms, that the Venetians were paid more ſlowly than the French; but he owns, that the hiſtories of the two nations differed on that ſubject. Had he read Villehardouin? The Greeks complained, however, quòd totius Græciæ opes tranſtuliſſet (Gunther, Hiſt. C. P. c. 13.). See the lamentations and invectives of Nicetas (p. 355.).

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forming; but his friends would have left him, naked and alone, to the caprice and prejudice of a perfidious nation. He wiſhed to bribe their ſtay, the delay of a year, by undertaking to defray their expence, and to ſatisfy, in their name, the freight of the Venetian veſſels. The offer was agitated in the council of the barons; and, after a repetition of their debates and ſcruples, a majority of votes again acquieſced in the advice of the doge and the prayer of the young emperor. At the price of ſixteen hundred pounds of gold, he prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat to lead him with an army round the provinces of Europe; to eſtabliſh his authority, and purſue his uncle, while Conſtantinople was awed by the preſence of Baldwin and his confederates of France and Flanders. The expedition was ſucceſsful; the blind emperor exulted in the ſucceſs of his arms, and liſtened to the predictions of his flatterers, that the ſame Providence which had raiſed him from the dungeon to the throne, would heal his gout, reſtore his ſight, and watch over the long proſperity of his reign. Yet the mind of the ſuſpicious old man was tormented by the riſing glories of his ſon: nor could his pride conceal from his envy, that, while his own name was pronounced in faint and reluctant acclamations, the royal youth was the theme of ſpontaneous and univerſal praiſe [71].

Quarrel of the Greeks and Latins.

By the recent invaſion, the Greeks were awakened from a dream of nine centuries; from the vain preſumption that the capital of the Roman empire was impregnable to foreign arms. The ſtrangers of the Weſt had violated the city, and beſtowed the ſceptre, of Conſtantine: their Imperial clients ſoon became as unpopular as themſelves: the well-known vices of Iſaac were rendered ſtill more contemptible by his infirmities; and the young Alexius was hated as an apoſtate who had renounced the manners and religion of his country. His ſecret covenant with the Latins was divulged or ſuſ-

[71] The reign of Alexius Comnenus occupies three books in Nicetas, p. 291—352. The ſhort reſtoration of Iſaac and his ſon is diſpatched in five chapters, p. 352—362.

pected;

pected; the people, and especially the clergy, were devoutly attached to their faith and superstition; and every convent, and every shop, resounded with the danger of the church and the tyranny of the pope [72]. An empty treasury could ill supply the demands of regal luxury and foreign extortion: the Greeks refused to avert, by a general tax, the impending evils of servitude and pillage; the oppression of the rich excited a more dangerous and personal resentment; and if the emperor melted the plate, and despoiled the images of the sanctuary, he seemed to justify the complaints of heresy and sacrilege. During the absence of marquis Boniface and his Imperial pupil, Constantinople was visited with a calamity which might be justly imputed to the zeal and indiscretion of the Flemish pilgrims [73]. In one of their visits to the city, they were scandalized by the aspect of a mosch or synagogue, in which one God was worshipped, without a partner or a son. Their effectual mode of controversy was to attack the infidels with the sword, and their habitation with fire: but the infidels, and some Christian neighbours, presumed to defend their lives and properties; and the flames which bigotry had kindled consumed the most orthodox and innocent structures. During eight days and nights, the conflagration spread above a league in front, from the harbour to the Propontis, over the thickest and most populous regions of the city. It is not easy to count the stately churches and palaces that were reduced to a smoking ruin, to value the merchandise that perished in the trading streets, or to number the families that were involved in the common destruction. By this outrage, which the doge and the barons in vain affected to disclaim,

[72] When Nicetas reproaches Alexius for his impious league, he bestows the harshest names on the pope's new religion; μειζον και ατοπωτατον . . . παρεκτροπην πιστεως . . . των τε Παπα προνομιων καινισμον . . . μεταθεσιν τε και μεταποιησιν των παλαιων Ρωμαιοις εθων (p. 348.). Such was the sincere language of every Greek to the last gasp of the empire.

[73] Nicetas (p. 355.) is positive in the charge, and specifies the Flemings (Φλαμιονες), though he is wrong in supposing it an ancient name. Villehardouin (N° 107.) exculpates the barons, and is ignorant (perhaps affectedly ignorant) of the names of the guilty.

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CHAP. LX. the name of the Latins became ſtill more unpopular; and the colony of that nation, above fifteen thouſand perſons, conſulted their ſafety in a haſty retreat from the city to the protection of their ſtandard in the ſuburb of Pera. The emperor returned in triumph; but the firmeſt and moſt dextrous policy would have been inſufficient to ſteer him through the tempeſt, which overwhelmed the perſon and government of that unhappy youth. His own inclination, and his father's advice, attached him to his benefactors; but Alexius heſitated between gratitude and patriotiſm, between the fear of his ſubjects and of his allies[74]. By his feeble and fluctuating conduct he loſt the eſteem and confidence of both; and, while he invited the marquis of Montferrat to occupy the palace, he ſuffered the nobles to conſpire, and the people to arm, for the deliverance of their country. Regardleſs of his painful ſituation, the Latin chiefs repeated their demands, reſented his delays, ſuſpected his intentions, and exacted a deciſive anſwer of peace or war. The haughty ſummons was delivered by three French knights and three Venetian deputies, who girded their ſwords, mounted their horſes, pierced through the angry multitude, and entered with a fearleſs countenance the palace and preſence of the Greek emperor. In a peremptory tone, they recapitulated their ſervices and his engagements; and boldly declared, that unleſs their juſt claims were fully and immediately ſatisfied, they ſhould no longer hold him either as a ſovereign or a friend. After this defiance, the firſt that had ever wounded an Imperial ear, they departed without betraying any ſymptoms of fear; but their eſcape from a ſervile palace and a furious city aſtoniſhed the ambaſſadors themſelves; and their return to the camp was the ſignal of mutual hoſtility.

The war renewed, A.D. 1204. Among the Greeks, all authority and wiſdom were overborne by the impetuous multitude, who miſtook their rage for valour, their numbers

[74] Compare the ſuſpicions and complaints of Nicetas (p. 359—362.) with the blunt charges of Baldwin of Flanders (Geſta Innocent. III. c. 92. p. 534.), cum patriarcha et mole nobilium, nobis promiſſis perjurus et mendax.

numbers for ſtrength, and their fanaticiſm for the ſupport and inſpiration of Heaven. In the eyes of both nations Alexius was falſe and contemptible: the baſe and ſpurious race of the Angeli was rejected with clamorous diſdain; and the people of Conſtantinople encompaſſed the ſenate, to demand at their hands a more worthy emperor. To every ſenator, conſpicuous by his birth or dignity, they ſucceſſively preſented the purple: by each ſenator the deadly garment was repulſed: the conteſt laſted three days; and we may learn from the hiſtorian Nicetas, one of the members of the aſſembly, that fear and weakneſs were the guardians of their loyalty. A phantom, who vaniſhed in oblivion, was forcibly proclaimed by the crowd[75]; but the author of the tumult, and the leader of the war, was a prince of the houſe of Ducas; and his common appellation of Alexius muſt be diſcriminated by the epithet of Mourzoufle[76], which in the vulgar idiom expreſſed the cloſe junction of his black and ſhaggy eye-brows. At once a patriot and a courtier, the perfidious Mourzoufle, who was not deſtitute of cunning and courage, oppoſed the Latins both in ſpeech and action, inflamed the paſſions and prejudices of the Greeks, and inſinuated himſelf into the favour and confidence of Alexius, who truſted him with the office of great chamberlain, and tinged his buſkins with the colours of royalty. At the dead of night he ruſhed into the bed-chamber with an affrighted aſpect, exclaiming, that the palace was attacked by the people and betrayed by the guards. Starting from his couch, the unſuſpecting prince threw himſelf into the arms of his enemy, who had contrived his eſcape by a private ſtaircaſe. But that ſtaircaſe terminated in a priſon; Alexius was ſeized, ſtripped, and loaded with chains; and, after taſting ſome days the bitterneſs of death, he

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[75] His name was Nicholas Canabus; he deſerved the praiſe of Nicetas and the vengeance of Mourzoufle (p. 362.).

[76] Villehardouin (N° 116.) ſpeaks of him as a favourite, without knowing that he was a prince of the blood, *Angelus* and *Ducas*. Ducange, who pries into every corner, believes him to be the ſon of Iſaac Ducas Sebaſtocrator, and ſecond couſin of young Alexius.

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Alexius and his father deposed by Mourzoufle, February 8.

he was poisoned, or strangled, or beaten with clubs, at the command, and in the presence, of the tyrant. The emperor Isaac Angelus soon followed his son to the grave, and Mourzoufle, perhaps, might spare the superfluous crime of hastening the extinction of impotence and blindness.

Second siege, January—April.

The death of the emperors, and the usurpation of Mourzoufle, had changed the nature of the quarrel. It was no longer the disagreement of allies who over-valued their services, or neglected their obligations: the French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius, dropt a tear on the untimely fate of their companion, and swore revenge against the perfidious nation who had crowned his assassin. Yet the prudent doge was still inclined to negociate; he asked as a debt, a subsidy, or a fine, fifty thousand pounds of gold, about two millions sterling; nor would the conference have been abruptly broken, if the zeal, or policy, of Mourzoufle had not refused to sacrifice the Greek church to the safety of the state[77]. Amidst the invectives of his foreign and domestic enemies, we may discern, that he was not unworthy of the character which he had assumed, of the public champion: the second siege of Constantinople was far more laborious than the first; the treasury was replenished, and discipline was restored, by a severe inquisition into the abuses of the former reign; and Mourzoufle, an iron mace in his hand, visiting the posts, and affecting the port and aspect of a warrior, was an object of terror, to his soldiers, at least, and to his kinsmen. Before and after the death of Alexius, the Greeks made two vigorous and well-conducted attempts to burn the navy in the harbour; but the skill and courage of the Venetians repulsed the fire-ships; and the vagrant flames wasted themselves without injury in the sea[78]. In a

[77] This negociation, probable in itself, and attested by Nicetas (p. 365.), is omitted as scandalous by the delicacy of Dandolo and Villehardouin.

[78] Baldwin mentions both attempts to fire the fleet (Gest. c. 92. p. 534, 535.); Villehardouin (N° 113—115.) only describes the first. It is remarkable, that neither of these warriors observe any peculiar properties in the Greek fire.

nocturnal

nocturnal sally, the Greek emperor was vanquished by Henry, brother of the count of Flanders: the advantages of number and surprise aggravated the shame of his defeat; his buckler was found on the field of battle; and the Imperial standard [79], a divine image of the Virgin, was presented, as a trophy and a relic, to the Cistercian monks, the disciples of St. Bernard. Near three months, without excepting the holy season of Lent, were consumed in skirmishes and preparations, before the Latins were ready or resolved for a general assault. The land-fortifications had been found impregnable; and the Venetian pilots represented, that, on the shore of the Propontis, the anchorage was unsafe, and the ships must be driven by the current far away to the streights of the Hellespont; a prospect not unpleasing to the reluctant pilgrims, who sought every opportunity of breaking the army. From the harbour, therefore, the assault was determined by the assailants, and expected by the besieged; and the emperor had placed his scarlet pavillions on a neighbouring height, to direct and animate the efforts of his troops. A fearless spectator, whose mind could entertain the ideas of pomp and pleasure, might have admired the long array of two embattled armies, which extended above half a league, the one on the ships and gallies, the other on the walls and towers raised above the ordinary level by several stages of wooden turrets. Their first fury was spent in the discharge of darts, stones, and fire, from the engines; but the water was deep; the French were bold; the Venetians were skilful; they approached the walls; and a desperate conflict of swords, spears, and battle-axes, was fought on the trembling bridges that grappled the floating, to the stable, batteries. In more than an hundred places, the assault was urged, and the defence was sustained; till the superiority of ground and numbers finally prevailed, and the Latin trumpets sounded a retreat. On the

[79] Ducange (N° 119.) pours forth a torrent of learning on the *Gonfanon Imperial.* This banner of the Virgin is shewn at Venice as a trophy and relic: if it be genuine, the pious doge must have cheated the monks of Citeaux.

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the ensuing days, the attack was renewed with equal vigour and a similar event; and, in the night, the doge and the barons held a council, apprehensive only for the public danger: not a voice pronounced the words of escape or treaty; and each warrior, according to his temper, embraced the hope of victory or the assurance of a glorious death[80]. By the experience of the former siege, the Greeks were instructed, but the Latins were animated; and the knowledge, that Constantinople *might* be taken, was of more avail than the local precautions which that knowledge had inspired for its defence. In the third assault, two ships were linked together to double their strength; a strong north wind drove them on the shore; the bishops of Troyes and Soissons led the van; and the auspicious names of the *pilgrim* and the *paradise* resounded along the line[81]. The episcopal banners were displayed on the walls; an hundred marks of silver had been promised to the first adventurers; and if their reward was intercepted by death, their names have been immortalised by fame. Four towers were scaled; three gates were burst open; and the French knights, who might tremble on the waves, felt themselves invincible on horseback on the solid ground. Shall I relate that the thousands who guarded the emperor's person fled on the approach and before the lance of a single warrior? Their ignominious flight is attested by their countryman Nicetas; an army of phantoms marched with the French hero, and he was magnified to a giant in the eyes of the Greeks[82]. While the fugitives deserted their posts and cast away their arms, the Latins entered the city under the banners of their leaders; the streets and gates opened for

[80] Villehardouin (N° 126.) confesses, that mult ere grant peril; and Guntherus (Hist. C. P. c. 13.) affirms, that nulla spes victoriæ arridere poterat. Yet the knight despises those who thought of flight, and the monk praises his countrymen who were resolved on death.

[81] Baldwin, and all the writers, honour the names of these two gallies, felici auspicio.

[82] With an allusion to Homer, Nicetas calls him ἐννεα οργυιας, nine orgyæ, or eighteen yards high, a stature which would indeed have excused the terror of the Greek. On this occasion, the historian seems fonder of the marvellous, than of his country, or perhaps of truth. Baldwin exclaims in the words of the psalmist, persequitur unus ex nobis centum alienos.

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their paſſage; and either deſign or accident kindled a third conflagration, which conſumed in a few hours the meaſure of three of the largeſt cities of France[83]. In the cloſe of evening, the barons checked their troops and fortified their ſtations; they were awed by the extent and populouſneſs of the capital, which might yet require the labour of a month, if the churches and palaces were conſcious of their internal ſtrength. But in the morning, a ſuppliant proceſſion, with croſſes and images, announced the ſubmiſſion of the Greeks, and deprecated the wrath of the conquerors: the uſurper eſcaped through the golden gate; the palaces of Blachernæ and Boucoleon were occupied by the count of Flanders and the marquis of Montferrat; and the empire which ſtill bore the name of Conſtantine, and the title of Roman, was ſubverted by the arms of the Latin pilgrims[84].

Pillage of Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople had been taken by ſtorm; and no reſtraints, except thoſe of religion and humanity, were impoſed on the conquerors by the laws of war. Boniface marquis of Montferrat ſtill acted as their general; and the Greeks, who revered his name as that of their future ſovereign, were heard to exclaim in a lamentable tone, "Holy marquis-king, have mercy upon us!" His prudence or compaſſion opened the gates of the city to the fugitives; and he exhorted the ſoldiers of the croſs to ſpare the lives of their fellow-Chriſtians. The ſtreams of blood that flow down the pages of Nicetas, may be reduced to the ſlaughter of two thouſand of his unreſiſting countrymen[85]; and the greater part was maſſacred, not by the

[83] Villehardouin (N° 130.) is again ignorant of the authors of *this* more legitimate fire, which is aſcribed by Gunther to a quidam comes Teutonicus (c. 14.). They ſeem aſhamed, the incendiaries!

[84] For the ſecond ſiege and conqueſt of Conſtantinople, ſee Villehardouin (N° 113—132.), Baldwin's iid Epiſtle to Innocent III. (Geſta, c. 92. p. 534—537.), with the whole reign of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 363—375.); and borrow ſome hints from Dandolo (Chron. Venet. p. 323—330.) and Gunther (Hiſt. C. P. c. 14—18.), who add the decorations of prophecy and viſion. The former produces an oracle of the Erythræan ſybil, of a great armament on the Adriatic, under a blind chief, againſt Byzantium, &c. Curious enough, were the prediction anterior to the fact.

[85] Ceciderunt tamen eâ die civium quaſi duo

the ſtrangers, but by the Latins, who had been driven from the city, and who exerciſed the revenge of a triumphant faction. Yet of theſe exiles, ſome were leſs mindful of injuries than of benefits; and Nicetas himſelf was indebted for his ſafety to the generoſity of a Venetian merchant. Pope Innocent the third accuſes the pilgrims of reſpecting, in their luſt, neither age nor ſex, nor religious profeſſion; and bitterly laments that the deeds of darkneſs, fornication, adultery, and inceſt, were perpetrated in open day; and that noble matrons and holy nuns were polluted by the grooms and peaſants of the Catholic camp[86]. It is indeed probable that the licence of victory prompted and covered a multitude of ſins: but it is certain, that the capital of the Eaſt contained a ſtock of venal or willing beauty, ſufficient to ſatiate the deſires of twenty thouſand pilgrims; and female priſoners were no longer ſubject to the right or abuſe of domeſtic ſlavery. The marquis of Montferrat was the patron of diſcipline and decency; the count of Flanders was the mirrour of chaſtity: they had forbidden, under pain of death, the rape of married women, or virgins, or nuns; and the proclamation was ſometimes invoked by the vanquiſhed[87] and reſpected by the victors. Their cruelty and luſt were moderated by the authority of the chiefs, and feelings of the ſoldiers; for we are no longer deſcribing an irruption of the northern ſavages; and however ferocious they might ſtill appear, time, policy, and religion, had civilized the manners of the French, and ſtill more of the Italians. But a free ſcope was allowed to their avarice, which was glutted, even in the holy week, by the pillage of Conſtantinople. The right of victory, unſhackled

duo millia, &c. (Gunther, c. 18.) Arithmetic is an excellent touchſtone to try the amplifications of paſſion and rhetoric.

[86] Quidam (ſays Innocent III. Geſta, c. 94. p. 538.) nec religioni, nec, ætati nec ſexui pepercerunt: ſed fornicationes, adulteria, et inceſtus in occulis omnium exercentes, non ſolùm maritatatas et viduas, ſed et matronas et virgines Deoque dicatas, expoſuerunt ſpurcitiis garcionum. Villehardouin takes no notice of theſe common incidents.

[87] Nicetas ſaved, and afterwards married, a noble virgin (p. 380.), whom a ſoldier επι μαρτυσι πολλοις ονηδον επιβρωμωμενος, had almoſt violated in ſpite of the εντολαι, ενταλματα ευ γεγονοτων.

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by any promiſe or treaty, had confiſcated the public and private wealth of the Greeks; and every hand, according to its ſize and ſtrength, might lawfully execute the ſentence and ſeize the forfeiture. A portable and univerſal ſtandard of exchange was found in the coined and uncoined metals of gold and ſilver, which each captor at home or abroad might convert into the poſſeſſions moſt ſuitable to his temper and ſituation. Of the treaſures, which trade and luxury had accumulated, the ſilks, velvets, furs, the gems, ſpices, and rich moveables, were the moſt precious, as they could not be procured for money in the ruder countries of Europe. An order of rapine was inſtituted; nor was the ſhare of each individual abandoned to induſtry or chance. Under the tremendous penalties of perjury, excommunication and death, the Latins were bound to deliver their plunder into the common ſtock: three churches were ſelected for the depoſit and diſtribution of the ſpoil: a ſingle ſhare was allotted to a foot ſoldier; two for a ſerjeant on horſeback; four to a knight; and larger proportions according to the rank and merit of the barons and princes. For violating this ſacred engagement, a knight belonging to the count of St. Paul was hanged with his ſhield and coat of arms round his neck: his example might render ſimilar offenders more artful and diſcreet; but avarice was more powerful than fear; and it is generally believed, that the ſecret far exceeded the acknowledged plunder. Yet the magnitude of the prize ſurpaſſed the largeſt ſcale of experience or expectation [88]. After the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, fifty thouſand marks were deducted to ſatisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The reſidue of the French amounted to four hundred thouſand marks of ſilver [89], about eight hundred

Diviſion of the ſpoil.

[88] Of the general maſs of wealth, Gunther obſerves, ut de pauperibus et advenis cives ditiſſimi redderentur (Hiſt. C. P. c. 18.); Villehardouin (N° 132.), that ſince the creation, ne fu tant gaaignié dans une ville; Baldwin (Geſta, c. 92.), ut tantum tota non videatur poſſidere Latinitas.

[89] Villehardouin, N° 133—135. Inſtead of 400,000, there is a various reading of 500,000. The Venetians had offered to take the

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hundred thousand pounds sterling; nor can I better appreciate the value of that sum in the public and private transactions of the age, than by defining it as seven times the annual revenue of the kingdom of England [90].

Misery of the Greeks.

In this great revolution we enjoy the singular felicity of comparing the narratives of Villehardouin and Nicetas, the opposite feelings of the marshal of Champagne and the Byzantine senator [91]. At the first view it should seem that the wealth of Constantinople was only transferred from one nation to another; and that the loss and sorrow of the Greeks is exactly balanced by the joy and advantage of the Latins. But in the miserable account of war, the gain is never equivalent to the loss, the pleasure to the pain: the smiles of the Latins were transient and fallacious; the Greeks for ever wept over the ruins of their country; and their real calamities were aggravated by sacrilege and mockery. What benefits accrued to the conquerors from the three fires which annihilated so vast a portion of the buildings and riches of the city? What a stock of such things, as could neither be used nor transported, was maliciously or wantonly destroyed? How much treasure was idly wasted in gaming, debauchery, and riot? And what precious objects were bartered for a vile price by the impatience or ignorance of the soldiers, whose reward was stolen by the base industry of the last of the Greeks? These alone, who had nothing to lose, might derive some profit from the revolution; but the misery of the upper ranks of society is strongly painted in the personal adventures of Nicetas him-

the whole booty, and to give 400 marks to each knight, 200 to each priest and horseman, and 100 to each foot-soldier: they would have been great losers (Le Beau, Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. xx. p. 506. I know not from whence).

[90] At the council of Lyons (A. D. 1245), the English ambassadors stated the revenue of the crown as below that of the foreign clergy, which amounted to 60,000 marks a year (Matthew Paris, p. 451. Hume's History of England, vol. ii. p. 170.).

[91] The disorders of the sack of Constantinople, and his own adventures, are feelingly described by Nicetas, p. 367—369. and in the Status Urb. C. P. p. 375—384. His complaints even of sacrilege are justified by Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 92.); but Villehardouin does not betray a symptom of pity or remorse.

self.

ſelf. His ſtately palace had been reduced to aſhes in the ſecond conflagration; and the ſenator, with his family and friends, found an obſcure ſhelter in another houſe which he poſſeſſed near the church of St. Sophia. It was the door of this mean habitation that his friend the Venetian merchant guarded in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, till Nicetas could ſave, by a precipitate flight, the relics of his fortune and the chaſtity of his daughter. In a cold wintry ſeaſon, theſe fugitives, nurſed in the lap of proſperity, departed on foot; his wife was with child; the deſertion of their ſlaves compelled them to carry their baggage on their own ſhoulders; and their women, whom they placed in the centre, were exhorted to conceal their beauty with dirt, inſtead of adorning it with paint and jewels. Every ſtep was expoſed to inſult and danger: the threats of the ſtrangers were leſs painful than the taunts of the plebeians, with whom they were now levelled; nor did the exiles breathe in ſafety till their mournful pilgrimage was concluded at Selymbria, above forty miles from the capital. On the way they overtook the patriarch, without attendance and almoſt without apparel, riding on an aſs, and reduced to a ſtate of apoſtolical poverty, which, had it been voluntary, might perhaps have been meritorious. In the mean while, his deſolate churches were profaned by the licentiouſneſs and party zeal of the Latins. After ſtripping the gems and pearls, they converted the chalices into drinking-cups; their tables, on which they gamed and feaſted, were covered with the pictures of Chriſt and the ſaints; and they trampled under foot the moſt venerable objects of the Chriſtian worſhip. In the cathedral of St. Sophia, the ample veil of the ſanctuary was rent aſunder for the ſake of the golden fringe; and the altar, a monument of art and riches, was broken in pieces and ſhared among the captors. Their mules and horſes were laden with the wrought ſilver and gilt carvings, which they tore down from the doors and pulpit; and if the beaſts ſtumbled under the burthen, they were ſtabbed by their impatient drivers, and the holy pavement ſtreamed

Sacrilege and mockery.

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ſtreamed with their impure blood. A proſtitute was ſeated on the throne of the patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, as ſhe is ſtyled, ſung and danced in the church, to ridicule the hymns and proceſſions of the Orientals. Nor were the repoſitories of the royal dead ſecure from violation: in the church of the apoſtles, the tombs of the emperors were rifled; and it is ſaid, that after ſix centuries the corpſe of Juſtinian was found without any ſigns of decay or putrefaction. In the ſtreets, the French and Flemings clothed themſelves and their horſes in painted robes and flowing head-dreſſes of linen; and the coarſe intemperance of their feaſts[92] inſulted the ſplendid ſobriety of the Eaſt. To expoſe the arms of a people of ſcribes and ſcholars, they affected to diſplay a pen, an ink-horn, and a ſheet of paper, without diſcerning that the inſtruments of ſcience and valour were *alike* feeble and uſeleſs in the hands of the modern Greeks.

Deſtruction of the ſtatues.

Their reputation and their language encouraged them, however, to deſpiſe the ignorance, and to overlook the progreſs, of the Latins[93]. In the love of the arts, the national difference was ſtill more obvious and real; the Greeks preſerved with reverence the works of their anceſtors, which they could not imitate; and, in the deſtruction of the ſtatues of Conſtantinople, we are provoked to join in the complaints and invectives of the Byzantine hiſtorian[94]. We have ſeen how the riſing city was adorned by the vanity and deſpotiſm of the Imperial founder: in the ruins of paganiſm, ſome gods and heroes were ſaved from the axe of ſuperſtition; and the forum

[92] If I rightly apprehend the Greek of Nicetas's receipts, their favourite diſhes were boiled buttocks of beef, ſalt pork and peaſe, and ſoup made of garlic and ſharp or ſour herbs (p. 382.).

[93] Nicetas uſes very harſh expreſſions, παρ' αγραμματοις Βαρβαροις, και τελεον αναλφαβητοις (Fragment. apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 414.). This reproach, it is true, applies moſt ſtrongly to their ignorance of Greek and of Homer. In their own language, the Latins of the xii[th] and xiii[th] centuries were not deſtitute of literature. See Harris's Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. 9, 10, 11.

[94] Nicetas was of Chonæ in Phrygia (the old Coloſſæ of St. Paul): he raiſed himſelf to the honours of ſenator, judge of the veil, and great logothete; beheld the fall of the empire, retired to Nice, and compoſed an elaborate hiſtory from the death of Alexius Comnenus to the reign of Henry.

and

and hippodrome were dignified with the relics of a better age. Several of thefe are defcribed by Nicetas[95], in a florid and affected ftyle; and, from his defcriptions, I fhall felect fome interefting particulars. 1. The victorious charioteers were caft in bronze, at their own, or the public, charge, and fitly placed in the hippodrome: they ftood aloft in their chariots, wheeling round the goal; the fpectators could admire their attitude, and judge of the refemblance; and of thefe figures, the moft perfect might have been tranfported from the Olympic ftadium. 2. The fphynx, river-horfe, and crocodile, denote the climate and manufacture of Egypt, and the fpoils of that ancient province. 3. The fhe-wolf fuckling Romulus and Remus; a fubject alike pleafing to the *old* and the *new* Romans; but which could rarely be treated before the decline of the Greek fculpture. 4. An eagle holding and tearing a ferpent in his talons; a domeftic monument of the Byzantines, which they afcribed, not to a human artift, but to the magic power of the philofopher Apollonius, who, by this talifman, delivered the city from fuch venomous reptiles. 5. An afs and his driver; which were erected by Auguftus in his colony of Nicopolis, to commemorate a verbal omen of the victory of Actium. 6. An equeftrian ftatue; which paffed, in the vulgar opinion, for Jofhua, the Jewifh conqueror, ftretching out his hand to ftop the courfe of the defcending fun. A more claffical tradition recognifed the figures of Bellerophon and Pegafus; and the free attitude of the fteed feemed to mark that he trod on air, rather than on the earth. 7. A fquare and lofty obelifk of brafs; the fides were emboffed with a variety of picturefque and rural fcenes: birds finging; ruftics labouring, or playing on their pipes; fheep bleating; lambs fkipping; the fea, and a fcene of fifh and fifhing; little naked cupids laughing, playing, and pelting each other with apples; and, on the fummit, a female figure turning with the

95 A manufcript of Nicetas in the Bodleian library, contains this curious fragment on the ftatues of Conftantinople, which fraud, or fhame, or rather careleffnefs, has dropt in the common editions. It is publifhed by Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405—416.), and immoderately praifed by the late ingenious Mr. Harris of Salifbury (Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. 5. p. 301—312.).

 flighteft

ſlighteſt breath, and thence denominated *the wind's attendant.* 8. The Phrygian ſhepherd preſenting to Venus the prize of beauty, the apple of diſcord. 9. The incomparable ſtatue of Helen; which is delineated by Nicetas in the words of admiration and love: her well-turned feet, ſnowy arms, roſy lips, bewitching ſmiles, ſwimming eyes, arched eye-brows, the harmony of her ſhape, the lightneſs of her drapery, and her flowing locks that waved in the wind: a beauty that might have moved her Barbarian deſtroyers to pity and remorſe. 10. The manly or divine form of Hercules[96], as he was reſtored to life by the maſter-hand of Lyſippus; of ſuch magnitude, that his thumb was equal to the waiſt, his leg to the ſtature, of a common man[97]; his cheſt ample, his ſhoulders broad, his limbs ſtrong and muſcular, his hair curled, his aſpect commanding. Without his bow, or quiver, or club, his lion's ſkin careleſsly thrown over him, he was ſeated on an oſier baſket, his right leg and arm ſtretched to the utmoſt, his left knee bent, and ſupporting his elbow, his head reclining on his left hand, his countenance indignant and penſive. 11. A coloſſal ſtatue of Juno, which had once adorned her temple of Samos; the enormous head by four yoke of oxen was laboriouſly drawn to the palace. 12. Another coloſſus, of Pallas or Minerva, thirty feet in height, and repreſenting with admirable ſpirit the attributes and character of the martial maid. Before we accuſe the Latins, it is juſt to remark, that this Pallas was deſtroyed after the firſt ſiege, by the fear and ſuperſtition of the Greeks themſelves[98]. The other ſtatues of braſs which I have enumerated, were broken and melted by the unfeeling avarice of the cruſaders: the coſt and labour were conſumed in a moment; the ſoul of genius evaporated in ſmoke; and the remnant of baſe metal was coined

[96] To illuſtrate the ſtatue of Hercules, Mr. Harris quotes a Greek epigram, and engraves a beautiful gem, which does not however copy the attitude of the ſtatue: in the latter, Hercules had not his club, and his right leg and arm were extended.

[97] I tranſcribe theſe proportions, which appear to me inconſiſtent with each other; and may poſſibly ſhew, that the boaſted taſte of Nicetas was no more than affectation and vanity.

[98] Nicetas in Iſaaco Angelo et Alexio, c. 3. p. 359. The Latin editor very properly obſerves, that the hiſtorian, in his bombaſt ſtyle, produces ex pulice elephantem.

into

into money for the payment of the troops. Bronze is not the moſt durable of monuments: from the marble forms of Phidias and Praxiteles, the Latins might turn aſide with ſtupid contempt [99]; but unleſs they were cruſhed by ſome accidental injury, thoſe uſeleſs ſtones ſtood ſecure on their pedeſtals [100]. The moſt enlightened of the ſtrangers, above the groſs and ſenſual purſuits of their countrymen, more piouſly exerciſed the right of conqueſt in the ſearch and ſeizure of the relics of the ſaints [101]. Immenſe was the ſupply of heads and bones, croſſes and images, that were ſcattered by this revolution over the churches of Europe; and ſuch was the encreaſe of pilgrimage and oblation, that no branch, perhaps, of more lucrative plunder was imported from the Eaſt [102]. Of the writings of antiquity, many that ſtill exiſted in the twelfth century are now loſt. But the pilgrims were not ſolicitous to ſave or tranſport the volumes of an unknown tongue: the periſhable ſubſtance of paper or parchment can only be preſerved by the multiplicity of copies; the literature of the Greeks had almoſt centered in the metropolis; and, without computing the extent of our loſs, we may drop a tear over the libraries that have periſhed in the triple fire of Conſtantinople [103].

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99 In two paſſages of Nicetas (edit. Paris, p. 360. Fabric. p. 408.), the Latins are branded with the lively reproach of οἱ τȣ καλȣ ανεραςοι βαρβαροι, and their avarice of braſs is clearly expreſſed. Yet the Venetians had the merit of removing four bronze horſes from Conſtantinople to the place of St. Mark (Sanuto, Vite del Dogi, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxii. p. 534.).

100 Winckelman, Hiſt. de l'Art, tom. iii. p. 269, 270.

101 See the pious robbery of the abbot Martin, who transferred a rich cargo to his monaſtery of Paris, dioceſe of Baſil (Gunther, Hiſt. C. P. c. 19. 23, 24.). Yet in ſecreting this booty, the ſaint incurred an excommunication, and perhaps broke his oath.

102 Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 139—145.

103 I ſhall conclude this chapter with the notice of a modern hiſtory, which illuſtrates the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins; but which has fallen ſomewhat late into my hands. Paolo Ramuſio, the ſon of the compiler of voyages, was directed by the ſenate of Venice to write the hiſtory of the conqueſt; and this order, which he received in his youth, he executed in a mature age, by an elegant Latin work, de Bello Conſtantinopolitano et Imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos et Venetos reſtitutis (Venet. 1635, in folio). Ramuſio, or Rhamnuſus, tranſcribes and tranſlates ſequitur ad unguem, a MS. of Villehardouin, which he poſſeſſed; but he enriches his narrative with Greek and Latin materials, and we are indebted to him for a correct ſtate of the fleet, the names of the fifty Venetian nobles who commanded the gallies of the republic, and the patriot oppoſition of Pantaleon Barbus to the choice of the doge for emperor.

CHAP. LXI.

Partition of the Empire by the French and Venetians.—Five Latin Emperors of the Houses of Flanders and Courtenay.—Their Wars against the Bulgarians and Greeks.—Weakness and Poverty of the Latin Empire.—Recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks.—General Consequences of the Crusades.

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Election of the emperor Baldwin I. A. D. 1204, May 9—16.

AFTER the death of the lawful princes, the French and Venetians, confident of justice and victory, agreed to divide and regulate their future possessions[1]. It was stipulated by treaty, that twelve electors, six of either nation, should be nominated; that a majority should chuse the emperor of the East; and that, if the votes were equal, the decision of chance should ascertain the successful candidate. To him, with all the titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, they assigned the two palaces of Boucoleon and Blachernæ, with a fourth part of the Greek monarchy. It was defined that the three remaining portions should be equally shared between the republic of Venice and the barons of France; that each feudatory, with an honourable exception for the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire: that the nation which gave an emperor, should resign to their brethren the choice of a patriarch;

[1] See the original treaty of partition, in the Venetian Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 326—330. and the subsequent election in Villehardouin, N° 136—140. with Ducange in his Observations, and the 1st book of his Histoire de Constantinople sous l'Empire des François.

patriarch; and that the pilgrims, whatever might be their impatience to viſit the Holy Land, ſhould devote another year to the conqueſt and defence of the Greek provinces. After the conqueſt of Conſtantinople by the Latins, the treaty was confirmed and executed; and the firſt and moſt important ſtep was the creation of an emperor. The ſix electors of the French nation were all eccleſiaſtics, the abbot of Loces, the archbiſhop elect of Acre in Paleſtine, and the biſhops of Troyes, Soiſſons, Halberſtadt, and Bethlehem, the laſt of whom exerciſed in the camp the office of pope's legate: their profeſſion and knowledge were reſpectable; and as *they* could not be the objects, they were beſt qualified to be the authors, of the choice. The ſix Venetians were the principal ſervants of the ſtate, and in this liſt the noble families of Querini and Contarini are ſtill proud to diſcover their anceſtors. The twelve aſſembled in the chapel of the palace; and after the ſolemn invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, they proceeded to deliberate and vote. A juſt impulſe of reſpect and gratitude prompted them to crown the virtues of the doge; his wiſdom had inſpired their enterpriſe; and the moſt youthful knights might envy and applaud the exploits of blindneſs and age. But the patriot Dandolo was devoid of all perſonal ambition, and fully ſatisfied that he had been judged worthy to reign. His nomination was over-ruled by the Venetians themſelves: his countrymen, and perhaps his friends[1], repreſented, with the eloquence of truth, the miſchiefs that might ariſe to national freedom and the common cauſe, from the union of two incompatible characters, of the firſt magiſtrate of a republic and the emperor of the Eaſt. The excluſion of the doge left room for the more equal merits of Boniface and Baldwin; and at their names all meaner candidates reſpectfully withdrew. The marquis of Montferrat was recommended

[1] After mentioning the nomination of the doge by a French elector, his kinſman Andrew Dandolo approves his excluſion, quidam Venetorum fidelis et nobilis ſenex, uſus oratione ſatis probabili, &c. which has been embroidered by modern writers from Blondus to Le Beau.

by

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by his mature age and fair reputation, by the choice of the adventurers and the wiſhes of the Greeks; nor can I believe that Venice, the miſtreſs of the ſea, could be ſeriouſly apprehenſive of a petty lord at the foot of the Alps[3]. But the count of Flanders was the chief of a wealthy and warlike people; he was valiant, pious, and chaſte; in the prime of life, ſince he was only thirty-two years of age; a deſcendant of Charlemagne, a couſin of the king of France, and a compeer of the prelates and barons who had yielded with reluctance to the command of a foreigner. Without the chapel, theſe barons, with the doge and marquis at their head, expected the deciſion of the twelve electors. It was announced by the biſhop of Soiſſons, in the name of his colleagues: "Ye have ſworn to obey the prince whom "we ſhould chuſe; by our unanimous ſuffrage, Baldwin count of "Flanders and Hainault is now your ſovereign, and the emperor of "the Eaſt." He was ſaluted with loud applauſe, and the proclamation was re-echoed through the city by the joy of the Latins and the trembling adulation of the Greeks. Boniface was the firſt to kiſs the hand of his rival, and to raiſe him on the buckler; and Baldwin was tranſported to the cathedral, and ſolemnly inveſted with the purple buſkins. At the end of three weeks he was crowned by the legate, in the vacancy of a patriarch; but the Venetian clergy ſoon filled the chapter of St. Sophia, ſeated Thomas Moroſini on the eccleſiaſtical throne, and employed every art to perpetuate in their own nation the honours and benefices of the Greek church[4]. Without delay, the ſucceſſor of Conſtantine inſtructed Paleſtine, France, and Rome, of this memorable revolution. To Paleſtine he ſent, as a trophy, the gates of Conſtantinople, and the

[3] Nicetas (p. 384.), with the vain ignorance of a Greek, deſcribes the marquis of Montferrat as a *maritime* power. Λαμπαρδιαν δε οικεισθαι παραλιον. Was he deceived by the Byzantine theme of Lombardy, which extended along the coaſt of Calabria?

[4] They exacted an oath from Thomas Moroſini to appoint no canons of St. Sophia, the lawful electors, except Venetians who had lived ten years at Venice, &c. But the foreign clergy was envious, the pope diſapproved this national monopoly, and of the ſix Latin patriarchs of Conſtantinople, only the firſt and the laſt were Venetians.

chain

chain of the harbour [5]; and adopted, from the Affife of Jerufalem, the laws or cuftoms beft adapted to a French colony and conqueft in the Eaft. In his epiftles, the natives of France are encouraged to fwell that colony, and to fecure that conqueft, to people a magnificent city and a fertile land, which will reward the labours both of the prieft and the foldier. He congratulates the Roman pontiff on the reftoration of his authority in the Eaft; invites him to extinguifh the Greek fchifm by his prefence in a general council; and implores his bleffing and forgivenefs for the difobedient pilgrims. Prudence and dignity are blended in the anfwer of Innocent [6]. In the fubverfion of the Byzantine empire, he arraigns the vices of man, and adores the providence of God: the conquerors will be abfolved or condemned by their future conduct; the validity of their treaty depends on the judgment of St. Peter; but he inculcates their moft facred duty of eftablifhing a juft fubordination of obedience and tribute, from the Greeks to the Latins, from the magiftrate to the clergy, and from the clergy to the pope.

Divifion of the Greek empire.

In the divifion of the Greek provinces [7], the fhare of the Venetians was more ample than that of the Latin emperor. No more than one fourth was appropriated to his domain; a clear moiety of the remainder was referved for Venice; and the other moiety was diftributed among the adventurers of France and Lombardy. The venerable Dandolo was proclaimed defpot of Romania, and invefted after the Greek fafhion with the purple bufkins. He ended at Conftantinople his long and glorious life; and if the prerogative was perfonal, the title was ufed by his fucceffors till the middle of the fourteenth century, with the fingular though true addition of

[5] Nicetas, p. 383.

[6] The Epiftles of Innocent III. are a rich fund for the ecclefaftical and civil inftitution of the Latin empire of Conftantinople; and the moft important of thefe epiftles (of which the collection in 2 vols. in folio, is publifhed by Stephen Baluze) are inferted in his Gefta, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. i. c. 94—105.

[7] In the treaty of partition, moft of the names are corrupted by the fcribes: they might be reftored, and a good map fuited to the laft age of the Byzantine empire, would be an improvement of geography. But, alas! d'Anville is no more!

lords

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lords of one fourth and a half of the Roman empire [8]. The doge, a ſlave of ſtate, was ſeldom permitted to depart from the helm of the republic; but his place was ſupplied by the *bail* or regent, who exerciſed a ſupreme juriſdiction over the colony of Venetians: they poſſeſſed three of the eight quarters of the city; and his independent tribunal was compoſed of ſix judges, four counſellors, two chamberlains, two fiſcal advocates, and a conſtable. Their long experience of the Eaſtern trade enabled them to ſelect their portion with diſcernment: they had raſhly accepted the dominion and defence of Adrianople; but it was the more reaſonable aim of their policy to form a chain of factories, and cities, and iſlands, along the maritime coaſt, from the neighbourhood of Raguſa to the Helleſpont and the Boſphorus. The labour and coſt of ſuch extenſive conqueſts exhauſted their treaſury: they abandoned their maxims of government, adopted a feudal ſyſtem, and contented themſelves with the homage of their nobles [9], for the poſſeſſions which theſe private vaſſals undertook to reduce and maintain. And thus it was, that the family of Sanut acquired the dutchy of Naxos, which involved the greateſt part of the Archipelago. For the price of ten thouſand marks, the republic purchaſed of the marquis of Montferrat the fertile iſland of Crete or Candia with the ruins of an hundred cities [10]; but its improvement was ſtinted by the proud and narrow ſpirit of an ariſtocracy [11]; and the wiſeſt ſenators would

[8] Their ſtyle was dominus quartæ partis et dimidiæ imperii Romani, till Giovanni Dolfino who was elected doge in the year 1356 (Sanuto, p. 530. 641.). For the government of Conſtantinople, ſee Ducange, Hiſtoire de C. P. i. 37.

[9] Ducange (Hiſt. de C. P. ii. 6.) has marked the conqueſts made by the ſtate or nobles of Venice of the iſlands of Candia, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Naxos, Paros, Melos, Andros, Mycone, Scyro, Cea, and Lemnos.

[10] Boniface ſold the iſle of Candia, Auguſt 12, A. D. 1204. See the act in Sanuto, p. 533.: but I cannot underſtand how it could be his mother's portion, or how ſhe could be the daughter of an emperor Alexius.

[11] In the year 1212, the doge Peter Zani ſent a colony to Candia, drawn from every quarter of Venice. But in their ſavage manners and frequent rebellions, the Candiots may be compared to the Corſicans under the yoke of Genoa; and when I compare the accounts of Belon and Tournefort, I cannot diſcern much difference between the Venetian and the Turkiſh iſland.

confeſs

confeſs that the ſea, not the land, was the treaſury of St. Mark. In the moiety of the adventurers, the marquis Boniface might claim the moſt liberal reward; and, beſides the iſle of Crete, his excluſion from the throne was compenſated by the royal title and the provinces beyond the Helleſpont. But he prudently exchanged that diſtant and difficult conqueſt for the kingdom of Theſſalonica or Macedonia, twelve days journey from the capital, where he might be ſupported by the neighbouring powers of his brother-in-law the king of Hungary. His progreſs was hailed by the voluntary or reluctant acclamations of the natives; and Greece, the proper and ancient Greece, again received a Latin conqueror [12], who trod with indifference that claſſic ground. He viewed with a careleſs eye the beauties of the valley of Tempe; traverſed with a cautious ſtep the ſtreights of Thermopylæ; occupied the unknown cities of Thebes, Athens, and Argos; and aſſaulted the fortifications of Corinth and Napoli [13], which reſiſted his arms. The lots of the Latin pilgrims were regulated by chance, or choice, or ſubſequent exchange; and they abuſed, with intemperate joy, their triumph over the lives and fortunes of a great people. After a minute ſurvey of the provinces, they weighed in the ſcales of avarice the revenue of each diſtrict, the advantage of the ſituation, and the ample or ſcanty ſupplies for the maintenance of ſoldiers and horſes. Their preſumption claimed and divided the long-loſt dependencies of the Roman ſceptre: the Nile and Euphrates rolled through their imaginary realms; and happy was the warrior who drew for his prize the palace of the Turkiſh

[12] Villehardoin (N° 159, 160. 173—177.) and Nicetas (p. 387—394.) deſcribe the expedition into Greece of the marquis Boniface. The Choniate might derive his information from his brother Michael, archbiſhop of Athens, whom he paints as an orator, a ſtateſman, and a ſaint. His encomium of Athens, and the deſcription of Tempe, ſhould be publiſhed from the Bodleian MS. of Nicetas (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405.), and would have deſerved Mr. Harris's enquiries.

[13] Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, the ancient ſea-port of Argos, is ſtill a place of ſtrength and conſideration, ſituate on a rocky peninſula, with a good harbour (Chandler's Travels into Greece, p. 227.).

CHAP. LXI. sultan of Iconium[14]. I shall not descend to the pedigree of families and the rent-roll of estates, but I wish to specify that the counts of Blois and St. Pol were invested with the dutchy of Nice and the lordship of Demotica[15]: the principal fiefs were held by the service of constable, chamberlain, cup-bearer, butler, and chief cook; and our historian, Jeffrey of Villehardouin, obtained a fair establishment on the banks of the Hebrus, and united the double office of marshal of Champagne and Romania. At the head of his knights and archers, each baron mounted on horseback to secure the possession of his share, and their first efforts were generally successful. But the public force was weakened by their dispersion; and a thousand quarrels must arise under a law, and among men, whose sole umpire was the sword. Within three months after the conquest of Constantinople, the emperor and the king of Thessalonica drew their hostile followers into the field; they were reconciled by the authority of the doge, the advice of the marshal, and the firm freedom of their peers[16].

Revolt of the Greeks, A. D. 1204, &c.

Two fugitives, who had reigned at Constantinople, still asserted the title of emperor; and the subjects of their fallen throne might be moved to pity by the misfortunes of the elder Alexius, or excited to revenge by the spirit of Mourzoufle. A domestic alliance, a common interest, a similar guilt, and the merit of extinguishing his enemies, a brother and a nephew, induced the more recent usurper to unite with the former the relics of his power. Mourzoufle was received with smiles and honours in the camp of his father Alexius;

[14] I have softened the expression of Nicetas, who strives to expose the presumption of the Franks. See de Rebus post C. P. expugnatam, p. 375—384.

[15] A city surrounded by the river Hebrus, and six leagues to the south of Adrianople, received from its double wall the Greek name of Didymoteichos, insensibly corrupted into Demotica and Dimot. I have preferred the more convenient and modern appellation of Demotica. This place was the last Turkish residence of Charles XII.

[16] Their quarrel is told by Villehardouin (N° 146—158.) with the spirit of freedom. The merit and reputation of the marshal are acknowledged by the Greek historian (p. 387.), μεγα παρα τοις Λατινων δυναμενȣ ϛρατευμασι: unlike some modern heroes, whose exploits are only visible in their own memoirs.

but

but the wicked can never love, and ſhould rarely truſt, their fellow-criminals: he was ſeized in the bath, deprived of his eyes, ſtripped of his troops and treaſures, and turned out to wander an object of horror and contempt to thoſe who with more propriety could hate, and with more juſtice could puniſh, the aſſaſſin of the emperor Iſaac, and his ſon. As the tyrant, purſued by fear or remorſe, was ſtealing over to Aſia, he was ſeized by the Latins of Conſtantinople, and condemned, after an open trial, to an ignominious death. His judges debated the mode of his execution, the axe, the wheel, or the ſtake; and it was reſolved that Mourzoufle [17] ſhould aſcend the Theodoſian column, a pillar of white marble of one hundred and forty-ſeven feet in height [18]. From the ſummit he was caſt down headlong, and daſhed in pieces on the pavement, in the preſence of innumerable ſpectators, who filled the forum of Taurus, and admired the accompliſhment of an old prediction, which was explained by this ſingular event [19]. The fate of Alexius is leſs tragical: he was ſent by the marquis a captive to Italy, and a gift to the king of the Romans; but he had not much to applaud his fortune, if the ſentence of impriſonment and exile were changed from a fortreſs in the Alps to a monaſtery in Aſia. But his daughter, before the national calamity, had been given in marriage to a young hero who continued the ſucceſſion, and reſtored the throne, of the Greek princes [20]. The valour of Theodore Laſcaris was ſignaliſed

Theodore Laſcaris, emperor of Nice.

[17] See the fate of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 393.), Villehardouin (N°141—145. 163.), and Guntherus (c. 20, 21.). Neither the marſhal nor the monk afford a grain of pity for a tyrant or rebel, whoſe puniſhment, however, was more unexampled than his crime.

[18] The column of Arcadius, which repreſents in baſſo-relievo his victories, or thoſe of his father Theodoſius, is ſtill extant at Conſtantinople. It is deſcribed and meaſured, Gyllius (Topograph, iv. 7.), Banduri (ad l. i. Antiquit. C. P. p. 507, &c.), and Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. lettre xii. p. 231.).

[19] The nonſenſe of Gunther and the modern Greeks concerning this *columna fatidica*, is unworthy of notice: but it is ſingular enough, that fifty years before the Latin conqueſt, the poet Tzetzes (Chiliad, ix. 277.) relates the dream of a matron, who ſaw an army in the forum, and a man ſitting on the column, clapping his hands, and uttering a loud exclamation.

[20] The dynaſties of Nice, Trebizond, and Epirus

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lised in the two sieges of Constantinople. After the flight of Mourzoufle, when the Latins were already in the city, he offered himself as their emperor to the soldiers and people: and his ambition, which might be virtuous, was undoubtedly brave. Could he have infused a soul into the multitude, they might have crushed the strangers under their feet: their abject despair refused his aid, and Theodore retired to breathe the air of freedom in Anatolia, beyond the immediate view and pursuit of the conquerors. Under the title, at first of despot, and afterwards of emperor, he drew to his standard the bolder spirits, who were fortified against slavery by the contempt of life; and as every means was lawful for the public safety, implored without scruple the alliance of the Turkish sultan. Nice, where Theodore established his residence, Prusa and Philadelphia, Smyrna and Ephesus, opened their gates to their deliverer: he derived strength and reputation from his victories, and even from his defeats; and the successor of Constantine preserved a fragment of the empire from the banks of the Mæander to the suburbs of Nicomedia, and at length of Constantinople. Another portion, distant and obscure, was possessed by the lineal heir of the Comneni, a son of the virtuous Manuel, a grandson of the tyrant Andronicus. His name was Alexius; and the epithet of great was applied perhaps to his stature, rather than to his exploits. By the indulgence of the Angeli, he was appointed governor or duke of Trebizond[21]: his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence; and without changing his title, he reigned in peace from Sinope to the Phasis, along the coast of the Black Sea. His nameless son and successor is described

The dukes and emperors of Trebizond.

Epirus (of which Nicetas saw the origin without much pleasure or hope), are learnedly explored, and clearly represented, in the Familiæ Byzantinæ of Ducange.

[21] Except some facts in Pachymer and Nicephorus Gregoras, which will hereafter be used, the Byzantine writers disdain to speak of the empire of Trebizond, or principality of the *Lazi*; and among the Latins, it is conspicuous only in the romances of the xiv[th] or xv[th] centuries. Yet the indefatigable Ducange has dug out (Fam. Byz. p. 192.) two authentic passages in Vincent of Beauvais (l. xxxi. c. 144.), and the protonotary Ogerius (apud Wading, A. D. 1279, N° 4.).

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as the vaſſal of the ſultan, whom he ſerved with two hundred lances; that Comnenian prince was no more than duke of Trebizond, and the title of emperor was firſt aſſumed by the pride and envy of the grandſon of Alexius. In the Weſt, a third fragment was ſaved from the common ſhipwreck by Michael, a baſtard of the houſe of Angeli, who, before the revolution, had been known as an hoſtage, a ſoldier, and a rebel. His flight from the camp of the marquis Boniface ſecured his freedom; by his marriage with the governor's daughter, he commanded the important place of Durazzo, aſſumed the title of deſpot, and founded a ſtrong and conſpicuous principality in Epirus, Ætolia, and Theſſaly, which have ever been peopled by a warlike race. The Greeks, who had offered their ſervice to their new ſovereigns, were excluded by the haughty Latins [22] from all civil and military honours, as a nation born to tremble and obey. Their reſentment prompted them to ſhew that they might have been uſeful friends, ſince they could be dangerous enemies: their nerves were braced by adverſity: whatever was learned or holy, whatever was noble or valiant, rolled away into the independent ſtates of Trebizond, Epirus, and Nice; and a ſingle patrician is marked by the ambiguous praiſe of attachment and loyalty to the Franks. The vulgar herd of the cities and the country, would have gladly ſubmitted to a mild and regular ſervitude; and the tranſient diſorders of war would have been obliterated by ſome years of induſtry and peace. But peace was baniſhed, and induſtry was cruſhed, in the diſorders of the feudal ſyſtem. The *Roman* emperors of Conſtantinople, if they were endowed with abilities, were armed with power for the protection of their ſubjects: their laws were wiſe, and their adminiſtration was ſimple. The Latin throne was filled by a titular prince, the chief, and often the

The deſpots of Epirus.

[22] The portrait of the French Latins, is drawn in Nicetas by the hand of prejudice and reſentment: ουδεν των αλλων εθνων εις Αρεος εργα παρασυμβεβλησθαι ηνειχοντο, αλλ' ουδε τις των χαριτων η των μουσων παρα τοις βαρβαροις τουτοις επεξενιζετο, και παρα τουτο οιμαι την φυσιν ησαν ανημεροι, και τον χολον ειχον του λογου προτρεχοντα.

ſervant,

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ſervant, of his licentious confederates: the fiefs of the empire, from a kingdom to a caſtle, were held and ruled by the ſword of the barons: and their diſcord, poverty, and ignorance, extended the ramifications of tyranny to the moſt ſequeſtered villages. The Greeks were oppreſſed by the double weight of the prieſt, who was inveſted with temporal power, and of the ſoldier, who was inflamed by fanatic hatred; and the inſuperable bar of religion and language for ever ſeparated the ſtranger and the native. As long as the cruſaders were united at Conſtantinople, the memory of their conqueſt, and the terror of their arms, impoſed ſilence on the captive land: their diſperſion betrayed the ſmallneſs of their numbers and the defects of their diſcipline; and ſome failures and miſchances revealed the ſecret, that they were not invincible. As the fear of the Greeks abated, their hatred encreaſed. They murmured; they conſpired; and before a year of ſlavery had elapſed, they implored, or accepted, the ſuccour of a Barbarian, whoſe power they had felt, and whoſe gratitude they truſted[23].

The Bulgarian war, A. D. 1205.

The Latin conquerors had been ſaluted with a ſolemn and early embaſſy from John, or Joannice, or Calo-John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Walachians. He deemed himſelf their brother, as the votary of the Roman pontiff, from whom he had received the regal title and an holy banner; and in the ſubverſion of the Greek monarchy, he might aſpire to the name of their friend and accomplice. But Calo-John was aſtoniſhed to find, that the count of Flanders had aſſumed the pomp and pride of the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine; and his ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed with an haughty meſſage, that the rebel muſt deſerve a pardon, by touching with his forehead the footſtool of the Imperial throne. His reſentment[24]

[23] I here begin to uſe, with freedom and confidence, the eight books of the Hiſtoire de C. P. ſous l'Empire des François, which Ducange has given as a ſupplement to Villehardouin; and which, in a barbarous ſtyle, deſerves the praiſe of an original and claſſic work.

[24] In Calo-John's anſwer to the pope, we may find his claims and complaints (Geſta Innocent. III. c. 108, 109.); he was cheriſhed at Rome as the prodigal ſon.

would

would have exhaled in acts of violence and blood; his cooler policy watched the rising discontent of the Greeks; affected a tender concern for their sufferings; and promised, that their first struggles for freedom should be supported by his person and kingdom. The conspiracy was propagated by national hatred, the firmest band of association and secrecy: the Greeks were impatient to sheath their daggers in the breasts of the victorious strangers; but the execution was prudently delayed, till Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported the flower of his troops beyond the Hellespont. Most of the towns and villages of Thrace were true to the moment and the signal: and the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the vile and merciless revenge of their slaves. From Demotica, the first scene of the massacre, the surviving vassals of the count of St. Pol escaped to Adrianople; but the French and Venetians, who occupied that city, were slain or expelled by the furious multitude; the garrisons that could effect their retreat, fell back on each other towards the metropolis; and the fortresses, that separately stood against the rebels, were ignorant of each other's and of their sovereign's fate. The voice of fame and fear announced the revolt of the Greeks and the rapid approach of their Bulgarian ally; and Calo-John, not depending on the forces of his own kingdom, had drawn from the Scythian wilderness a body of fourteen thousand Comans, who drank, as it was said, the blood of their captives, and sacrificed the Christians on the altars of their gods[25].

Alarmed by this sudden and growing danger, the emperor dispatched a swift messenger to recall count Henry and his troops; and had Baldwin expected the return of his gallant brother, with a supply of twenty thousand Armenians, he might have encountered the invader with equal numbers and a decisive superiority of arms and discipline.

[25] The Comans were a Tartar or Turkman hord, which encamped in the xiith and xiiith centuries on the verge of Moldavia. The greater part were pagans, but some were Mahometans, and the whole hord was converted to Christianity (A.D. 1370) by Lewis king of Hungary.

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March.

discipline. But the ſpirit of chivalry could ſeldom diſcriminate caution from cowardice; and the emperor took the field with an hundred and forty knights, and their train of archers and ſerjeants. The marſhal, who diſſuaded and obeyed, led the vanguard in their march to Adrianople; the main body was commanded by the count of Blois; the aged doge of Venice followed with the rear; and their ſcanty numbers were encreaſed from all ſides by the fugitive Latins. They undertook to beſiege the rebels of Adrianople; and ſuch was the pious tendency of the cruſades, that they employed the holy week in pillaging the country for their ſubſiſtence, and in framing engines for the deſtruction of their fellow-chriſtians. But the Latins were ſoon interrupted and alarmed by the light cavalry of the Comans, who boldly ſkirmiſhed to the edge of their imperfect lines: and a proclamation was iſſued by the marſhal of Romania, that, on the trumpet's ſound, the cavalry ſhould mount and form; but that none, under pain of death, ſhould abandon themſelves to a deſultory and dangerous purſuit. This wiſe injunction was firſt diſobeyed by the count of Blois, who involved the emperor in his raſhneſs and ruin. The Comans, of the Parthian or Tartar ſchool, fled before their firſt charge; but after a career of two leagues, when the knights and their horſes were almoſt breathleſs, they ſuddenly turned, rallied, and encompaſſed the heavy ſquadrons of the Franks. The count was ſlain on the field; the emperor was made priſoner; and if the one diſdained to fly, if the other refuſed to yield, their perſonal bravery made a poor atonement for their ignorance, or neglect, of the duties of a general[26].

Defeat and captivity of Baldwin, A. D. 1205, April 15.

Proud of his victory and his royal prize, the Bulgarian advanced to relieve Adrianople and atchieve the deſtruction of the Latins. They muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed, if the marſhal of Ro-

[26] Nicetas, from ignorance or malice, imputes the defeat to the cowardice of Dandolo (p. 383.); but Villehardouin ſhares his own glory with his venerable friend, qui viels home ére et gote ne veoit, mais mult ére ſages et preus et vigueros (N° 193.).

mania

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Retreat of the Latins.

mania had not diſplayed a cool courage and conſummate ſkill; uncommon in all ages, but moſt uncommon in thoſe times, when war was a paſſion, rather than a ſcience. His grief and fears were poured into the firm and faithful boſom of the doge; but in the camp he diffuſed an aſſurance of ſafety, which could only be realized by the general belief. All day he maintained his perilous ſtation between the city and the Barbarians: Villehardouin decamped in ſilence, at the dead of night; and his maſterly retreat of three days would have deſerved the praiſe of Xenophon and the ten thouſand. In the rear, the marſhal ſupported the weight of the purſuit; in the front, he moderated the impatience of the fugitives; and wherever the Comans approached, they were repelled by a line of impenetrable ſpears. On the third day, the weary troops beheld the ſea, the ſolitary town of Rodoſto [27], and their friends, who had landed from the Aſiatic ſhore. They embraced, they wept; but they united their arms and counſels; and, in his brother's abſence, count Henry aſſumed the regency of the empire, at once in a ſtate of childhood and caducity [28]. If the Comans withdrew from the ſummer heats, ſeven thouſand Latins, in the hour of danger, deſerted Conſtantinople, their brethren, and their vows. Some partial ſucceſs was overbalanced by the loſs of one hundred and twenty knights in the field of Ruſium; and of the Imperial domain, no more was left, than the capital, with two or three adjacent fortreſſes on the ſhores of Europe and Aſia. The king of Bulgaria was reſiſtleſs and inexorable; and Calo-John reſpectfully eluded the demands of the pope, who conjured his new proſelyte to reſtore peace and the emperor to the afflicted Latins. The deliverance of Baldwin was no longer,

[27] The truth of geography, and the original text of Villehardouin (N° 194.), place Rodoſto three days journey (trois jornées) from Adrianople; but Vigenere, in his verſion, has moſt abſurdly ſubſtituted *trois heures*; and this error, which is not corrected by Ducange, has entrapped ſeveral moderns, whoſe names I ſhall ſpare.

[28] The reign and end of Baldwin are related by Villehardouin and Nicetas (p. 386—416.): and their omiſſions are ſupplied by Ducange in his Obſervations, and to the end of his firſt book.

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Death of the emperor.

he ſaid, in the power of man: that prince had died in priſon; and the manner of his death is variouſly related by ignorance and credulity. The lovers of a tragic legend will be pleaſed to hear, that the royal captive was tempted by the amorous queen of the Bulgarians; that his chaſte refuſal expoſed him to the falſehood of a woman and the jealouſy of a ſavage; that his hands and feet were ſevered from his body; that his bleeding trunk was caſt among the carcaſes of dogs and horſes; and that he breathed three days, before he was devoured by the birds of prey [29]. About twenty years afterwards, in a wood of the Netherlands, an hermit announced himſelf as the true Baldwin, the emperor of Conſtantinople, and lawful ſovereign of Flanders. He related the wonders of his eſcape, his adventures, and his penance, among a people prone to believe and to rebel; and, in the firſt tranſport, Flanders acknowledged her long-loſt ſovereign. A ſhort examination before the French court detected the impoſtor, who was puniſhed with an ignominious death; but the Flemings ſtill adhered to the pleaſing error; and the counteſs Jane is accuſed by the graveſt hiſtorians of ſacrificing to her ambition the life of an unfortunate father [30].

Reign and character of Henry, A.D. 1206, Auguſt 20—A.D. 1216, June 11.

In all civilized hoſtility, a treaty is eſtabliſhed for the exchange or ranſom of priſoners; and if their captivity be prolonged, their condition is known, and they are treated according to their rank with humanity or honour. But the ſavage Bulgarian was a ſtranger to the laws of war; his priſons were involved in darkneſs and ſilence; and above a year elapſed before the Latins could be aſſured of the death of Baldwin, before his brother, the regent Henry, would conſent to aſſume the title of emperor. His moderation was applauded

[29] After bruſhing away all doubtful and improbable circumſtances, we may prove the death of Baldwin, 1. By the firm belief of the French barons (Villehardouin, N° 230.). 2. By the declaration of Calo-John himſelf, who excuſes his not releaſing the captive emperor, quia debitum carnis exſolverat cum carcere teneretur (Geſta Innocent. III. c. 109.).

[30] See the ſtory of this impoſtor from the French and Flemiſh writers in Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. iii. 9. and the ridiculous fables that were believed by the monks of St. Alban's, in Matthew Paris, Hiſt. Major, p. 271, 272.

by

by the Greeks as an act of rare and inimitable virtue. Their light and perfidious ambition was eager to ſeize or anticipate the moment of a vacancy, while a law of ſucceſſion, the guardian both of the prince and people, was gradually defined and confirmed in the hereditary monarchies of Europe. In the ſupport of the Eaſtern empire, Henry was gradually left without an aſſociate, as the heroes of the cruſade retired from the world or from the war. The doge of Venice, the venerable Dandolo, in the fulneſs of years and glory, ſunk into the grave. The marquis of Montferrat was ſlowly recalled from the Peloponneſian war to the revenge of Baldwin and the defence of Theſſalonica. Some nice diſputes of feudal homage and ſervice, were reconciled in a perſonal interview between the emperor and the king: they were firmly united by mutual eſteem and the common danger; and their alliance was ſealed by the nuptial of Henry with the daughter of the Italian prince. He ſoon deplored the loſs of his friend and father. At the perſuaſion of ſome faithful Greeks, Boniface made a bold and ſucceſsful inroad among the hills of Rhodope: the Bulgarians fled on his approach; they aſſembled to haraſs his retreat. On the intelligence that his rear was attacked, without waiting for any defenſive armour, he leaped on horſeback, couched his lance, and drove the enemies before him; but in the raſh purſuit he was pierced with a mortal wound; and the head of the king of Theſſalonica was preſented to Calo-John, who enjoyed the honours, without the merit, of victory. It is here, at this melancholy event, that the pen or the voice of Jeffrey of Villehardouin ſeems to drop or to expire [31]; and if he ſtill exerciſed his military office of marſhal of Romania, his ſubſequent exploits are buried in oblivion [32]. The character of Henry was not unequal to

[31] Villehardouin, N° 257. I quote, with regret, this lamentable concluſion, where we loſe at once the original hiſtory, and the rich illuſtrations of Ducange. The laſt pages may derive ſome light from Henry's two Epiſtles to Innocent III. (Geſta, c. 106, 107.)

[32] The marſhal was alive in 1212, but he probably died ſoon afterwards, without returning to France (Ducange, Obſervations ſur

CHAP. LXI. to his arduous ſituation: in the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and beyond the Helleſpont, he had deſerved the fame of a valiant knight and a ſkilful commander; and his courage was tempered with a degree of prudence and mildneſs unknown to his impetuous brother. In the double war againſt the Greeks of Aſia and the Bulgarians of Europe, he was ever the foremoſt on ſhipboard or on horſeback; and though he cautiouſly provided for the ſucceſs of his arms, the drooping Latins were often rouſed by his example to ſave and to ſecond their fearleſs emperor. But ſuch efforts, and ſome ſupplies of men and money from France, were of leſs avail than the errors, the cruelty, and death, of their moſt formidable adverſary. When the deſpair of the Greek ſubjects invited Calo-John as their deliverer, they hoped that he would protect their liberty and adopt their laws: they were ſoon taught to compare the degrees of national ferocity, and to execrate the ſavage conqueror, who no longer diſſembled his intention of diſpeopling Thrace, of demoliſhing the cities, and of tranſplanting the inhabitants beyond the Danube. Many towns and villages of Thrace were already evacuated: an heap of ruins marked the place of Philippopolis, and a ſimilar calamity was expected at Demotica and Adrianople, by the firſt authors of the revolt. They raiſed a cry of grief and repentance to the throne of Henry; the emperor alone had the magnanimity to forgive and truſt them. No more than four hundred knights, with their ſerjeants and archers, could be aſſembled under his banner; and with this ſlender force he fought and repulſed the Bulgarian, who, beſides his infantry, was at the head of forty thouſand horſe. In this expedition, Henry felt the difference between an hoſtile and a friendly country; the remaining cities were preſerved by his arms; and the ſavage, with ſhame and loſs, was compelled to relinquiſh his prey. The ſiege of Theſſalonica was the laſt of the evils which

ſur Villehardouin, p. 238.). His fief of Meſſinople, the gift of Boniface, was the ancient Maximianoplis, which flouriſhed in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, among the cities of Thrace (N° 141.).

Calo-

Calo-John inflicted or ſuffered: he was ſtabbed in the night in his tent; and the general, perhaps the aſſaſſin, who found him weltering in his blood, aſcribed the blow with general applauſe to the lance of St. Demetrius [33]. After ſeveral victories, the prudence of Henry concluded an honourable peace with the ſucceſſor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus. If he ceded ſome doubtful limits, an ample kingdom was reſerved for himſelf and his feudatories; and his reign, which laſted only ten years, afforded a ſhort interval of proſperity and peace. Far above the narrow policy of Baldwin and Boniface, he freely entruſted to the Greeks the moſt important offices of the ſtate and army: and this liberality of ſentiment and practice, was the more ſeaſonable, as the princes of Nice and Epirus had already learned to ſeduce and employ the mercenary valour of the Latins. It was the aim of Henry to unite and reward his deſerving ſubjects of every nation and language; but he appeared leſs ſolicitous to accompliſh the impracticable union of the two churches. Pelagius, the pope's legate, who acted as the ſovereign of Conſtantinople, had interdicted the worſhip of the Greeks, and ſternly impoſed the payment of tithes, the double proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and a blind obedience to the Roman pontiff. As the weaker party, they pleaded the duties of conſcience, and implored the rights of toleration: "Our bodies," they ſaid, "are Cæſar's, "but our ſouls belong only to God." The perſecution was checked by the firmneſs of the emperor [34]; and if we can believe that the ſame prince was poiſoned by the Greeks themſelves, we muſt entertain a contemptible idea of the ſenſe and gratitude of mankind. His valour was a vulgar attribute, which he ſhared with ten thouſand knights; but Henry poſſeſſed the ſuperior courage to oppoſe, in a ſuperſtitious age, the pride and avarice of the clergy. In the cathedral of St.

[33] The church of this patron of Theſſalonica was ſerved by the canons of the holy ſepulchre, and contained a divine ointment which diſtilled daily and ſtupendous miracles (Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. ii. 4.).

[34] Acropolita (c. 17.) obſerves the perſecution of the legate, and the toleration of Henry (Ἐρη as he calls him), κλυδωνα κατεϛορεσε.

Sophia

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Sophia he presumed to place his throne on the right-hand of the patriarch; and this presumption excited the sharpest censure of pope Innocent the third. By a salutary edict, one of the first examples of the laws of mortmain, he prohibited the alienation of fiefs; many of the Latins, desirous of returning to Europe, resigned their estates to the church for a spiritual or temporal reward; these holy lands were immediately discharged from military service; and a colony of soldiers would have been gradually transformed into a college of priests [35].

Peter of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, A. D. 1217, April 9.

The virtuous Henry died at Thessalonica, in the defence of that kingdom, and of an infant, the son of his friend Boniface. In the two first emperors of Constantinople the male line of the counts of Flanders was extinct. But their sister Yolande was the wife of a French prince, the mother of a numerous progeny; and one of her daughters had married Andrew king of Hungary, a brave and pious champion of the cross. By seating him on the Byzantine throne, the barons of Romania would have acquired the forces of a neighbouring and warlike kingdom; but the prudent Andrew revered the laws of succession; and the princess Yolande, with her husband Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, was invited by the Latins to assume the empire of the East. The royal birth of his father, the noble origin of his mother, recommended to the barons of France the first cousin of their king. His reputation was fair, his possessions were ample, and, in the bloody crusade against the Albigeois, the soldiers and the priests had been abundantly satisfied of his zeal and valour. Vanity might applaud the elevation of a French emperor of Constantinople; but prudence must pity, rather than envy, his treacherous and imaginary greatness. To assert and adorn his

[35] See the reign of HENRY, in Ducange (Hist. de C. P. l. i. c. 35—41. l. ii. c. 1—22.), who is much indebted to the Epistles of the Popes. Le Beau (Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. xxi. p. 120—122.) has found, perhaps in Doutreman, some laws of Henry, which determined the service of fiefs, and the prerogatives of the emperor.

his title, he was reduced to ſell or mortgage the beſt of his patrimony. By theſe expedients, the liberality of his royal kinſman Philip Auguſtus, and the national ſpirit of chivalry, he was enabled to paſs the Alps at the head of one hundred and forty knights, and five thouſand five hundred ſerjeants and archers. After ſome heſitation, pope Honorius the third was perſuaded to crown the ſucceſſor of Conſtantine; but he performed the ceremony in a church without the walls, leſt he ſhould ſeem to imply or to beſtow any right of ſovereignty over the ancient capital of the empire. The Venetians had engaged to tranſport Peter and his forces beyond the Adriatic, and the empreſs, with her four children, to the Byzantine palace; but they required, as the price of their ſervice, that he ſhould recover Durazzo from the deſpot of Epirus. Michael Angelus, or Comnenus, the firſt of his dynaſty, had bequeathed the ſucceſſion of his power and ambition to Theodore, his legitimate brother, who already threatened and invaded the eſtabliſhments of the Latins. After diſcharging his debt by a fruitleſs aſſault, the emperor raiſed the ſiege to proſecute a long and perilous journey over land from Durazzo to Theſſalonica. He was ſoon loſt in the mountains of Epirus: the paſſes were fortified; his proviſions exhauſted: he was delayed and deceived by a treacherous negociation; and, after Peter of Courtenay and the Roman legate had been arreſted in a banquet, the French troops, without leaders or hopes, were eager to exchange their arms for the deluſive promiſe of mercy and bread. The Vatican thundered; and the impious Theodore was threatened with the vengeance of earth and heaven; but the captive emperor and his ſoldiers were forgotten, and the reproaches of the pope are confined to the impriſonment of his legate. No ſooner was he ſatisfied by the deliverance of the prieſt and a promiſe of ſpiritual obedience, than he pardoned and protected the deſpot of Epirus. His peremptory commands ſuſpended the ardour of the Venetians and the king of Hungary; and it was only by a natural

His captivity and death, A.D. 1217—1219.

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natural or untimely death[36] that Peter of Courtenay was releafed from his hopelefs captivity[37].

Robert emperor of Conftantinople, A. D. 1221—1228.

The long ignorance of his fate, and the prefence of the lawful fovereign, of Yolande, his wife or widow, delayed the proclamation of a new emperor. Before her death, and in the midft of her grief, fhe was delivered of a fon, who was named Baldwin, the laft and moft unfortunate of the Latin princes of Conftantinople. His birth endeared him to the barons of Romania; but his childhood would have prolonged the troubles of a minority, and his claims were fuperfeded by the elder claims of his brethren. The firft of thefe, Philip of Courtenay, who derived from his mother the inheritance of Namur, had the wifdom to prefer the fubftance of a marquifate to the fhadow of an empire; and on his refufal, Robert, the fecond of the fons of Peter and Yoland, was called to the throne of Conftantinople. Warned by his father's mifchance, he purfued his flow and fecure journey through Germany and along the Danube: a paffage was opened by his fifter's marriage with the king of Hungary; and the emperor Robert was crowned by the patriarch in the cathedral of St. Sophia. But his reign was an æra of calamity and difgrace; and the colony, as it was ftyled, of NEW FRANCE yielded on all fides to the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. After a victory, which he owed to his perfidy rather than his courage, Theodore Angelus entered the kingdom of Theffalonica, expelled the feeble Demetrius, the fon of the marquis Boniface, erected his ftandard on the walls of Adrianople; and added, by his vanity, a third or a fourth name to the lift of rival emperors. The relics of the Afiatic province were fwept away by John Vataces, the fon-in-law and fucceffor of Theodore Lafcaris, and who, in a triumphant reign of thirty-three years,

[36] Acropolita (c. 14.) affirms, that Peter of Courtenay died by the fword (εργον μαχαιρας γενεσθαι): but from his dark expreffions, I fhould conclude a previous captivity, ως παντας αρδην δεσμωτας ποιησαι συν πασι σκευεσι. The Chronicle of Auxerre delays the emperor's death till the year 1219; and Auxerre is in the neighbourhood of Courtenay.

[37] See the reign and death of Peter of Courtenay, in Ducange (Hift. de C. P. l. ii. c. 22—28.), who feebly ftrives to excufe the neglect of the emperor by Honorius III.

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displayed the virtues both of peace and war. Under his discipline the swords of the French mercenaries were the most effectual instrument of his conquests, and their desertion from the service of their country was at once a symptom and a cause of the rising ascendant of the Greeks. By the construction of a fleet, he obtained the command of the Hellespont, reduced the islands of Lesbos and Rhodes, attacked the Venetians of Candia, and intercepted the rare and parsimonious succours of the West. Once, and once only, the Latin emperor sent an army against Vataces; and in the defeat of that army, the veteran knights, the last of the original conquerors, were left on the field of battle. But the success of a foreign enemy was less painful to the pusillanimous Robert than the insolence of his Latin subjects, who confounded the weakness of the emperor and of the empire. His personal misfortunes will prove the anarchy of the government and the ferociousness of the times. The amorous youth had neglected his Greek bride, the daughter of Vataces, to introduce into the palace a beautiful maid, of a private, though noble, family of Artois; and her mother had been tempted by the lustre of the purple to forfeit her engagements with a gentleman of Burgundy. His love was converted into rage; he assembled his friends, forced the palace gates, threw the mother into the sea, and inhumanly cut off the nose and lips of the wife or concubine of the emperor. Instead of punishing the offender, the barons avowed and applauded the savage deed [38], which, as a prince and as a man, it was impossible that Baldwin should forgive. He escaped from the guilty city to implore the justice or compassion of the pope: the emperor was coolly exhorted to return to his station; before he could obey, he sunk under the weight of grief, shame, and impotent resentment [39].

[38] Marinus Sanutus (Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. ii. p. iv. c. 18. p. 73.) is so much delighted with this bloody deed, that he has transcribed it in his margin as a bonum exemplum. Yet he acknowledges the damsel for the lawful wife of Robert.

[39] See the reign of Robert, in Ducange (Hist. de C. P. l. iii. c. 1—12.).

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Baldwin II. and John of Brienne, emperors of Conftantinople, A. D. 1228—1237.

It was only in the age of chivalry, that valour could afcend from a private ftation to the thrones of Jerufalem and Conftantinople. The titular kingdom of Jerufalem had devolved to Mary, the daughter of Ifabella and Conrad of Montferrat, and the grand-daughter of Almeric or Amaury. She was given to John of Brienne, of a noble family in Champagne, by the public voice, and the judgment of Philip Auguftus, who named him as the moft worthy champion of the Holy Land[40]. In the fifth crufade, he led an hundred thoufand Latins to the conqueft of Egypt; by him the fiege of Damietta was atchieved; and the fubfequent failure was juftly afcribed to the pride and avarice of the legate. After the marriage of his daughter with Frederic the fecond[41], he was provoked by the emperor's ingratitude to accept the command of the army of the church; and though advanced in life and defpoiled of royalty, the fword and fpirit of John of Brienne were ftill ready for the fervice of Chriftendom. In the feven years of his brother's reign, Baldwin of Courtenay had not emerged from a ftate of childhood, and the barons of Romania felt the ftrong neceffity of placing the fceptre in the hands of a man and an hero. The veteran king of Jerufalem might have difdained the name and office of regent; they agreed to inveft him for his life with the title and prerogatives of emperor, on the fole condition, that Baldwin fhould marry his fecond daughter, and fucceed at a mature age to the throne of Conftantinople. The expectation, both of the Greeks and Latins, was kindled by the renown, the choice, and the prefence of John of Brienne: and they admired his martial afpect, his green and vigorous age of more than fourfcore years, and his fize and ftature, which furpaffed the com-

[40] Rex igitur Franciæ, deliberatione habitâ refpondit nuntiis, fe daturum hominem Syriæ partibus aptum; in armis probum *(preux)*, in bellis fecurum, in agendis providum, Johannem comitem Brennenfem. Sanut. Secret. Fidelium, l. iii. p. xi. c. 4. p. 205. Matthew Paris, p. 159.

[41] Giannone (Iftoria Civile, tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 380—385.) difcuffes the marriage of Frederic II. with the daughter of John of Brienne, and the double union of the crowns of Naples and Jerufalem.

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mon meaſure of mankind[42]. But avarice, and the love of eaſe, appear to have chilled the ardour of enterpriſe: his troops were diſbanded, and two years rolled away without action or honour, till he was awakened by the dangerous alliance of Vataces emperor of Nice, and of Azan king of Bulgaria. They beſieged Conſtantinople by ſea and land, with an army of one hundred thouſand men, and a fleet of three hundred ſhips of war; while the entire force of the Latin emperor was reduced to one hundred and ſixty knights, and a ſmall addition of ſerjeants and archers. I tremble to relate, that inſtead of defending the city, the hero made a ſally at the head of his cavalry; and that of forty-eight ſquadrons of the enemy, no more than three eſcaped from the edge of his invincible ſword. Fired by his example, the infantry and the citizens boarded the veſſels that anchored cloſe to the walls; and twenty-five were dragged in triumph into the harbour of Conſtantinople. At the ſummons of the emperor, the vaſſals and allies armed in her defence; broke through every obſtacle that oppoſed their paſſage; and, in the ſucceeding year, obtained a ſecond victory over the ſame enemies. By the rude poets of the age, John of Brienne is compared to Hector, Roland, and Judas Machabæus[43]: but their credit, and his glory, receives ſome abatement from the ſilence of the Greeks. The empire was ſoon deprived of the laſt of her champions; and the dying monarch was ambitious to enter paradiſe in the habit of a Franciſcan friar[44].

[42] Acropolita, c. 27. The hiſtorian was at that time a boy, and educated at Conſtantinople. In 1233, when he was eleven years old, his father broke the Latin chain, left a ſplendid fortune, and eſcaped to the Greek court of Nice, where his ſon was raiſed to the higheſt honours.

[43] Philip Mouſkes, biſhop of Tournay (A.D. 1274—1282), has compoſed a poem, or rather a ſtring of verſes, in bad old Flemiſh French, on the Latin emperors of Conſtantinople, which Ducange has publiſhed at the end of Villehardouin; ſee p. 224. for the proweſs of John of Brienne.

N'Aie, Ector, Roll' ne Ogiers
Ne Judas Machabeus li fiers
Tant ne fit d'armes en eſtors
Com fiſt li Rois Jehans cel jors.
Et il defors et il dedans
La paru ſa force et ſes ſens
Et li hardiment qu'il avoit.

[44] See the reign of John de Brienne, in Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. l. iii. c. 13—26.

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Baldwin II. A. D. 1237, March 23— A. D. 1261, July 25.

In the double victory of John of Brienne, I cannot discover the name or exploits of his pupil Baldwin; who had attained the age of military service, and who succeeded to the Imperial dignity on the decease of his adoptive father[45]. The royal youth was employed on a commission more suitable to his temper; he was sent to visit the Western courts, of the pope more especially, and of the king of France; to excite their pity by the view of his innocence and distress; and to obtain some supplies of men or money, for the relief of the sinking empire. He thrice repeated these mendicant visits, in which he seemed to prolong his stay and postpone his return; of the five-and-twenty years of his reign, a greater number were spent abroad than at home; and in no place did the emperor deem himself less free and secure, than in his native country, and his capital. On some public occasions, his vanity might be soothed by the title of Augustus, and by the honours of the purple; and at the general council of Lyons, when Frederic the second was excommunicated and deposed, his Oriental colleague was enthroned on the right-hand of the pope. But how often was the exile, the vagrant, the Imperial beggar, humbled with scorn, insulted with pity, and degraded in his own eyes and those of the nations? In his first visit to England, he was stopped at Dover, by a severe reprimand, that he should presume, without leave, to enter an independent kingdom. After some delay, Baldwin however was permitted to pursue his journey, was entertained with cold civility, and thankfully departed with a present of seven hundred marks[46]. From the avarice of Rome, he could only obtain the proclamation of a crusade and a treasure of indulgences; a coin, whose currency was depreciated by too frequent and indiscriminate abuse. His birth and misfortunes recommended him to

[45] See the reign of Baldwin II. till his expulsion from Constantinople, in Ducange, Hist. de C. P. l. iv. c. 1—34. the end l. v. c. 1—33.

[46] Matthew Paris relates the two visits of Baldwin II. to the English court, p. 396. 637.: his return to Greece armatâ manû, p. 407.: his letters of his nomen formidabile, &c. p. 481. (a passage which had escaped Ducange): his expulsion, p. 850.

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the generosity of his cousin Louis the ninth; but the martial zeal of the saint was diverted from Constantinople to Egypt and Palestine; and the public and private poverty of Baldwin was alleviated, for a moment, by the alienation of the marquisate of Namur and the lordship of Courtenay, the last remains of his inheritance[47]. By such shameful or ruinous expedients, he once more returned to Romania, with an army of thirty thousand soldiers, whose numbers were doubled in the apprehension of the Greeks. His first dispatches to France and England announced his victories and his hopes: he had reduced the country round the capital to the distance of three days journey; and if he succeeded against an important, though nameless, city (most probably Chiorli), the frontier would be safe and the passage accessible. But these expectations (if Baldwin was sincere) quickly vanished like a dream; the troops and treasures of France melted away in his unskilful hands; and the throne of the Latin emperor was protected by a dishonourable alliance with the Turks and Comans. To secure the former, he consented to bestow his niece on the unbelieving sultan of Cogni; to please the latter, he complied with their Pagan rites; a dog was sacrificed between the two armies; and the contracting parties tasted each other's blood, as a pledge of their fidelity[48]. In the palace or prison of Constantinople, the successor of Augustus demolished the vacant houses for winter-fuel, and stripped the lead from the churches for the daily expence of his family. Some usurious loans were dealt with a scanty hand by the merchants of Italy; and Philip, his son and heir, was pawned at Venice as the security for a debt[49]. Thirst, hunger, and nakedness, are positive evils; but wealth is relative;

[47] Louis IX. disapproved and stopped the alienation of Courtenay (Ducange, l. iv. c. 23.). It is now annexed to the royal demesne, but granted for a term *(engagé)* to the family of Boulainvilliers. Courtenay, in the election of Nemours in the Isle de France, is a town of 900 inhabitants with the remains of a castle (Melanges tirés d'une grand Bibliotheque, tom. xlv. p. 74—77.

[48] Joinville, p. 104. edit. du Louvre. A Coman prince, who died without baptism, was buried at the gates of Constantinople with a live retinue of slaves and horses.

[49] Sanut. Secret. Fidel. Crucis, l. ii. p. iv. c. 18. p. 73.

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and a prince, who would be rich in a private ſtation, may be expoſed by the encreaſe of his wants to all the anxiety and bitterneſs of poverty.

The holy crown of thorns.

But in this abject diſtreſs, the emperor and empire were ſtill poſſeſſed of an ideal treaſure, which drew its fantaſtic value from the ſuperſtition of the Chriſtian world. The merit of the true croſs was ſomewhat impaired by its frequent diviſion; and a long captivity among the infidels might ſhed ſome ſuſpicion on the fragments that were produced in the Eaſt and Weſt. But another relic of the Paſſion was preſerved in the Imperial chapel of Conſtantinople; and the crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of Chriſt was equally precious and authentic. It had formerly been the practice of the Egyptian debtors to depoſit, as a ſecurity, the mummies of their parents; and both their honour and religion were bound for the redemption of the pledge. In the ſame manner, and in the abſence of the emperor, the barons of Romania borrowed the ſum of thirteen thouſand one hundred and thirty-four pieces of gold [50], on the credit of the holy crown: they failed in the performance of their contract; and a rich Venetian, Nicholas Querini, undertook to ſatisfy their impatient creditors, on condition that the relic ſhould be lodged at Venice, to become his abſolute property, if it were not redeemed within a ſhort and definite term. The barons appriſed their ſovereign of the hard treaty and impending loſs; and as the empire could not afford a ranſom of ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling, Baldwin was anxious to ſnatch the prize from the Venetians, and to veſt it with more honour and emolument in the hands of the moſt Chriſtian king [51]. Yet the negociation was attended with ſome delicacy. In the purchaſe of relics, the ſaint

[50] Under the words, *Perparus*, *Perpera*, *Hyperperum*, Ducange is ſhort and vague: Monetæ genus. From a corrupt paſſage of Guntherus (Hiſt. C. P. c. 8. p. 10.), I gueſs, that the Perpera was the nummus aureus, the fourth part of a mark of ſilver, or about ten ſhillings ſterling in value. In lead, it would be too contemptible.

[51] For the tranſlation of the holy crown, &c. from Conſtantinople to Paris, ſee Ducange (Hiſt. de C. P. l. iv. c. 11—14. 24. 35.) and Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xvii. p. 201—204.).

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would have ftarted at the guilt of fimony; but if the mode of expreffion were changed, he might lawfully repay the debt, accept the gift, and acknowledge the obligation. His ambaffadors, two Dominicans, were difpatched to Venice, to redeem and receive the holy crown, which had efcaped the dangers of the fea and the gallies of Vataces. On opening a wooden box, they recognifed the feals of the doge and barons, which were applied on a fhrine of filver: and within this fhrine, the monument of the Paffion was inclofed in a golden vafe. The reluctant Venetians yielded to juftice and power: the emperor Frederic granted a free and honourable paffage; the court of France advanced as far as Troyes in Champagne, to meet with devotion this ineftimable relic: it was borne in triumph through Paris by the king himfelf, barefoot, and in his fhirt; and a free gift of ten thoufand marks of filver reconciled Baldwin to his lofs. The fuccefs of this tranfaction tempted the Latin emperor to offer with the fame generofity the remaining furniture of his chapel [52]; a large and authentic portion of the true crofs; the baby-linen of the Son of God; the lance, the fpunge, and the chain, of his Paffion; the rod of Mofes, and part of the fkull of St. John the baptift. For the reception of thefe fpiritual treafures, twenty thoufand marks were expended by St. Louis on a ftately foundation, the holy chapel of Paris, on which the mufe of Boileau has beftowed a comic immortality. The truth of fuch remote and ancient relics, which cannot be proved by any human teftimony, muft be admitted by thofe who believe in the miracles which they have performed. About the middle of the laft age, an inveterate ulcer was touched and cured by an holy prickle of the holy crown [53]: the prodigy is attefted by the moft pious and enlightened Chriftians of France; nor

[52] Melanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothéque, tom. xliii. p. 201—205. The Lutrin of Boileau exhibits the infide, the foul and manners of the *Sainte Chapelle*; and many facts relative to the inftitution are collected and explained by his commentators, Broffette and de St. Marc.

[53] It was performed A. D. 1656, March 24, on the niece of Pafcal; and that fuperior genius, with Arnauld, Nicole, &c. were on the fpot to believe and atteft a miracle which confounded the Jefuits, and faved Port Royal (Oeuvres de Racine, tom. vi. p. 176—187. in his eloquent Hiftory of Port Royal).

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will the fact be easily disproved, except by those who are armed with a general antidote against religious credulity [54].

Progress of the Greeks, A.D. 1237—1261.

The Latins of Constantinople [55] were on all sides encompassed and pressed: their sole hope, the last delay of their ruin, was in the division of their Greek and Bulgarian enemies; and of this hope they were deprived by the superior arms and policy of Vataces emperor of Nice. From the Propontis to the rocky coast of Pamphylia, Asia was peaceful and prosperous under his reign: and the events of every campaign extended his influence in Europe. The strong cities of the hills of Macedonia and Thrace, were rescued from the Bulgarians; and their kingdom was circumscribed by its present and proper limits, along the southern banks of the Danube. The sole emperor of the Romans could no longer brook that a lord of Epirus, a Comnenian prince of the West, should presume to dispute or share the honours of the purple; and the humble Demetrius changed the colour of his buskins, and accepted with gratitude the appellation of despot. His own subjects were exasperated by his baseness and incapacity: they implored the protection of their supreme lord. After some resistance, the kingdom of Thessalonica was united to the empire of Nice; and Vataces reigned without a competitor from the Turkish borders to the Adriatic gulf. The princes of Europe revered his merit and power; and had he subscribed an orthodox creed, it should seem that the pope would have abandoned without reluctance the Latin throne of Constantinople. But the death of Vataces, the short and busy reign of Theodore his son, and the helpless infancy of his grandson John, suspended the restoration of

[54] Voltaire (Siecle de Louis XIV. c. 37. Oeuvres, tom. ix. p. 178, 179.) strives to invalidate the fact: but Hume (Essays, vol. ii. p. 483, 484.), with more skill and success, seizes the battery, and turns the cannon against his enemies.

[55] The gradual losses of the Latins may be traced in the third, fourth, and fifth books of the compilation of Ducange: but of the Greek conquests he has dropped many circumstances, which may be recovered from the larger history of George Acropolita, and the three first books of Nicephorus Gregoras, two writers of the Byzantine series, who have had the good fortune to meet with learned editors, Leo Allatius at Rome, and John Boivin in the Academy of Inscriptions of Paris.

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the Greeks. In the next chapter, I ſhall explain their domeſtic revolutions; in this place, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the young prince was oppreſſed by the ambition of his guardian and colleague Michael Palæologus, who diſplayed the virtues and vices that belong to the founder of a new dynaſty. The emperor Baldwin had flattered himſelf, that he might recover ſome provinces or cities by an impotent negociation. His ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed from Nice with mockery and contempt. At every place which they named, Palæologus alleged ſome ſpecial reaſon, which rendered it dear and valuable in his eyes: in the one he was born; in another he had been firſt promoted to military command; and in a third he had enjoyed, and hoped long to enjoy, the pleaſures of the chace. "And what then do you propoſe to give us?" ſaid the aſtoniſhed deputies. "Nothing," replied the Greek, "not a foot of land. If "your maſter be deſirous of peace, let him pay me as an annual "tribute, the ſum which he receives from the trade and cuſtoms of "Conſtantinople. On theſe terms, I may allow him to reign. If "he refuſes, it is war. I am not ignorant of the art of war, and I "truſt the event to God and my ſword[56]." An expedition againſt the deſpot of Epirus was the firſt prelude of his arms. If a victory was followed by a defeat; if the race of the Comneni or Angeli ſurvived in thoſe mountains his efforts and his reign; the captivity of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, deprived the Latins of the moſt active and powerful vaſſal of their expiring monarchy. The republics of Venice and Genoa diſputed, in the firſt of their naval wars, the command of the ſea and the commerce of the Eaſt. Pride and intereſt attached the Venetians to the defence of Conſtantinople: their rivals were tempted to promote the deſigns of her enemies, and the alliance of the Genoeſe with the ſchiſmatic conqueror provoked the indignation of the Latin church[57].

Michael Palæologus, the Greek emperor, A.D. 1259, December 1.

Intent

[56] George Acropolita, c. 78. p. 89, 90. edit. Paris.

[57] The Greeks, aſhamed of any foreign aid, diſguiſe the alliance and ſuccour of the Genoeſe;

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Conftantinople recovered by the Greeks, A. D. 1261, July 25.

Intent on his great object, the emperor Michael vifited in perfon and ftrengthened the troops and fortifications of Thrace. The remains of the Latins were driven from their laft poffeffions: he affaulted without fuccefs the fuburb of Galata; and correfponded with a perfidious baron, who proved unwilling, or unable, to open the gates of the metropolis. The next fpring, his favourite general, Alexius Strategopulus, whom he had decorated with the title of Cæfar, paffed the Hellefpont with eight hundred horfe and fome infantry [58], on a fecret expedition. His inftructions enjoined him to approach, to liften, to watch, but not to rifk any doubtful or dangerous enterprife againft the city. The adjacent territory between the Propontis and the Black Sea, was cultivated by an hardy race of peafants and outlaws, exercifed in arms, uncertain in their allegiance, but inclined by language, religion, and prefent advantage, to the party of the Greeks. They were ftyled the *volunteers* [59], and by their free fervice, the army of Alexius, with the regulars of Thrace and the Coman auxiliaries [60], was augmented to the number of five-and-twenty thoufand men. By the ardour of the volunteers, and by his own ambition, the Cæfar was ftimulated to difobey the precife orders of his mafter, in the juft confidence that fuccefs would plead his pardon and reward. The weaknefs of Conftantinople, and the diftrefs and terror of the Latins, were familiar to the obfervation of the volunteers: and they reprefented the prefent moment as the moft propitious to furprife and conqueft. A rafh youth, the new go-

Genoefe; but the fact is proved by the teftimony of J. Villani (Chron. l. vi. c. 71. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xiii. p. 202, 203.) and William de Nangis (Annales de St. Louis, p. 248. in the Louvre Joinville), two impartial foreigners; and Urban IV. threatened to deprive Genoa of her archbifhop.

[58] Some precautions muft be ufed in reconciling the difcordant numbers; the 800 foldiers of Nicetas, the 25,000 of Spandugino (apud Ducange, l. v. c. 24.); the Greeks and Scythians of Acropolita, and the numerous army of Michael, in the Epiftles of Pope Urban IV. (i. 129.)

[59] Θεληματαριοι. They are defcribed and named by Pachymer (l. ii. c. 14.).

[60] It is needlefs to feek thefe Comans in the deferts of Tartary, or even of Moldavia. A part of the hord had fubmitted to John Vataces, and was probably fettled as a nurfery of foldiers on fome wafte lands of Thrace (Cantacuzen, l. i. c. 2.).

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vernor of the Venetian colony, had ſailed away with thirty gallies and the beſt of the French knights, on a wild expedition to Daphnuſia, a town on the Black Sea, at the diſtance of forty leagues; and the remaining Latins were without ſtrength or ſuſpicion. They were informed that Alexius had paſſed the Helleſpont; but their apprehenſions were lulled by the ſmallneſs of his original numbers; and their imprudence had not watched the ſubſequent encreaſe of his army. If he left his main body to ſecond and ſupport his operations, he might advance unperceived in the night with a choſen detachment. While ſome applied ſcaling-ladders to the loweſt part of the walls, they were ſecure of an old Greek, who would introduce their companions through a ſubterraneous paſſage into his houſe; they could ſoon on the inſide break an entrance through the golden gate, which had been long obſtructed; and the conqueror would be in the heart of the city, before the Latins were conſcious of their danger. After ſome debate, the Cæſar reſigned himſelf to the faith of the volunteers; they were truſty, bold, and ſucceſsful; and in deſcribing the plan, I have already related the execution and ſucceſs[61]. But no ſooner had Alexius paſſed the threſhold of the golden gate, than he trembled at his own raſhneſs; he pauſed, he deliberated; till the deſperate volunteers urged him forwards, by the aſſurance that in retreat lay the greateſt and moſt inevitable danger. Whilſt the Cæſar kept his regulars in firm array, the Comans diſperſed themſelves on all ſides; an alarm was ſounded, and the threats of fire and pillage compelled the citizens to a deciſive reſolution. The Greeks of Conſtantinople remembered their native ſovereigns; the Genoeſe merchants their recent alliance and Venetian foes; every quarter was in arms; and the air reſounded with a general acclamation of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the auguſt

[61] The loſs of Conſtantinople is briefly told by the Latins: the conqueſt is deſcribed with more ſatisfaction by the Greeks; by Acropolita (c. 85.), Pachymer (l. ii. c. 26, 27.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. c. 1, 2.). See Ducange, Hiſt. de C. P. l. v. c. 19—27.

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"emperors of the Romans!" Their rival, Baldwin, was awakened by the ſound; but the moſt preſſing danger could not prompt him to draw his ſword in the defence of a city which he deſerted, perhaps, with more pleaſure than regret: he fled from the palace to the ſea-ſhore, where he deſcried the welcome ſails of the fleet returning from the vain and fruitleſs attempt on Daphnuſia. Conſtantinople was irrecoverably loſt; but the Latin emperor and the principal families embarked on board the Venetian gallies, and ſteered for the iſle of Eubœa, and afterwards for Italy, where the royal fugitive was entertained by the pope and Sicilian king with a mixture of contempt and pity. From the loſs of Conſtantinople to his death, he conſumed thirteen years, ſoliciting the Catholic powers to join in his reſtoration; the leſſon had been familiar to his youth; nor was his laſt exile more indigent or ſhameful than his three former pilgrimages to the courts of Europe. His ſon Philip was the heir of an ideal empire; and the pretenſions of *his* daughter Catherine were tranſported by her marriage to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair king of France. The houſe of Courtenay was repreſented in the female line by ſucceſſive alliances, till the title of emperor of Conſtantinople, too bulky and ſonorous for a private name, modeſtly expired in ſilence and oblivion [62].

General conſequences of the cruſades.

After this narrative of the expeditions of the Latins to Paleſtine and Conſtantinople, I cannot diſmiſs the ſubject without revolving the general conſequences on the countries that were the ſcene, and on the nations that were the actors, of theſe memorable cruſades [63]. As ſoon as the arms of the Franks were withdrawn, the impreſſion,

[62] See the three laſt books (l. v—viii.), and the genealogical tables of Ducange. In the year 1382, the titular emperor of Conſtantinople was James de Baux, duke of Andria in the kingdom of Naples, the ſon of Margaret, daughter of Catherine de Valois, daughter of Catherine, daughter of Philip, ſon of Baldwin II. (Ducange, l. viii. c. 37, 38.). It is uncertain whether he left any poſterity.

[63] Abulfeda, who ſaw the concluſion of the cruſades, ſpeaks of the kingdoms of the Franks, and thoſe of the Negroes, as equally unknown (Prolegom. ad Geograph.). Had he not diſdained the Latin language, how eaſily might the Syrian prince have found books and interpreters?

though

though not the memory, was erazed in the Mahometan realms of Egypt and Syria. The faithful difciples of the prophet were never tempted by a prophane defire to ftudy the laws or language of the idolators; nor did the fimplicity of their primitive manners receive the flighteft alteration from their intercourfe in peace and war with the unknown ftrangers of the Weft. The Greeks, who thought themfelves proud, but who were only vain, fhewed a difpofition fomewhat lefs inflexible. In the efforts for the recovery of their empire, they emulated the valour, difcipline, and tactics, of their antagonifts. The modern literature of the Weft they might juftly defpife; but its free fpirit would inftruct them in the rights of man; and fome inftitutions of public and private life were adopted from the French. The correfpondence of Conftantinople and Italy diffufed the knowledge of the Latin tongue; and feveral of the fathers and claffics were at length honoured with a Greek verfion[64]. But the national and religious prejudices of the Orientals were inflamed by perfecution; and the reign of the Latins confirmed the feparation of the two churches.

If we compare, at the æra of the crufades, the Latins of Europe with the Greeks and Arabians, their refpective degrees of knowledge, induftry, and art, our rude anceftors muft be content with the third rank in the fcale of nations. Their fucceffive improvement and prefent fuperiority may be afcribed to a peculiar energy of character, to an active and imitative fpirit, unknown to their more polifhed rivals, who at that time were in a ftationary or retrograde ftate. With fuch a difpofition, the Latins fhould have derived the moft early and effential benefits from a feries of events which opened to their eyes the profpect of the world, and introduced them to a long and frequent intercourfe with the more cultivated regions of the East.

[64] A fhort and fuperficial account of thefe verfions from Latin into Geek, is given by Huet (de Interpretatione et de claris Interpretibus, p. 131—135.). Maximus Planudes, a monk of Conftantinople (A. D. 1327—1353), has tranflated Cæfar's Commentaries, the Somnium Scipionis, the Metamorphofes and Heroides of Ovid, &c. (Fabric. Bib. Græc. tom. x. p. 533.)

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East. The first and most obvious progress was in trade and manufactures, in the arts which are strongly prompted by the thirst of wealth, the calls of necessity, and the gratification of the sense or vanity. Among the crowd of unthinking fanatics, a captive or a pilgrim might sometimes observe the superior refinements of Cairo and Constantinople: the first importer of wind-mills[65] was the benefactor of nations; and if such blessings are enjoyed without any grateful remembrance, history has condescended to notice the more apparent luxuries of silk and sugar, which were transported into Italy from Greece and Egypt. But the intellectual wants of the Latins were more slowly felt and supplied; the ardour of studious curiosity was awakened in Europe by different causes and more recent events; and, in the age of the crusades, they viewed with careless indifference the literature of the Greeks and Arabians. Some rudiments of mathematical and medicinal knowledge might be imparted in practice and in figures; necessity might produce some interpreters for the grosser business of merchants and soldiers; but the commerce of the Orientals had not diffused the study and knowledge of their languages in the schools of Europe[66]. If a similar principle of religion repulsed the idiom of the Koran, it should have excited their patience and curiosity to understand the original text of the Gospel; and the same grammar would have unfolded the sense of Plato and the beauties of Homer. Yet in a reign of sixty years the Latins of Constantinople disdained the speech and learning of their subjects; and the manuscripts were the only treasures which the natives might enjoy without rapine or envy. Aristotle was indeed the oracle of the Western universities; but it was a barbarous Aristotle; and, instead of ascending to the fountain-head, his Latin

[65] Windmills, first invented in the dry country of Asia Minor, were used in Normandy as early as the year 1105 (Vie privée des François, tom. i. p. 42, 43. Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. iv. p. 474.)

[66] See the complaints of Roger Bacon (Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 418. Kippis's edition). If Bacon himself, or Gerbert, understood *some* Greeks, they were prodigies, and owed nothing to the commerce of the East.

votaries

votaries humbly accepted a corrupt and remote verſion from the Jews and Moors of Andaluſia. The principle of the cruſades was a ſavage fanaticiſm; and the moſt important effects were analogous to the cauſe. Each pilgrim was ambitious to return with his ſacred ſpoils, the relics of Greece and Paleſtine[67]; and each relic was preceded and followed by a train of miracles and viſions. The belief of the Catholics was corrupted by new legends, their practice by new ſuperſtitions; and the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, the mendicant orders of monks and friars, the laſt abuſe of indulgences, and the final progreſs of idolatry, flowed from the baleful fountain of the holy war. The active ſpirit of the Latins preyed on the vitals of their reaſon and religion; and if the ninth and tenth centuries were the times of darkneſs, the thirteenth and fourteenth were the age of abſurdity and fable.

In the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, in the cultivation of a fertile land, the northern conquerors of the Roman empire inſenſibly mingled with the provincials, and rekindled the embers of the arts of antiquity. Their ſettlements about the age of Charlemagne had acquired ſome degree of order and ſtability, when they were overwhelmed by new ſwarms of invaders, the Normans, Saracens[68], and Hungarians, who replunged the weſtern countries of Europe into their former ſtate of anarchy and barbariſm. About the eleventh century, the ſecond tempeſt had ſubſided by the expulſion or converſion of the enemies of Chriſtendom: the tide of civilization, which had ſo long ebbed, began to flow with a ſteady and accelerated courſe; and a fairer proſpect was opened to the hopes and efforts of the riſing generations. Great was the increaſe, and rapid

[67] Such was the opinion of the great Leibnitz (Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 458.), a maſter of the hiſtory of the middle ages. I ſhall only inſtance the pedigree of the Carmelites, and the flight of the houſe of Loretto, which were both derived from Paleſtine.

[68] If I rank the Saracens with the Barbarians, it is only relative to their wars, or rather inroads, in Italy and France, where their ſole purpoſe was to plunder and deſtroy.

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the progreſs, during the two hundred years of the cruſades; and ſome philoſophers have applauded the propitious influence of theſe holy wars, which appear to me to have checked rather than forwarded the maturity of Europe [69]. The lives and labours of millions, which were buried in the Eaſt, would have been more profitably employed in the improvement of their native country: the accumulated ſtock of induſtry and wealth would have overflowed in navigation and trade; and the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correſpondence with the climates of the Eaſt. In one reſpect I can indeed perceive the accidental operation of the cruſades, not ſo much in producing a benefit as in removing an evil. The larger portion of the inhabitants of Europe was chained to the ſoil, without freedom, or property, or knowledge; and the two orders of eccleſiaſtics and nobles, whoſe numbers were comparatively ſmall, alone deſerved the name of citizens and men. This oppreſſive ſyſtem was ſupported by the arts of the clergy and the ſwords of the barons. The authority of the prieſts operated in the darker ages as a ſalutary antidote: they prevented the total extinction of letters, mitigated the fierceneſs of the times, ſheltered the poor and defenceleſs, and preſerved or revived the peace and order of civil ſociety. But the independence, rapine, and diſcord, of the feudal lords were unmixed with any ſemblance of good; and every hope of induſtry and improvement was cruſhed by the iron weight of the martial ariſtocracy. Among the cauſes that undermined that Gothic edifice, a conſpicuous place muſt be allowed to the cruſades. The eſtates of the barons were diſſipated, and their race was often extinguiſhed, in theſe coſtly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride thoſe charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the ſlave, ſecured the farm of

[69] On this intereſting ſubject, the progreſs of ſociety in Europe, a ſtrong ray of philoſophic light has broke from Scotland in our own times; and it is with private, as well as public regard, that I repeat the names of Hume, Robertſon, and Adam Smith.

the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil. CHAP. LXI.

Digression on the Family of Courtenay.

THE purple of three emperors, who have reigned at Constantinople, will authorise or excuse a digression on the origin and singular fortunes of the house of COURTENAY[70], in the three principal branches, I. Of Edessa; II. Of France; and, III. Of England, of which the last only has survived the revolutions of eight hundred years.

Origin of the family of Courtenay, A. D. 1020.

I. Before the introduction of trade, which scatters riches, and of knowledge, which dispels prejudice, the prerogative of birth is most strongly felt and most humbly acknowledged. In every age, the laws and manners of the Germans have discriminated the ranks of society: the dukes and counts, who shared the empire of Charlemagne, converted their office to an inheritance; and to his children, each feudal lord bequeathed his honour and his sword. The proudest families are content to lose in the darkness of the middle ages, the tree of their pedigree, which, however deep and lofty, must ultimately rise from a plebeian root; and their historians must descend ten centuries below the Christian æra, before they can ascertain any lineal succession by the evidence of surnames, of arms, and of authentic records.

[70] I have applied, but not confined, myself to *A genealogical History of the noble and illustrious Family of Courtenay, by Ezra Cleaveland, Tutor to Sir William Courtenay, and Rector of Honiton*; *Exon.* 1735. *in folio*. The first part is extracted from William of Tyre, the second from Bouchet's French history; and the third from various memorials, public, provincial, and private, of the Courtenays of Devonshire. The rector of Honiton has more gratitude than industry, and more industry than criticism.

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records. With the first rays of light[71], we discern the nobility and opulence of Atho, a French knight: his nobility, in the rank and title of a nameless father; his opulence, in the foundation of the castle of Courtenay in the district of Gatinois, about fifty-six miles to the south of Paris. From the reign of Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, the barons of Courtenay are conspicuous among the immediate vassals of the crown; and Joscelin, the grandson of Atho and a noble dame, is enrolled among the heroes of the first crusade. A domestic alliance (their mothers were sisters) attached him to the standard of Baldwin of Bruges, the second count of Edessa: a princely fief, which he was worthy to receive, and able to maintain, announces the number of his martial followers: and after the departure of his cousin, Joscelin himself was invested with the county of Edessa on both sides of the Euphrates. By the œconomy in peace, his territories were replenished with Latin and Syrian subjects; his magazines with corn, wine, and oil; his castles with gold and silver, with arms and horses. In a holy warfare of thirty years, he was alternately a conqueror and a captive; but he died like a soldier, in an horse-litter at the head of his troops; and his last glance beheld the flight of the Turkish invaders who had presumed on his age and infirmities. His son and successor, of the same name, was less deficient in valour than in vigilance; but he sometimes forgot that dominion is acquired and maintained by the same arts. He challenged the hostility of the Turks, without securing the friendship of the prince of Antioch; and, amidst the peaceful luxury of Turbessel, in Syria[72], Joscelin neglected the defence of the Christian frontier beyond the Euphrates. In his absence, Zenghi, the first of the Atabeks, besieged and stormed his capital, Edessa, which was feebly defended by a timorous and disloyal crowd of Orientals:

I. The counts of Edessa, A. D. 1101—1152.

[71] The primitive record of the family, is a passage of the continuator of Aimoin, a monk of Fleury, who wrote in the xii[th] century. See his Chronicle, in the Historians of France (tom. xi. p. 276.).

[72] Turbessel, or as it is now styled Telbesher, is fixed by d'Anville four-and-twenty miles from the great passage over the Euphrates at Zeugma.

Orientals: the Franks were oppreſſed in a bold attempt for its recovery, and Courtenay ended his days in the priſon of Aleppo. He ſtill left a fair and ample patrimony. But the victorious Turks oppreſſed on all ſides the weakneſs of a widow and orphan; and, for the equivalent of an annual penſion, they reſigned to the Greek emperor the charge of defending, and the ſhame of loſing, the laſt relics of the Latin conqueſt. The counteſs-dowager of Edeſſa retired to Jeruſalem with her two children: the daughter, Agnes, became the wife and mother of a king; the ſon, Joſcelin the third, accepted the office of ſenechal, the firſt of the kingdom, and held his new eſtates in Paleſtine by the ſervice of fifty knights. His name appears with honour in all the tranſactions of peace and war; but he finally vaniſhes in the fall of Jeruſalem; and the name of Courtenay, in this branch of Edeſſa, was loſt by the marriage of his two daughters with a French and a German baron [73].

II. The Courtenays of France.

II. While Joſcelin reigned beyond the Euphrates, his elder brother Milo, the ſon of Joſcelin, the ſon of Atho, continued, near the Seine, to poſſeſs the caſtle of their fathers, which was at length inherited by Rainaud, or Reginald, the youngeſt of his three ſons. Examples of genius or virtue muſt be rare in the annals of the oldeſt families; and, in a remote age, their pride will embrace a deed of rapine and violence; ſuch, however, as could not be perpetrated without ſome ſuperiority of courage, or, at leaſt, of power. A deſcendant of Reginald of Courtenay may bluſh for the public robber, who ſtripped and impriſoned ſeveral merchants, after they had ſatisfied the king's duties, at Sens and Orleans. He will glory in the offence, ſince the bold offender could not be compelled to obedience and reſtitution till the regent and the count of Champagne prepared to march againſt him at the head of an army [74]. Reginald beſtowed

[73] His poſſeſſions are diſtinguiſhed in the Aſſiſes of Jeruſalem (c. 326.) among the feudal tenures of the kingdom, which muſt therefore have been collected between the years 1153 and 1187. His pedigree may be found in the Lignages d'Outremer, c. 16.

[74] The rapine and ſatisfaction of Reginald de Courtenay, are prepoſterouſly arranged in the

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Their alliance with the royal family, A.D. 1150.

beſtowed his eſtates on his eldeſt daughter, and his daughter on the ſeventh ſon of king Louis the Fat; and their marriage was crowned with a numerous offspring. We might expect that a private ſhould have merged in a royal name; and that the deſcendants of Peter of France and Elizabeth of Courtenay would have enjoyed the title and honours of princes of the blood. But this legitimate claim was long neglected and finally denied; and the cauſes of their diſgrace will repreſent the ſtory of this ſecond branch. 1. Of all the families now extant, the moſt ancient, doubtleſs, and the moſt illuſtrious, is the houſe of France, which has occupied the ſame throne above eight hundred years, and deſcends, in a clear and lineal ſeries of males, from the middle of the ninth century[75]. In the age of the cruſades, it was already revered both in the Eaſt and Weſt. But from Hugh Capet to the marriage of Peter, no more than five reigns or generations had elapſed; and ſo precarious was their title, that the eldeſt ſons, as a neceſſary precaution, were previouſly crowned during the lifetime of their fathers. The peers of France have long maintained their precedency before the younger branches of the royal line; nor had the princes of the blood, in the twelfth century, acquired that hereditary luſtre which is now diffuſed over the moſt remote candidates for the ſucceſſion. 2. The barons of Courtenay muſt have ſtood high in their own eſtimation, and in that of the

the Epiſtles of the abbot and regent Suger (cxiv. cxvi.), the beſt memorials of the age (Ducheſne, Scriptores Hiſt. Franc. tom. iv. p. 530.).

[75] In the beginning of the xi[th] century, after naming the father and grandfather of Hugh Capet, the monk Glaber is obliged to add, cujus genus valde in-ante reperitur obſcurum. Yet we are aſſured that the great grandfather of Hugh Capet was Robert the Strong, count of Anjou (A.D. 863—873), a noble Frank of Neuſtria, Neuſtricus . . . . generoſæ ſtirpis, who was ſlain in the defence of his country againſt the Normans, dum patriæ fines tuebatur. Beyond Robert, all is conjecture or fable. It is a probable conjecture, that the third race deſcended from the ſecond by Childebrand, the brother of Charles Martel. It is an abſurd fable, that the ſecond was allied to the firſt by the marriage of Anſbert, a Roman ſenator and the anceſtor of St. Arnoul, with Blitilde, a daughter of Clotaire I. The Saxon origin of the houſe of France is an ancient but incredible opinion. See a judicious memoir of M. de Foncemagne (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xx. p. 548—579.). He had promiſed to declare his own opinion in a ſecond memoir, which has never appeared.

world,

world, ſince they could impoſe on the ſon of a king the obligation of adopting for himſelf and all his deſcendants the name and arms of their daughter and his wife. In the marriage of an heireſs with her inferior or her equal, ſuch exchange was often required and allowed: but as they continued to diverge from the regal ſtem, the ſons of Louis the Fat were inſenſibly confounded with their maternal anceſtors; and the new Courtenays might deſerve to forfeit the honours of their birth, which a motive of intereſt had tempted them to renounce. 3. The ſhame was far more permanent than the reward, and a momentary blaze was followed by a long darkneſs. The eldeſt ſon of theſe nuptials, Peter of Courtenay, had married, as I have already mentioned, the ſiſter of the counts of Flanders, the two firſt emperors of Conſtantinople: he raſhly accepted the invitation of the barons of Romania; his two ſons, Robert and Baldwin, ſucceſſively held and loſt the remains of the Latin empire in the Eaſt, and the grand-daughter of Baldwin the ſecond again mingled her blood with the blood of France and of Valois. To ſupport the expences of a troubled and tranſitory reign, their patrimonial eſtates were mortgaged or ſold; and the laſt emperors of Conſtantinople depended on the annual charity of Rome and Naples.

While the elder brothers diſſipated their wealth in romantic adventures, and the caſtle of Courtenay was profaned by a plebeian owner, the younger branches of that adopted name were propagated and multiplied. But their ſplendour was clouded by poverty and time: after the deceaſe of Robert, great butler of France, they deſcended from princes to barons; the next generations were confounded with the ſimple gentry; the deſcendants of Hugh Capet could no longer be viſible in the rural lords of Tanlay and of Champignelles. The more adventurous embraced without diſhonour the profeſſion of a ſoldier: the leaſt active and opulent might ſink, like their couſins of the branch of Dreux, into the condition of peaſants. Their royal deſcent, in a dark period of four hundred years,

years, became each day more obfolete and ambiguous: and their pedigree, inftead of being enrolled in the annals of the kingdom, muft be painfully fearched by the minute diligence of heralds and genealogifts. It was not till the end of the fixteenth century on the acceffion of a family, almoft as remote as their own, that the princely fpirit of the Courtenays again revived; and the queftion of the nobility, provoked them to affert the royalty, of their blood. They appealed to the juftice and compaffion of Henry the fourth; obtained a favourable opinion from twenty lawyers of Italy and Germany, and modeftly compared themfelves to the defcendants of king David, whofe prerogatives were not impaired by the lapfe of ages or the trade of a carpenter [76]. But every ear was deaf, and every circumftance was adverfe, to their lawful claims. The Bourbon kings were juftified by the neglect of the Valois: the princes of the blood more recent and lofty, difdained the alliance of this humble kindred: the parliament, without denying their proofs, eluded a dangerous precedent by an arbitrary diftinction, and eftablifhed St. Louis as the firft father of the royal line [77]. A repetition of complaints and protefts was repeatedly difregarded: and the hopelefs purfuit was terminated in the prefent century by the death of the laft male of the family [78]. Their painful and anxious fituation was alleviated by the pride

[76] Of the various petitions, apologies, &c. publifhed by the *princes* of Courtenay, I have feen the three following, all in octavo: 1. De Stirpe et Origine Domus de Courtenay: addita funt Refponfa celeberrimorum Europæ Jurifconfultorum: Paris, 1607. 2. Reprefentation du Procedé tenû a l'inftance faicte devant le Roi, par Meffieurs de Courtenay, pour la confervation de l'Honneur et Dignité de leur Maifon, branche de la royalle Maifon de France: à Paris, 1613. 3. Reprefentation du fubject qui a porté Meffieurs de Salles et de Fraville, de la Maifon de Courtenays, à fe retirer hors du Royaume, 1614. It was an homicide, for which the Courtenays expected to be pardoned, or tried, as princes of the blood.

[77] The fenfe of the parliaments is thus expreffed by Thuanus: Principis nomen nufquam in Galliâ tributum, nifi iis qui per mares e regibus noftris originem repetunt: qui nunc tantum a Ludovico nono beatæ memoriæ numerantur: nam *Cortinæi* et Drocenfes, a Ludovico craffo genus ducentes, hodie inter eos minime recenfentur. A diftinction of expediency, rather than juftice. The fanctity of Louis IX. could not inveft him with any fpecial prerogative, and all the defcendants of Hugh Capet muft be included in his original compact with the French nation.

[78] The laft male of the Courtenays was Charles Roger, who died in the year 1730, without leaving any fons. The laft female was

pride of confcious virtue: they fternly rejected the temptations of fortune and favour; and a dying Courtenay would have facrificed his fon, if the youth could have renounced, for any temporal intereft, the right and title of a legitimate prince of the blood of France[79].

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III. The Courtenays of England.

III. According to the old regifter of Ford Abbey, the Courtenays of Devonfhire are defcended from prince *Florus*, the fecond fon of Peter, and the grandfon of Louis the Fat[80]. This fable of the grateful or venal monks was too refpectfully entertained by our antiquaries, Cambden[81] and Dugdale[82]: but it is fo clearly repugnant to truth and time, that the rational pride of the family now refufes to accept this imaginary founder. Their moft faithful hiftorians believe, that after giving his daughter to the king's fon, Reginald of Courtenay abandoned his poffeffions in France, and obtained from the Englifh monarch a fecond wife and a new inheritance. It is certain, at leaft, that Henry the fecond diftinguifhed in his camps and councils, *a* Reginald, of the name and arms, and, as it may be fairly prefumed, of the genuine race, of the Courtenays of France. The right of wardfhip enabled a feudal lord to reward his vaffal with the marriage and eftate of a noble heirefs; and Reginald of Courtenay acquired a fair eftablifhment in Devonfhire, where his pofterity has been feated above fix hundred years[83]. From a Norman baron, Baldwin

was Helene de Courtenay, who married Louis de Beaufremont. Her title of Princeffe du Sang Royal de France, was fuppreffed (February 7th, 1737) by an *arrêt* of the parliament of Paris.

79 The fingular anecdote to which I allude, is related in the Recueil des Pieces interesfantes et peu connues (Maeftricht, 1786, in 4 vols. 12mo); and the unknown editor quotes his author, who had received it from Helene de Courtenay, marquife de Beaufremont.

80 Dugdale, Monafticon Anglicanum, vol. i. p. 786. Yet this fable muft have been invented before the reign of Edward III. The profufe devotion of the three firft generations to Ford abbey, was followed by oppreffion on one fide and ingratitude on the other; and in the fixth generation, the monks ceafed to regifter the births, actions, and deaths of their patrons.

81 In his Britannia, in the lift of the earls of Devonfhire. His expreffion, e regio fanguine ortos credunt, betrays however fome doubt or fufpicion.

82 In his Baronage, P. i. p. 634. he refers to his own Monafticon. Should he not have corrected the regifter of Ford abbey, and annihilated the phantom Florus, by the unqueftionable evidence of the French hiftorians?

83 Befides the third and moft valuable book of

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Baldwin de Brioniis, who had been invefted by the Conqueror, Hawife, the wife of Reginald, derived the honour of Okehampton, which was held by the fervice of ninety-three knights; and a female might claim the manly offices of hereditary vifcount or fheriff, and of captain of the royal caftle of Exeter. Their fon Robert married the fifter of the earl of Devon; at the end of a century, on the failure of the family of Rivers [84], his great-grandfon, Hugh the fecond, fucceeded to a title which was ftill confidered as a territorial dignity; and twelve earls of Devonfhire, of the name of Courtenay, have flourifhed in a period of two hundred and twenty years. They were ranked among the chief of the barons of the realm; nor was it till after a ftrenuous difpute, that they yielded to the fief of Arundel, the firft place in the parliament of England: their alliances were contracted with the nobleft families, the Veres, Defpenfers, St. Johns, Talbots, Bohuns, and even the Plantagenets themfelves; and in a conteft with John of Lancafter, a Courtenay, bifhop of London, and afterwards archbifhop of Canterbury, might be accufed of profane confidence in the ftrength and number of his kindred. In peace, the earls of Devon refided in their numerous caftles and manors of the weft: their ample revenue was appropriated to devotion and hofpitality; and the epitaph of Edward, furnamed, from his misfortune, the *blind*, from his virtues, the *good*, earl, inculcates with much ingenuity a moral fentence, which may however be abufed by thoughtlefs generofity. After a grateful commemoration of the fifty-five years of union and happinefs, which he enjoyed with Mabel his wife, the good earl thus fpeaks from the tomb:

The earls of Devonfhire.

What we gave, we have;
What we fpent, we had;
What we left, we loft [85].

But

of Cleaveland's Hiftory, I have confulted Dugdale, the father of our genealogical fcience (Baronage, P. i. p. 634—643.).

84 This great family, de Ripuariis, de Redvers, de Rivers, ended, in Edward the Firft's time, in Ifabella de Fortibus, a famous and potent dowager, who long furvived her brother and hufband (Dugdale, Baronage, P. i. p. 254—257.).

85 Cleaveland, p. 142. By fome, it is affigned

But their *loſſes*, in this ſenſe, were far ſuperior to their gifts and expences; and their heirs, not leſs than the poor, were the objects of their paternal care. The ſums which they paid for livery and ſeiſin, atteſt the greatneſs of their poſſeſſions; and ſeveral eſtates have remained in their family ſince the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In war, the Courtenays of England fulfilled the duties, and deſerved the honours, of chivalry. They were often entruſted to levy and command the militia of Devonſhire and Cornwall; they often attended their ſupreme lord to the borders of Scotland; and in foreign ſervice, for a ſtipulated price, they ſometimes maintained fourſcore men at arms and as many archers. By ſea and land they fought under the ſtandard of the Edwards and Henries: their names are conſpicuous in battles, in tournaments, and in the original liſt of the order of the garter; three brothers ſhared the Spaniſh victory of the Black Prince; and in the lapſe of ſix generations, the Engliſh Courtenays had learned to diſpiſe the nation and country from which they derived their origin. In the quarrel of the two roſes, the earls of Devon adhered to the houſe of Lancaſter, and three brothers ſucceſſively died, either in the field or on the ſcaffold. Their honours and eſtates were reſtored by Henry the ſeventh; a daughter of Edward the fourth was not diſgraced by the nuptials of a Courtenay; their ſon, who was created marquis of Exeter, enjoyed the favour of his couſin Henry the eighth; and in the camp of Cloth of Gold, he broke a lance againſt the French monarch. But the favour of Henry was the prelude of diſgrace; his diſgrace was the ſignal of death; and of the victims of the jealous tyrant, the marquis of Exeter is one of the moſt noble and guiltleſs. His ſon Edward lived a priſoner in the Tower, and died an exile at Padua; and the ſecret love of queen Mary, whom he ſlighted, perhaps for the princeſs Elizabeth, has ſhed a romantic colour on the ſtory of this beautiful youth. The relics of his patrimony were conveyed into ſtrange families by the marriages of his four aunts; and

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aſſigned to a Rivers earl of Devon: but the Engliſh denotes the xvth, rather than the xiiith, century.

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his perſonal honours, as if they had been legally extinct, were revived by the patents of ſucceeding princes. But there ſtill ſurvived a lineal deſcendant of Hugh the firſt earl of Devon, a younger branch of the Courtenays, who have been ſeated at Powderham caſtle above four hundred years from the reign of Edward the third to the preſent hour. Their eſtates have been encreaſed by the grant and improvement of lands in Ireland, and they have been recently reſtored to the honours of the peerage. Yet the Courtenays ſtill retain the plaintive motto, which aſſerts the innocence, and deplores the fall, of their ancient houſe[86]. While they ſigh for paſt greatneſs, they are doubtleſs ſenſible of preſent bleſſings: in the long ſeries of the Courtenay annals, the moſt ſplendid æra is likewiſe the moſt unfortunate; nor can an opulent peer of Britain be inclined to envy the emperors of Conſtantinople, who wandered over Europe to ſolicit alms for the ſupport of their dignity and the defence of their capital.

[86] *Ubi lapſus! Quid feci?* a motto which was probably adopted by the Powderham branch, after the loſs of the earldom of Devonſhire, &c. The primitive arms of the Courtenays were, *or, three torteaux, gules*, which ſeem to denote their affinity with Godfrey of Bouillon, and the ancient counts of Boulogne.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJ[illegible] MAHAL.

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The Greek Emperors of Nice and Conſtantinople.—Elevation and Reign of Michael Palæologus.—His falſe Union with the Pope and the Latin Church.—Hoſtile Deſigns of Charles of Anjou.—Revolt of Sicily.—War of the Catalans in Aſia and Greece.—Revolutions and preſent State of Athens.

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Reſtoration of the Greek empire.

THE loſs of Conſtantinople reſtored a momentary vigour to the Greeks. From their palaces, the princes and nobles were driven into the field; and the fragments of the falling monarchy were graſped by the hands of the moſt vigorous or the moſt ſkilful candidates. In the long and barren pages of the Byzantine annals [1], it would not be an eaſy taſk to equal the two characters of Theodore Laſcaris and John Ducas Vataces [2], who replanted and upheld the Roman ſtandard at Nice in Bithynia. The difference of their virtues was happily ſuited to the diverſity of their ſituation. In his firſt efforts, the fugitive Laſcaris commanded only three cities and two thouſand ſoldiers: his reign was the ſeaſon of generous and active deſpair: in every military operation he ſtaked his life and crown; and his enemies, of the Helleſpont and the Mæander, were ſurpriſed by his

Theodore Laſcaris, A.D. 1204—1222.

[1] For the reigns of the Nicene emperors, more eſpecially of John Vataces and his ſon, their miniſter, George Acropolita, is the only genuine contemporary: but George Pachymer returned to Conſtantinople with the Greeks, at the age of nineteen (Hanckius, de Script. Byzant. c. 33, 34. p. 564—578. Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 448—460.). Yet the hiſtory of Nicephorus Gregoras, though of the xivth century, is a valuable narrative from the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins.

[2] Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.) diſtinguiſhes between the οξεια ὁρμη of Laſcaris, and the ευσταθεια of Vataces. The two portraits are in a very good ſtyle.

celerity

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John Ducas Vataces, A.D. 1222—1255, October 30.

celerity and ſubdued by his boldneſs. A victorious reign of eighteen years expanded the principality of Nice to the magnitude of an empire. The throne of his ſucceſſor and ſon-in-law Vataces was founded on a more ſolid baſis, a larger ſcope, and more plentiful reſources; and it was the temper, as well as the intereſt, of Vataces to calculate the riſk, to expect the moment, and to enſure the ſucceſs, of his ambitious deſigns. In the decline of the Latins, I have briefly expoſed the progreſs of the Greeks; the prudent and gradual advances of a conqueror, who, in a reign of thirty-three years, reſcued the provinces from national and foreign uſurpers, till he preſſed on all ſides the Imperial city, a leafleſs and ſapleſs trunk which muſt fall at the firſt ſtroke of the axe. But his interior and peaceful adminiſtration is ſtill more deſerving of notice and praiſe [3]. The calamities of the times had waſted the numbers and the ſubſtance of the Greeks: the motives and the means of agriculture were extirpated; and the moſt fertile lands were left without cultivation or inhabitants. A portion of this vacant property was occupied and improved by the command, and for the benefit, of the emperor: a powerful hand and a vigilant eye ſupplied and ſurpaſſed, by a ſkilful management, the minute diligence of a private farmer: the royal domain became the garden and granary of Aſia; and without impoveriſhing the people, the ſovereign acquired a fund of innocent and productive wealth. According to the nature of the ſoil, his lands were ſown with corn or planted with vines: the paſtures were filled with horſes and oxen, with ſheep and hogs; and when Vataces preſented to the empreſs a crown of diamonds and pearls, he informed her with a ſmile that this precious ornament aroſe from the ſale of the eggs of his innumerable poultry. The produce of his domain was applied to the maintenance of his palace and hoſpitals, the calls of dignity and benevolence: the leſſon was ſtill more uſe-

[3] Pachymer, l. i. c. 23, 24. Nic. Greg. l. ii. c. 6. The reader of the Byzantines muſt obſerve how rarely we are indulged with ſuch precious details.

ful than the revenue: the plough was reſtored to its ancient ſecurity and honour; and the nobles were taught to ſeek a ſure and independent revenue from their eſtates, inſtead of adorning their ſplendid beggary by the oppreſſion of the people, or (what is almoſt the ſame) by the favours of the court. The ſuperfluous ſtock of corn and cattle was eagerly purchaſed by the Turks, with whom Vataces preſerved a ſtrict and ſincere alliance; but he diſcouraged the importation of foreign manufactures, the coſtly ſilks of the Eaſt, and the curious labours of the Italian looms. "The demands of nature "and neceſſity," was he accuſtomed to ſay, "are indiſpenſable; "but the influence of faſhion may riſe and ſink at the breath of a "monarch;" and both his precept and example recommended ſimplicity of manners and the uſe of domeſtic induſtry. The education of youth and the revival of learning were the moſt ſerious objects of his care; and, without deciding the precedency, he pronounced with truth, that a prince and a philoſopher[4] are the two moſt eminent characters of human ſociety. His firſt wife was Irene, the daughter of Theodore Laſcaris, a woman more illuſtrious by her perſonal merit, the milder virtues of her ſex, than by the blood of the Angeli and Comneni, that flowed in her veins, and tranſmitted the inheritance of the empire. After her death he was contracted to Anne or Conſtance, a natural daughter of the emperor Frederic the ſecond; but as the bride had not attained the years of puberty, Vataces placed in his ſolitary bed an Italian damſel of her train; and his amorous weakneſs beſtowed on the concubine the honours, though not the title, of lawful empreſs. His frailty was cenſured as a flagitious and damnable ſin by the monks; and their rude invectives exerciſed and diſplayed the patience of the royal lover. A philoſophic age may excuſe a ſingle vice, which was redeemed by a crowd of virtues; and in the review of his faults, and

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[4] Μονοι γαρ ἁπαντων ανθρωπων ονομαστοτατοι βασιλευς και φιλοσοφος (Greg. Acropol. c. 32.). The emperor, in a familiar converſation, examined and encouraged the ſtudies of his future logothete.

the

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the more intemperate paſſions of Laſcaris, the judgment of their contemporaries was ſoftened by gratitude to the ſecond founders of the empire [5]. The ſlaves of the Latins, without law or peace, applauded the happineſs of their brethren who had reſumed their national freedom; and Vataces employed the laudable policy of convincing the Greeks of every dominion that it was their intereſt to be enrolled in the number of his ſubjects.

Theodore Laſcaris II. A. D. 1255, October 30— A. D. 1259, Auguſt.

A ſtrong ſhade of degeneracy is viſible between John Vataces and his ſon Theodore; between the founder who ſuſtained the weight, and the heir who enjoyed the ſplendour, of the Imperial crown [6]. Yet the character of Theodore was not devoid of energy; he had been educated in the ſchool of his father, in the exerciſe of war and hunting: Conſtantinople was yet ſpared; but in the three years of a ſhort reign, he thrice led his armies into the heart of Bulgaria. His virtues were ſullied by a choleric and ſuſpicious temper: the firſt of theſe may be aſcribed to the ignorance of controul; and the ſecond might naturally ariſe from a dark and imperfect view of the corruption of mankind. On a march in Bulgaria, he conſulted on a queſtion of policy his principal miniſters; and the Greek logothete, George Acropolita, preſumed to offend him by the declaration of a free and honeſt opinion. The emperor half-unſheathed his ſcymetar; but his more deliberate rage reſerved Acropolita for a baſer puniſhment. One of the firſt officers of the empire was ordered to diſmount, ſtripped of his robes, and extended on the ground in the preſence of the prince and army. In this poſture he was chaſtiſed with ſo many and ſuch heavy blows from the clubs of two guards or executioners, that when Theodore commanded them to ceaſe, the great logothete was ſcarcely able to ariſe and crawl away

5 Compare Acropolita (c. 18. 52.), and the two firſt books of Nicephorus Gregoras.

6 A Perſian ſaying, that Cyrus was the *father*, and Darius the *maſter*, of his ſubjects, was applied to Vataces and his ſon. But Pachymer (l. i. c. 23.) has miſtaken the mild Darius for the cruel Cambyſes, deſpot or tyrant of his people. By the inſtitution of taxes, Darius had incurred the leſs odious, but more contemptible, name of Καπηλος, merchant or broker (Herodotus, iii. 89.).

to

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to his tent. After a feclufion of fome days, he was recalled by a peremptory mandate to his feat in council; and fo dead were the Greeks to the fenfe of honour and fhame, that it is from the narrative of the fufferer himfelf that we acquire the knowledge of his difgrace [7]. The cruelty of the emperor was exafperated by the pangs of ficknefs, the approach of a premature end, and the fufpicion of poifon and magic. The lives and fortunes, the eyes and limbs, of his kinfmen and nobles, were facrificed to each fally of paffion; and before he died, the fon of Vataces might deferve from the people, or at leaft from the court, the appellation of tyrant. A matron of the family of the Palæologi had provoked his anger by refufing to beftow her beauteous daughter on the vile plebeian who was recommended by his caprice. Without regard to her birth or age, her body, as high as the neck, was inclofed in a fack with feveral cats, who were pricked with pins to irritate their fury againft their unfortunate fellow-captive. In his laft hours, the emperor teftified a wifh to forgive and be forgiven, a juft anxiety for the fate of John his fon and fucceffor, who, at the age of eight years, was condemned to the dangers of a long minority. His laft choice entrufted the office of guardian to the fanctity of the patriarch Arfenius, and to the courage of George Muzalon, the great domeftic, who was equally diftinguifhed by the royal favour and the public hatred. Since their connection with the Latins, the names and privileges of hereditary rank had infinuated themfelves into the Greek monarchy; and the noble families [8] were provoked by the elevation of a worthlefs favourite, to whofe influence they imputed the errors and calamities

Minority of John Lafcaris, A. D. 1259, Auguft.

[7] Acropolita (c. 63.) feems to admire his own firmnefs in fuftaining a beating, and not returning to council till he was called. He relates the exploits of Theodore, and his own fervices, from c. 53. to c. 74. of his hiftory. See the third book of Nicephorus Gregoras.

[8] Pachymer (l. i. c. 21.) names and difcriminates fifteen or twenty Greek families, και ὁσοι αλλοι, οἱς ἡ μεγαλογενης σειρα και χρυση συγκεκροτητο. Does he mean, by this decoration, a figurative, or a real golden chain? Perhaps, both.

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lamities of the late reign. In the firft council, after the emperor's death, Muzalon, from a lofty throne, pronounced a laboured apology of his conduct and intentions: his modefty was fubdued by an unanimous affurance of efteem and fidelity; and his moft inveterate enemies were the loudeft to falute him as the guardian and faviour of the Romans. Eight days were fufficient to prepare the execution of the confpiracy. On the ninth, the obfequies of the deceafed monarch were folemnifed in the cathedral of Magnefia [9], an Afiatic city, where he expired, on the banks of the Hermus and at the foot of mount Sipylus. The holy rites were interrupted by a fedition of the guards: Muzalon, his brothers, and his adherents, were maffacred at the foot of the altar; and the abfent patriarch was affociated with a new colleague, with Michael Palæologus, the moft illuftrious, in birth and merit, of the Greek nobles [10].

Family and character of Michael Palæologus.

Of thofe who are proud of their anceftors, the far greater part muft be content with local or domeftic renown; and few there are who dare truft the memorials of their family to the public annals of their country. As early as the middle of the eleventh century, the noble race of the Palæologi [11] ftands high and confpicuous in the Byzantine hiftory: it was the valiant George Palæologus who placed the father of the Comneni on the throne; and his kinfmen or defcendants continue, in each generation, to lead the armies and councils of the ftate. The purple was not difhonoured by their alliance; and had the law of fucceffion, and female fucceffion, been ftrictly ob-

[9] The old geographers, with Cellarius and d'Anville, and our travellers, particularly Pocock and Chandler, will teach us to diftinguifh the two Magnefias of Afia Minor, of the Mæander and of Sipylus. The latter, our prefent object, is ftill flourifhing for a Turkifh city, and lies eight hours, or leagues, to the north-eaft of Smyrna (Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xxii. p. 365—370. Chandler's Travels into Afia Minor, p. 267.).

[10] See Acropolita (c. 75, 76, &c.), who lived too near the times; Pachymer (l. i. c. 13—25.), Gregoras (l. iii. c. 3, 4, 5.).

[11] The pedigree of Palæologus is explained by Ducange (Famil. Byzant. p. 230, &c.): the events of his private life are related by Pachymer (l. i. c. 7—12.) and Gregoras (l. ii. 8. l. iii. 2. 4. l. iv. 1.), with vifible favour to the father of the reigning dynafty.

ferved,

ferved, the wife of Theodore Lafcaris muft have yielded to her elder fifter, the mother of Michael Palæologus, who afterwards raifed his family to the throne. In his perfon, the fplendour of birth was dignified by the merit of the foldier and ftatefman: in his early youth he was promoted to the office of *conftable* or commander of the French mercenaries; the private expence of a day never exceeded three pieces of gold; but his ambition was rapacious and profufe; and his gifts were doubled by the graces of his converfation and manners. The love of the foldiers and people excited the jealoufy of the court; and Michael thrice efcaped from the dangers in which he was involved by his own imprudence or that of his friends. I. Under the reign of Juftice and Vataces, a difpute arofe [12] between two officers, one of whom accufed the other of maintaining the hereditary right of the Palæologi. The caufe was decided, according to the new jurifprudence of the Latins, by fingle combat: the defendant was overthrown; but he perfifted in declaring that himfelf alone was guilty; and that he had uttered thefe rafh or treafonable fpeeches without the approbation or knowledge of his patron. Yet a cloud of fufpicion hung over the innocence of the conftable: he was ftill purfued by the whifpers of malevolence; and a fubtle courtier, the archbifhop of Philadelphia, urged him to accept the judgment of God in the fiery proof of the ordeal [13]. Three days before the trial, the patient's arm was enclofed in a bag, and fecured by the royal fignet; and it was incumbent on him to bear a red-hot ball of iron three times from the altar to the rails of the fanctuary, without artifice and without injury. Palæologus eluded the dangerous experiment with fenfe and pleafantry. "I am a foldier," faid he, "and will boldly enter the lifts with my accufers: but a

[12] Acropolita (c. 50.) relates the circumftances of this curious adventure, which feem to have efcaped the more recent writers.

[13] Pachymer (l. i. c. 12.), who fpeaks with proper contempt of this barbarous trial, affirms, that he had feen in his youth many perfons who had fuftained, without injury, the fiery ordeal. As a Greek, he is credulous: but the ingenuity of the Greeks might furnifh fome remedies of art or fraud againft their own fuperftition, or that of their tyrant.

 "layman,

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"layman, a finner like myfelf, is not endowed with the gift of "miracles. *Your* piety, moft holy prelate, may deferve the inter- "pofition of heaven, and from your hands I will receive the fiery "globe, the pledge of my innocence." The archbifhop ftarted; the emperor fmiled; and the abfolution or pardon of Michael was approved by new rewards and new fervices. II. In the fucceeding reign, as he held the government of Nice, he was fecretly informed, that the mind of the abfent prince was poifoned with jealoufy; and that death, or blindnefs, would be his final reward. Inftead of awaiting the return and fentence of Theodore, the conftable, with fome followers, efcaped from the city and the empire; and though he was plundered by the Turkmans of the defert, he found an hofpitable refuge in the court of the fultan. In the ambiguous ftate of an exile, Michael reconciled the duties of gratitude and loyalty: drawing his fword againft the Tartars; admonifhing the garrifons of the Roman limit; and promoting by his influence, the reftoration of peace, in which his pardon and recall were honourably included. III. While he guarded the Weft againft the defpot of Epirus, Michael was again fufpected and condemned in the palace; and fuch was his loyalty or weaknefs, that he fubmitted to be led in chains above fix hundred miles from Durazzo to Nice. The civility of the meffenger alleviated his difgrace; the emperor's ficknefs difpelled his danger; and the laft breath of Theodore, which recommended his infant fon, at once acknowledged the innocence and the power of Palæologus.

His elevation to the throne.

But his innocence had been too unworthily treated, and his power was too ftrongly felt, to curb an afpiring fubject in the fair field that was opened to his ambition[14]. In the council after the death of Theodore, he was the firft to pronounce, and the firft to violate, the oath

[14] Without comparing Pachymer to Thucydides or Tacitus, I will praife his narrative (l. i. c. 13—32. l. ii. c. 1—9.), which purfues the afcent of Palæologus with eloquence, perfpicuity, and tolerable freedom. Acropolita is more cautious, and Gregoras more concife.

oath of allegiance to Muzalon; and ſo dextrous was his conduct, that he reaped the benefit, without incurring the guilt, or at leaſt the reproach, of the ſubſequent maſſacre. In the choice of a regent, he balanced the intereſts and paſſions of the candidates; turned their envy and hatred from himſelf againſt each other, and forced every competitor to own, that after his own claims, thoſe of Palæologus were beſt entitled to the preference. Under the title of great duke, he accepted or aſſumed, during a long minority, the active powers of government; the patriarch was a venerable name; and the factious nobles were ſeduced, or oppreſſed, by the aſcendant of his genius. The fruits of the œconomy of Vataces were depoſited in a ſtrong caſtle on the banks of the Hermus, in the cuſtody of the faithful Varangians: the conſtable retained his command or influence over the foreign troops; he employed the guards to poſſeſs the treaſure, and the treaſure to corrupt the guards; and whatſoever might be the abuſe of the public money, his character was above the ſuſpicion of private avarice. By himſelf, or by his emiſſaries, he ſtrove to perſuade every rank of ſubjects, that their own proſperity would riſe in juſt proportion to the eſtabliſhment of his authority. The weight of taxes was ſuſpended, the perpetual theme of popular complaint; and he prohibited the trials by the ordeal and judicial combat. Theſe Barbaric inſtitutions were already aboliſhed or undermined in France [15] and England [16]; and the appeal to the ſword offended the ſenſe of a civilized [17], and the temper of an unwarlike, people.

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[15] The judicial combat was aboliſhed by St. Louis in his own territories; and his example and authority were at length prevalent in France (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 29.).

[16] In civil caſes Henry II. gave an option to the defendant: Glanville prefers the proof by evidence, and that by judicial combat is reprobated in the Fleta. Yet the trial by battle has never been abrogated in the Engliſh law, and it was ordered by the judges as late as the beginning of the laſt century.

[17] Yet an ingenious friend has urged to me in mitigation of this practice, 1. *That* in nations emerging from barbariſm, it moderates the licence of private war and arbitrary revenge. 2. *That* it is leſs abſurd than the trials by the ordeal, or boiling water, or the croſs, which it has contributed to aboliſh. 3. *That* it ſerved at leaſt as a teſt of perſonal courage; a quality ſo ſeldom united with a baſe diſpoſition, that the danger of the trial might be ſome check to a malicious proſecutor,

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people. For the future maintenance of their wives and children, the veterans were grateful: the prieft and the philofopher applauded his ardent zeal for the advancement of religion and learning; and his vague promife of rewarding merit, was applied by every candidate to his own hopes. Confcious of the influence of the clergy, Michael fuccefsfully laboured to fecure the fuffrage of that powerful order. Their expenfive journey from Nice to Magnefia, afforded a decent and ample pretence: the leading prelates were tempted by the liberality of his nocturnal vifits; and the incorruptible patriarch was flattered by the homage of his *new* colleague, who led his mule by the bridle into the town, and removed to a refpectful diftance the importunity of the crowd. Without renouncing his title by royal defcent, Palæologus encouraged a free difcuffion into the advantages of elective monarchy; and his adherents afked, with the infolence of triumph, what patient would truft his health, or what merchant would abandon his veffel, to the *hereditary* fkill of a phyfician or a pilot? The youth of the emperor, and the impending dangers of a minority, required the fupport of a mature and experienced guardian; of an affociate, raifed above the envy of his equals, and invefted with the name and prerogatives of royalty. For the intereft of the prince and people, without any felfifh views for himfelf or his family, the great duke confented to guard and inftruct the fon of Theodore; but he fighed for the happy moment when he might reftore to his firmer hands the adminiftration of his patrimony, and enjoy the bleffings of a private ftation. He was firft invefted with the title and prerogatives of *defpot*, which beftowed the purple ornaments, and the fecond place in the Roman monarchy. It was afterwards agreed that John and Michael fhould be proclaimed as joint-emperors, and raifed on the buckler, but that the pre-eminence fhould be referved for the birth-right of the former. A

tor, and an ufeful barrier againft injuftice fupported by power. The gallant and unfortunate earl of Surrey might probably have efcaped his unmerited fate, had not his demand of the combat againft his accufer been over-ruled.

mutual

mutual league of amity was pledged between the royal partners; and in cafe of a rupture, the fubjects were bound, by their oath of allegiance, to declare themfelves againft the aggreffor, an ambiguous name, the feed of difcord and civil war. Palæologus was content; but on the day of the coronation, and in the cathedral of Nice, his zealous adherents moft vehemently urged the juft priority of his age and merit. The unfeafonable difpute was eluded by poftponing to a more convenient opportunity the coronation of John Lafcaris; and he walked with a flight diadem in the train of his guardian, who alone received the Imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch. It was not without extreme reluctance that Arfenius abandoned the caufe of his pupil; but the Varangians brandifhed their battle-axes; a fign of affent was extorted from the trembling youth; and fome voices were heard, that the life of a child fhould no longer impede the fettlement of the nation. A full harveft of honours and employments was diftributed among his friends by the grateful Palæologus. In his own family he created a defpot and two febaftocrators; Alexius Strategopulus was decorated with the title of Cæfar; and that veteran commander foon repaid the obligation, by reftoring Conftantinople to the Greek emperor.

Michael Palæologus emperor, A. D. 1260, January 1.

It was in the fecond year of his reign, while he refided in the palace and gardens of Nymphæum[18] near Smyrna, that the firft meffenger arrived at the dead of night; and the ftupendous intelligence was imparted to Michael, after he had been gently waked by the tender precaution of his fifter Eulogia. The man was unknown or obfcure; he produced no letters from the victorious Cæfar; nor could it eafily be credited after the defeat of Vataces and the recent failure of Palæologus himfelf, that the capital had been furprifed by a detachment of eight hundred foldiers. As an hoftage, the doubt-

Recovery of Conftantinople, A. D. 1261, July 25.

[18] The fite of Nymphæum is not clearly defined in ancient or modern geography. But from the laft hours of Vataces (Acropolita, c. 52.), it is evident the palace and gardens of his favourite refidence were in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Nymphæum might be loofely placed in Lydia (Gregoras, l. vi. 6.).

ful

4

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Return of the Greek emperor, A. D. 1261, August 14.

[19] This sceptre, the emblem of justice and power, was a long staff, such as was used by the heroes in Homer. By the latter Greeks it was named *Dicanice*, and the Imperial sceptre was distinguished as usual by the red or purple colour.

[20] Acropolita affirms (c. 87.), that this bonnet was after the French fashion; but from the ruby at the point or summit, Ducange (Hist. de C. P. l. v. c. 28, 29.) believes that it was the high-crowned hat of the Greeks. Could Acropolita mistake the dress of his own court?

Mary

Mary the Conductress was borne before him, that the divine Virgin in person might appear to conduct him to the temple of her son, the cathedral of St. Sophia. But after the first transport of devotion and pride, he sighed at the dreary prospect of solitude and ruin. The palace was defiled with smoke and dirt, and the gross intemperance of the Franks; whole streets had been consumed by fire, or were decayed by the injuries of time; the sacred and profane edifices were stripped of their ornaments; and, as if they were conscious of their approaching exile, the industry of the Latins had been confined to the work of pillage and destruction. Trade had expired under the pressure of anarchy and distress; and the numbers of inhabitants had decreased with the opulence of the city. It was the first care of the Greek monarch to reinstate the nobles in the palaces of their fathers; and the houses or the ground which they occupied were restored to the families that could exhibit a legal right of inheritance. But the far greater part was extinct or lost; the vacant property had devolved to the lord; he repeopled Constantinople by a liberal invitation to the provinces; and the brave *volunteers* were seated in the capital which had been recovered by their arms. The French barons and the principal families had retired with their emperor; but the patient and humble crowd of Latins was attached to the country, and indifferent to the change of masters. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their proper magistrates. Of these nations, the Pisans and Venetians preserved their respective quarters in the city; but the services and power of the Genoese deserved at the same time the gratitude and the jealousy of the Greeks. Their independent colony was first planted at the sea-port town of Heraclea in Thrace. They were speedily recalled and settled in the exclusive possession of the suburb

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suburb of Galata, an advantageous post, in which they revived the commerce, and insulted the majesty, of the Byzantine empire[21].

Palæologus blinds and banishes the young emperor, A. D. 1261, Dec. 25.

The recovery of Constantinople was celebrated as the æra of a new empire: the conqueror, alone, and by the right of the sword, renewed his coronation in the church of St. Sophia; and the name and honours of John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, were insensibly abolished. But his claims still lived in the minds of the people; and the royal youth must speedily attain the years of manhood and ambition. By fear or conscience, Palæologus was restrained from dipping his hands in innocent and royal blood; but the anxiety of an usurper and a parent urged him to secure his throne, by one of those imperfect crimes so familiar to the modern Greeks. The loss of sight incapacitated the young prince for the active business of the world: instead of the brutal violence of tearing out his eyes, the visual nerve was destroyed by the intense glare of a red-hot bason[22], and John Lascaris was removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in privacy and oblivion. Such cool and deliberate guilt may seem incompatible with remorse; but if Michael could trust the mercy of heaven, he was not inaccessible to the reproaches and vengeance of mankind, which he had provoked by cruelty and treason. His cruelty imposed on a servile court the duties of applause or silence; but the clergy had a right to speak in the name of their invisible master; and their holy legions were led by a prelate, whose character was above the temptations of hope or fear. After a short abdication of his dignity, Arsenius[23] had consented

[21] See Pachymer (l. ii. c. 28—33.), Acropolita (c. 88.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. 7.), and for the treatment of the subject Latins, Ducange (l. v. c. 30, 31.).

[22] This milder invention for extinguishing the sight, was tried by the philosopher Democritus on himself, when he sought to withdraw his mind from the visible world: a foolish story! The word *abacinare*, in Latin and Italian, has furnished Ducange (Gloss. Latin.) with an opportunity to review the various modes of blinding: the more violent were scooping, burning with an iron, or hot vinegar, and binding the head with a strong cord till the eyes burst from their sockets. Ingenious tyrants!

[23] See the first retreat and restoration of Arsenius, in Pachymer (l. ii. c. 15. l. iii. c. 1,

ſented to aſcend the eccleſiaſtical throne of Conſtantinople, and to preſide in the reſtoration of the church. His pious ſimplicity was long deceived by the arts of Palæologus; and his patience and ſubmiſſion might ſoothe the uſurper and protect the ſafety of the young prince. On the news of his inhuman treatment, the patriarch unſheathed the ſpiritual ſword; and ſuperſtition, on this occaſion, was enliſted in the cauſe of humanity and juſtice. In a ſynod of biſhops, who were ſtimulated by the example of his zeal, the patriarch pronounced a ſentence of excommunication; though his prudence ſtill repeated the name of Michael in the public prayers. The eaſtern prelates had not adopted the dangerous maxims of ancient Rome; nor did they preſume to enforce their cenſures, by depoſing princes, or abſolving nations from their oaths of allegiance. But the Chriſtian, who had been ſeparated from God and the church, became an object of horror; and, in a turbulent and fanatic capital, that horror might arm the hand of an aſſaſſin, or inflame a ſedition of the people. Palæologus felt his danger, confeſſed his guilt, and deprecated his judge: the act was irretrievable; the prize was obtained; and the moſt rigorous penance, which he ſolicited, would have raiſed the ſinner to the reputation of a ſaint. The unrelenting patriarch refuſed to announce any means of atonement or any hopes of mercy; and condeſcended only to pronounce, that, for ſo great a crime, great indeed muſt be the ſatisfaction. "Do you require," ſaid Michael, "that I ſhould abdicate the empire?" And at theſe words, he offered, or ſeemed to offer, the ſword of ſtate. Arſenius eagerly graſped this pledge of ſovereignty; but when he perceived that the emperor was unwilling to purchaſe abſolution at ſo dear a rate, he indignantly eſcaped to his cell, and left the royal ſinner kneeling and weeping before the door[24].

is excommunicated by the patriarch Arſenius, A. D. 1262—1268.

c. 1, 2.), and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 1.). Poſterity juſtly accuſed the ἀφελεια and ῥαθυμια of Arſenius, the virtues of an hermit, the vices of a miniſter (l. xii. c. 2.).

[24] The crime and excommunication of Michael are fairly told by Pachymer (l. iii. c. 10. 14. 19, &c.) and Gregoras (l. iv. c 4.). His confeſſion and penance reſtored their freedom.

The

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Schism of the Arsenites, A. D. 1266—1312.

The danger and scandal of this excommunication subsisted above three years, till the popular clamour was assuaged by time and repentance; till the brethren of Arsenius condemned his inflexible spirit, so repugnant to the unbounded forgiveness of the gospel. The emperor had artfully insinuated, that, if he were still rejected at home, he might seek, in the Roman pontiff, a more indulgent judge; but it was far more easy and effectual to find or to place that judge at the head of the Byzantine church. Arsenius was involved in a vague rumour of conspiracy and disaffection; some irregular steps in his ordination and government were liable to censure; a synod deposed him from the episcopal office; and he was transported under a guard of soldiers to a small island of the Propontis. Before his exile, he sullenly requested that a strict account might be taken of the treasures of the church; boasted that his sole riches, three pieces of gold, had been earned by transcribing the psalms; continued to assert the freedom of his mind; and denied, with his last breath, the pardon which was implored by the royal sinner[25]. After some delay, Gregory, bishop of Adrianople, was translated to the Byzantine throne; but his authority was found insufficient to support the absolution of the emperor; and Joseph, a reverend monk, was substituted to that important function. This edifying scene was represented in the presence of the senate and people; at the end of six years, the humble penitent was restored to the communion of the faithful; and humanity will rejoice, that a milder treatment of the captive Lascaris was stipulated as a proof of his remorse. But the spirit of Arsenius still survived in a powerful faction of the monks and clergy, who persevered above forty-eight years in an obstinate schism. Their scruples were treated with tenderness and respect by Michael and his son; and the reconciliation of the Arsenites was the serious labour of the church and state. In the confidence of fanati-

[25] Pachymer relates the exile of Arsenius (l. iv. c. 1—16.): he was one of the commissaries who visited him in the desert island. The last testament of the unforgiving patriarch is still extant (Dupin, Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique, tom. x. p. 95.).

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cifm, they had propofed to try their caufe by a miracle; and when the two papers, that contained their own and the adverfe caufe, were caft into a fiery brafier, they expected that the Catholic verity would be refpected by the flames. Alas! the two papers were indifcriminately confumed, and this unforefeen accident produced the union of a day, and renewed the quarrel of an age[26]. The final treaty difplayed the victory of the Arfenites: the clergy abftained during forty days from all ecclefiaftical functions; a flight penance was impofed on the laity; the body of Arfenius was depofited in the fanctuary; and in the name of the departed faint, the prince and people were releafed from the fins of their fathers[27].

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Reign of Michael Palæologus, A. D. 1259, Dec. 1—A. D. 1282, Dec. 11. Reign of Andronicus the Elder, A. D. 1273, Nov. 8—A. D. 1332, February 13.

The eftablifhment of his family was the motive, or at leaft the pretence, of the crime of Palæologus; and he was impatient to confirm the fucceffion, by fharing with his eldeft fon the honours of the purple. Andronicus, afterwards furnamed the Elder, was proclaimed and crowned emperor of the Romans, in the fifteenth year of his age; and, from the firft æra of a prolix and inglorious reign, he held that auguft title nine years as the colleague, and fifty as the fucceffor, of his father. Michael himfelf, had he died in a private ftation, would have been thought more worthy of the empire: and the affaults of his temporal and fpiritual enemies, left him few moments to labour for his own fame or the happinefs of his fubjects. He wrefted from the Franks feveral of the nobleft iflands of the Archipelago, Lefbos, Chios, and Rhodes: his brother Conftantine was fent to command in Malvafia and Sparta; and the eaftern fide of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli to Cape Tænarus, was repoffeffed by the Greeks. This effufion of Chriftian blood was loudly

[26] Pachymer (l. vii. c. 22.) relates this miraculous trial like a philofopher, and treats with fimilar contempt a plot of the Arfenites, to hide a revelation in the coffin of fome old faint (l. vii. c. 13.). He compenfates this incredulity by an image that weeps, another that bleeds (l. vii. c. 30.), and the miraculous cures of a deaf and a mute patient (l. xi. c. 32.).

[27] The ftory of the Arfenites is fpread through the thirteen books of Pachymer. Their union and triumph are referved for Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 9.), who neither loves nor efteems thefe fectaries.

 condemned

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condemned by the patriarch; and the insolent priest presumed to interpose his fears and scruples between the arms of princes. But in the prosecution of these western conquests, the countries beyond the Hellespont were left naked to the Turks; and their depredations verified the prophecy of a dying senator, that the recovery of Constantinople would be the ruin of Asia. The victories of Michael were atchieved by his lieutenants; his sword rusted in the palace; and in the transactions of the emperor with the popes and the king of Naples, his political arts were stained with cruelty and fraud[28].

His union with the Latin church, A. D. 1274—1277.

I. The Vatican was the most natural refuge of a Latin emperor, who had been driven from his throne; and pope Urban the fourth appeared to pity the misfortunes, and vindicate the cause, of the fugitive Baldwin. A crusade, with plenary indulgence, was preached by his command against the schismatic Greeks; he excommunicated their allies and adherents; solicited Louis the ninth in favour of his kinsman; and demanded a tenth of the ecclesiastic revenues of France and England for the service of the holy war[29]. The subtle Greek, who watched the rising tempest of the West, attempted to suspend or soothe the hostility of the pope, by suppliant embassies and respectful letters; but he insinuated that the establishment of peace must prepare the reconciliation and obedience of the Eastern church. The Roman court could not be deceived by so gross an artifice; and Michael was admonished, that the repentance of the son should precede the forgiveness of the father; and that *faith* (an ambiguous word) was the only basis of friendship and alliance. After a long and affected delay, the approach of danger, and the importunity of Gregory the tenth, compelled him to enter on a more serious negociation: he alleged the example of the great Va-

[28] Of the xiii books of Pachymer, the first six (as the ivth and vth of Nicephorus Gregoras) contain the reign of Michael, at the time of whose death he was forty years of age. Instead of breaking, like his editor the Pere Poussin, his history into two parts, I follow Ducange and Cousin, who number the xiii books in one series.

[29] Ducange, Hist. de C. P. l. v. c. 33, &c. from the Epistles of Urban IV.

taces,

taces; and the Greek clergy, who underſtood the intentions of their prince, were not alarmed by the firſt ſteps of reconciliation and reſpect. But when he preſſed the concluſion of the treaty, they ſtrenuouſly declared, that the Latins, though not in name, were heretics in fact, and that they deſpiſed thoſe ſtrangers as the vileſt and moſt deſpicable portion of the human race [30]. It was the taſk of the emperor to perſuade, to corrupt, to intimidate, the moſt popular eccleſiaſtics, to gain the vote of each individual, and alternately to urge the arguments of Chriſtian charity and the public welfare. The texts of the fathers and the arms of the Franks were balanced in the theological and political ſcale; and without approving the addition to the Nicene creed, the moſt moderate were taught to confeſs, that the two hoſtile propoſitions of proceeding from the Father BY the Son, and of proceeding from the Father AND the Son, might be reduced to a ſafe and Catholic ſenſe [31]. The ſupremacy of the pope was a doctrine more eaſy to conceive, but more painful to acknowledge; yet Michael repreſented to his monks and prelates, that they might ſubmit to name the Roman biſhop as the firſt of the patriarchs; and that their diſtance and diſcretion would guard the liberties of the Eaſtern church from the miſchievous conſequences of the right of appeal. He proteſted that he would ſacrifice his life and empire, rather than yield the ſmalleſt point of orthodox faith or national independence; and this declaration was ſealed and ratified by a golden bull. The patriarch Joſeph withdrew to a monaſtery, to reſign or reſume his throne, according to the event of the treaty: the letters of union and obedience were ſubſcribed by the emperor, his ſon Andronicus, and thirty-five archbiſhops and

[30] From their mercantile intercourſe with the Venetians and Genoeſe, they branded the Latins as καπηλοι and βαναυσοι (Pachymer, l. v. c. 10.). "Some are heretics in name; "others, like the Latins, in fact," ſaid the learned Veccus (l. v. c. 12.), who ſoon afterwards became a convert (c. 15, 16.) and a patriarch (c. 24.).

[31] In this claſs, we may place Pachymer himſelf, whoſe copious and candid narrative occupies the vth and vi[th] books of his hiſtory. Yet the Greek is ſilent on the council of Lyons, and ſeems to believe that the popes always reſided in Rome and Italy (l. v. c. 17. 21.).

CHAP. LXII. metropolitans, with their refpective fynods; and the epifcopal lift was multiplied by many diocefes which were annihilated under the yoke of the infidels. An embaffy was compofed of fome trufty minifters and prelates; they embarked for Italy, with rich ornaments and rare perfumes, for the altar of St. Peter; and their fecret orders authorifed and recommended a boundlefs compliance. They were received in the general council of Lyons, by pope Gregory the tenth, at the head of five hundred bifhops[32]. He embraced with tears his long-loft and repentant children; accepted the oath of the ambaffadors, who abjured the fchifm in the name of the two emperors; adorned the prelates with the ring and mitre; chaunted in Greek and Latin the Nicene creed with the addition of *filioque*; and rejoiced in the union of the Eaft and Weft, which had been referved for his reign. To confummate this pious work, the Byzantine deputies were fpeedily followed by the pope's nuncios; and their inftruction difclofes the policy of the Vatican, which could not be fatisfied with the vain title of fupremacy. After viewing the temper of the prince and people, they were enjoined to abfolve the fchifmatic clergy, who fhould fubfcribe and fwear their abjuration and obedience; to eftablifh in all the churches the ufe of the perfect creed; to prepare the entrance of a cardinal legate, with the full powers and dignity of his office; and to inftruct the emperor in the advantages which he might derive from the temporal protection of the Roman pontiff[33].

His perfecution of the Greeks, A.D. 1277—1282.

But they found a country without a friend, a nation in which the names of Rome and Union were pronounced with abhorrence. The patriarch Jofeph was indeed removed; his place was filled by Veccus, an ecclefiaftic of learning and moderation; and the emperor

[32] See the acts of the council of Lyons in the year 1274. Fleury, Hift. Ecclefiaftique, tom. xviii. p. 181—199. Dupin, Bibliot. Ecclef. tom. x. p. 135.

[33] This curious inftruction, which has been drawn with more or lefs honefty by Wading and Leo Allatius from the archives of the Vatican, is given in an abftract or verfion by Fleury (tom. xviii. p. 252—258.).

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was ſtill urged by the ſame motives, to perſevere in the ſame profeſſions. But in his private language, Palæologus affected to deplore the pride, and to blame the innovations, of the Latins; and while he debaſed his character by this double hypocriſy, he juſtified and puniſhed the oppoſition of his ſubjects. By the joint ſuffrage of the new and the ancient Rome, a ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt the obſtinate ſchiſmatics: the cenſures of the church were executed by the ſword of Michael; on the failure of perſuaſion, he tried the arguments of priſon and exile, of whipping and mutilation; thoſe touch-ſtones, ſays an hiſtorian, of cowards and the brave. Two Greeks ſtill reigned in Ætolia, Epirus, and Theſſaly, with the appellation of deſpots: they had yielded to the ſovereign of Conſtantinople, but they rejected the chains of the Roman pontiff, and ſupported their refuſal by ſucceſsful arms. Under their protection, the fugitive monks and biſhops aſſembled in hoſtile ſynods; and retorted the name of heretic with the galling addition of apoſtate: the prince of Trebizond was tempted to aſſume the forfeit title of emperor; and even the Latins of Negropont, Thebes, Athens, and the Morea, forgot the merits of the convert, to join, with open or clandeſtine aid, the enemies of Palæologus. His favourite generals, of his own blood and family, ſucceſſively deſerted, or betrayed, the ſacrilegious truſt. His ſiſter Eulogia, a niece, and two female couſins, conſpired againſt him; another niece, Mary queen of Bulgaria, negociated his ruin with the ſultan of Egypt; and, in the public eye, their treaſon was conſecrated as the moſt ſublime virtue[34]. To the pope's nuncios, who urged the conſummation of the work, Palæologus expoſed a naked recital of all that he had done and ſuffered for their ſake. They were aſſured that the

[34] This frank and authentic confeſſion of Michael's diſtreſs, is exhibited in barbarous Latin by Ogerius, who ſigns himſelf Protonotarius Interpretum, and tranſcribed by Wading from the MSS. of the Vatican (A.D. 1278, N°3.). His Annals of the Franciſcan order, the Fratres Minores, in xvii volumes in folio (Rome, 1741), I have now accidentally ſeen among the waſte paper of a bookſeller.

guilty sectaries, of both sexes and every rank, had been deprived of their honours, their fortunes, and their liberty; a spreading list of confiscation and punishment, which involved many persons, the dearest to the emperor, or the best deserving of his favour. They were conducted to the prison, to behold four princes of the royal blood chained in the four corners, and shaking their fetters in an agony of grief and rage. Two of these captives were afterwards released; the one by submission, the other by death: but the obstinacy of their two companions was chastised by the loss of their eyes; and the Greeks, the least adverse to the union, deplore that cruel and inauspicious tragedy[35]. Persecutors must expect the hatred of those whom they oppress; but they commonly find some consolation in the testimony of their conscience, the applause of their party, and, perhaps, the success of their undertaking. But the hypocrisy of Michael, which was prompted only by political motives, must have forced him to hate himself, to despise his followers, and to esteem and envy the rebel champions by whom he was detested and despised. While his violence was abhorred at Constantinople, at Rome his slowness was arraigned and his sincerity suspected; till at length pope Martin the fourth excluded the Greek emperor from the pale of a church, into which he was striving to reduce a schismatic people. No sooner had the tyrant expired, than the union was dissolved, and abjured by unanimous consent; the churches were purified; the penitents were reconciled; and his son Andronicus, after weeping the sins and errors of his youth, most piously denied his father the burial of a prince and a Christian[36].

The union dissolved, A.D. 1283.

Charles of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily,

II. In the distress of the Latins, the walls and towers of Constantinople had fallen to decay: they were restored and fortified by the

[35] See the vith book of Pachymer, particularly the chapters, 1. 11. 16. 18. 24—27. He is the more credible, as he speaks of this persecution with less anger than sorrow.

[36] Pachymer, l. vii. c. 1—11. 17. The speech of Andronicus the elder (l. xii. c. 2.) is a curious record, which proves, that if the Greeks were the slaves of the emperor, the emperor was not less the slave of superstition and the clergy.

policy

policy of Michael, who depoſited a plenteous ſtore of corn and ſalt provisions, to ſuſtain the ſiege which he might hourly expect from the reſentment of the Weſtern powers. Of theſe, the ſovereign of the two Sicilies was the moſt formidable neighbour; but as long as they were poſſeſſed by Mainfroy, the baſtard of Frederic the ſecond, his monarchy was the bulwark rather than the annoyance of the Eaſtern empire. The uſurper, though a brave and active prince, was ſufficiently employed in the defence of his throne: his proſcription by ſucceſſive popes had ſeparated Mainfroy from the common cauſe of the Latins; and the forces that might have beſieged Conſtantinople, were detained in a cruſade againſt the domeſtic enemy of Rome. The prize of her avenger, the crown of the two Sicilies, was won and worn by the brother of St. Louis, by Charles count of Anjou and Provence, who led the chivalry of France on this holy expedition [37]. The diſaffection of his Chriſtian ſubjects compelled Mainfroy to enliſt a colony of Saracens whom his father had planted in Apulia: and this odious ſuccour will explain the defiance of the Catholic hero, who rejected all terms of accommodation. "Bear "this meſſage," ſaid Charles, "to the ſultan of Nocera, that God "and the ſword are umpire between us; and that he ſhall either "ſend me to paradiſe, or I will ſend him to the pit of hell." The armies met, and though I am ignorant of Mainfroy's doom in the other world, in this he loſt his friends, his kingdom, and his life, in the bloody battle of Benevento. Naples and Sicily were immediately peopled with a warlike race of French nobles; and their aſpiring leader embraced the future conqueſt of Africa, Greece, and Paleſtine. The moſt ſpecious reaſons might point his firſt arms againſt the Byzantine empire; and Palæologus, diffident of his own ſtrength,

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A. D. 1266, February 26.

[37] The beſt accounts, the neareſt the time, the moſt full and entertaining, of the conqueſt of Naples by Charles of Anjou, may be found in the Florentine Chronicles of Ricordano Maleſpina (c. 175—193.) and Giovanni Villani (l. vii. c. 1—10. 25—30.), which are publiſhed by Muratori in the viii[th] and xiii[th] volumes of the hiſtorians of Italy. In his Annals (tom. xi. p. 56—72.), he has abridged theſe great events, which are likewiſe deſcribed in the Iſtoria Civile of Giannone, tom. ii. l. xix. tom. iii. l. xx.

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repeatedly appealed from the ambition of Charles to the humanity of St. Louis, who ftill preferved a juft afcendant over the mind of his ferocious brother. For a while the attention of that brother was confined at home by the invafion of Conradin, the laft heir of the Imperial houfe of Swabia: but the haplefs boy funk in the unequal conflict; and his execution on a public fcaffold taught the rivals of Charles to tremble for their heads as well as their dominions. A fecond refpite was obtained by the laft crufade of St. Louis to the African coaft; and the double motive of intereft and duty urged the king of Naples to affift, with his powers and his prefence, the holy enterprife. The death of St. Louis releafed him from the importunity of a virtuous cenfor; the king of Tunis confeffed himfelf the tributary and vaffal of the crown of Sicily; and the boldeft of the French knights were free to enlift under his banner againft the Greek empire. A treaty and a marriage united his intereft with the houfe of Courtenay; his daughter Beatrice was promifed to Philip, fon and heir of the emperor Baldwin; a penfion of fix hundred ounces of gold was allowed for his maintenance; and his generous father diftributed among his allies the kingdoms and provinces of the Eaft, referving only Conftantinople, and one day's journey round the city, for the Imperial domain[38]. In this perilous moment, Palæologus was the moft eager to fubfcribe the creed, and implore the protection, of the Roman pontiff, who affumed, with propriety and weight, the character of an angel of peace, the common father of the Chriftians. By his voice, the fword of Charles was chained in the fcabbard; and the Greek ambaffadors beheld him, in the pope's antichamber, biting his ivory fceptre in a tranfport of fury, and deeply refenting the refufal to enfranchife and confecrate his arms. He appears to have refpected the difinterefted mediation of Gregory the tenth; but Charles was infenfibly difgufted by the pride and partiality of Nicholas the third; and his attachment to his kindred, the Urfini

Threatens the Greek empire, A.D. 1270, &c.

[38] Ducange, Hift. de C. P. l. v. c. 49—56. l. vi. c. 1—13. See Pachymer, l. iv. c. 29. l. v. c. 7—10. 25. l. vi. c. 30. 32, 33. and Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. 5. l. v. 1.6.

family,

family, alienated the moſt ſtrenuous champion from the ſervice of the church. The hoſtile league againſt the Greeks, of Philip the Latin emperor, the king of the two Sicilies, and the republic of Venice, was ripened into execution; and the election of Martin the fourth, a French pope, gave a ſanction to the cauſe. Of the allies, Philip ſupplied his name, Martin, a bull of excommunication, the Venetians, a ſquadron of forty gallies; and the formidable powers of Charles conſiſted of forty counts, ten thouſand men at arms, a numerous body of infantry, and a fleet of more than three hundred ſhips and tranſports. A diſtant day was appointed for aſſembling this mighty force in the harbour of Brindiſi: and a previous attempt was riſked with a detachment of three hundred knights, who invaded Albania and beſieged the fortreſs of Belgrade. Their defeat might amuſe with a triumph the vanity of Conſtantinople; but the more ſagacious Michael, deſpairing of his arms, depended on the effects of a conſpiracy; on the ſecret workings of a rat, who gnawed the bow-ſtring[39] of the Sicilian tyrant.

Palæologus inſtigates the revolt of Sicily, A.D. 1280

Among the proſcribed adherents of the houſe of Swabia, John of Procida forfeited a ſmall iſland of that name in the bay of Naples. His birth was noble, but his education was learned; and in the poverty of exile, he was relieved by the practice of phyſic, which he had ſtudied in the ſchool of Salerno. Fortune had left him nothing to loſe, except life; and to deſpiſe life is the firſt qualification of a rebel. Procida was endowed with the art of negociation, to enforce his reaſons, and diſguiſe his motives; and in his various tranſactions with nations and men, he could perſuade each party that he laboured ſolely for *their* intereſt. The new kingdoms of Charles were afflicted by every ſpecies of fiſcal and military oppreſſion[40]; and the lives and fortunes of his Italian ſubjects were ſacrificed

[39] The reader of Herodotus will recollect how miraculouſly the Aſſyrian hoſt of Sennacherib was diſarmed and deſtroyed (l. ii. c. 141.).

[40] According to Sabas Malaſpina (Hiſt. Sicula, l. iii. c. 16. in Muratori, tom. viii. p. 832.), a zealous Guelph, the ſubjects of Charles, who had reviled Mainfroy as a wolf, began

ficed to the greatneſs of their maſter and the licentiouſneſs of his followers. The hatred of Naples was repreſſed by his preſence; but the looſer government of his vicegerents excited the contempt, as well as the averſion, of the Sicilians: the iſland was rouſed to a ſenſe of freedom by the eloquence of Procida; and he diſplayed to every baron his private intereſt in the common cauſe. In the confidence of foreign aid, he ſucceſſively viſited the courts of the Greek emperor, and of Peter king of Arragon[41], who poſſeſſed the maritime countries of Valencia and Catalonia. To the ambitious Peter a crown was preſented, which he might juſtly claim by his marriage with the ſiſter of Mainfroy, and by the dying voice of Conradin, who from the ſcaffold had caſt a ring to his heir and avenger. Palæologus was eaſily perſuaded to divert his enemy from a foreign war by a rebellion at home; and a Greek ſubſidy of twenty-five thouſand ounces of gold was moſt profitably applied to arm a Catalan fleet, which ſailed under an holy banner to the ſpecious attack of the Saracens of Africa. In the diſguiſe of a monk or beggar, the indefatigable miſſionary of revolt flew from Conſtantinople to Rome, and from Sicily to Saragoſſa: the treaty was ſealed with the ſignet of pope Nicholas himſelf, the enemy of Charles; and his deed of gift transferred the fiefs of St. Peter from the houſe of Anjou to that of Arragon. So widely diffuſed and ſo freely circulated, the ſecret was preſerved above two years with impenetrable diſcretion; and each of the conſpirators imbibed the maxim of Peter, who declared that he would cut off his left-hand if it were conſcious of the intentions of his right. The mine was prepared with deep and dangerous artifice; but it may be queſtioned, whether the inſtant exploſion of Palermo were the effect of accident or deſign.

began to regret him as a lamb: and he juſtifies their diſcontent by the oppreſſions of the French government (l. vi. c. 2. 7.). See the Sicilian manifeſto in Nicholas Specialis (l. i. c. 11. in Muratori, tom. x. p. 930.).

41 See the character and counſels of Peter king of Arragon, in Mariana (Hiſt. Hiſpan. l. xiv. c. 6. tom. ii. p. 133.). The reader forgives the Jeſuit's defects, in favour, always of his ſtyle, and often of his ſenſe.

The Sicilian Vespers, A. D. 1282, March 30.

On the vigil of Easter, a procession of the disarmed citizens visited a church without the walls; and a noble damsel was rudely insulted by a French soldier[42]. The ravisher was instantly punished with death; and if the people was at first scattered by a military force, their numbers and fury prevailed: the conspirators seized the opportunity; the flame spread over the island; and eight thousand French were exterminated in a promiscuous massacre, which has obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS[43]. From every city the banners of freedom and the church were displayed: the revolt was inspired by the presence or the soul of Procida; and Peter of Arragon, who sailed from the African coast to Palermo, was saluted as the king and saviour of the isle. By the rebellion of a people on whom he had so long trampled with impunity, Charles was astonished and confounded; and in the first agony of grief and devotion, he was heard to exclaim, "O God! if thou has decreed to "humble me, grant me at least a gentle and gradual descent from "the pinnacle of greatness!" His fleet and army, which already filled the sea-ports of Italy, were hastily recalled from the service of the Grecian war; and the situation of Messina exposed that town to the first storm of his revenge. Feeble in themselves, and yet hopeless of foreign succour, the citizens would have repented, and submitted on the assurance of full pardon and their ancient privileges. But the pride of the monarch was already rekindled; and the most fervent intreaties of the legate could extort no more than a promise, that he would forgive the remainder, after a chosen list of eight hundred rebels had been yielded to his discretion. The despair of the Messinese renewed their courage: Peter of Arragon approached

[42] After enumerating the sufferings of his country, Nicholas Specialis adds, in the true spirit of Italian jealousy, Quæ omnia et graviora quidem, ut arbitror, patienti animo Siculi tolerassent, nisi (quod primum cunctis dominantibus cavendum est), alienas fœminas invasissent (l. i. c. 2. p. 924.).

[43] The French were long taught to remember this bloody lesson: "If I am provoked (said Henry the fourth), I will "breakfast at Milan, and dine at Naples." "Your majesty (replied the Spanish ambassador) may perhaps arrive in Sicily for "vespers."

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to their relief[44]; and his rival was driven back by the failure of provision and the terrors of the equinox to the Calabrian shore. At the same moment, the Catalan admiral, the famous Roger de Loria, swept the channel with an invincible squadron: the French fleet, more numerous in transports than in gallies, was either burnt or destroyed; and the same blow assured the independence of Sicily and the safety of the Greek empire. A few days before his death, the emperor Michael rejoiced in the fall of an enemy whom he hated and esteemed; and perhaps he might be content with the popular judgment, that had they not been matched with each other, Constantinople and Italy must speedily have obeyed the same master[45]. From this disastrous moment, the life of Charles was a series of misfortunes; his capital was insulted, his son was made prisoner, and he sunk into the grave without recovering the isle of Sicily, which, after a war of twenty years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Arragon[46].

Defeat of Charles, October 2.

The service and war of the Catalans in the Greek empire, A. D. 1303—1307.

I shall not, I trust, be accused of superstition: but I must remark, that, even in this world, the natural order of events will sometimes afford the strong appearances of moral retribution. The first Palæologus had saved his empire by involving the kingdoms of the West in rebellion and blood; and from these seeds of discord, uprose a generation of iron men, who assaulted and endangered the empire of his son. In modern times, our debts and taxes are the secret poison, which still corrodes the bosom of peace;

44 This revolt, with the subsequent victory, are related by two national writers, Barthelemy à Neocastro (in Muratori, tom xiii.) and Nicholas Specialis (in Muratori, tom. x.), the one a contemporary, the other of the next century. The patriot Specialis disclaims the name of rebellion, and all previous correspondence with Peter of Arragon (nullo communicato consilio), who *happened* to be with a fleet and army on the African coast (l. i. c. 4. 9.).

45 Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v. c. 6.) admires the wisdom of Providence in this equal balance of states and princes. For the honour of Palæologus, I had rather this balance had been observed by an Italian writer.

46 See the Chronicle of Villani, the xi[th] volume of the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, and the xx[th] and xxi[st] books of the Istoria Civile of Giannone.

but

but in the weak and diforderly government of the middle ages, it was agitated by the prefent evil of the difbanded armies. Too idle to work, too proud to beg, the mercenaries were accuftomed to a life of rapine: they could rob with more dignity and effect under a banner and a chief; and the fovereign, to whom their fervice was ufelefs and their prefence importunate, endeavoured to difcharge the torrent on fome neighbouring countries. After the peace of Sicily, many thoufands of Genoefe, *Catalans* [47], &c. who had fought, by fea and land, under the ftandard of Anjou or Arragon, were blended into one nation by the refemblance of their manners and intereft. They heard that the Greek provinces of Afia were invaded by the Turks: they refolved to fhare the harveft of pay and plunder; and Frederic king of Sicily moft liberally contributed the means of their departure. In a warfare of twenty years, a fhip, or a camp, was become their country; arms were their fole profeffion and property; valour was the only virtue which they knew; their women had imbibed the fearlefs temper of their lovers and hufbands: it was reported, that, with a ftroke of their broad-fword, the Catalans could cleave a horfeman and an horfe; and the report itfelf was a powerful weapon. Roger de Flor was the moft popular of their chiefs; and his perfonal merit overfhadowed the dignity of his prouder rivals of Arragon. The offspring of a marriage between a German gentleman of the court of Frederic the fecond and a damfel of Brindifi, Roger was fucceffively a templar, an apoftate, a pirate, and at length the richeft and moft powerful admiral of the Mediterranean. He failed from Meffina to Conftantinople, with eighteen gallies, four great fhips, and eight thoufand adventurers; and his previous treaty was faithfully accomplifhed by Andronicus the elder, who accepted with joy and terror this formidable fuccour. A palace was allotted

47 In this motley multitude, the Catalans and Spaniards, the braveft of the foldiery, were ftyled, by themfelves and the Greeks, *Amogavares*. Moncada derives their origin from the Goths, and Pachymer (l. xi. c. 22.) from the Arabs; and in fpite of national and religious pride, I am afraid the latter is in the right.

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for his reception, and a niece of the emperor was given in marriage to the valiant ſtranger, who was immediately created great duke or admiral of Romania. After a decent repoſe, he tranſported his troops over the Propontis, and boldly led them againſt the Turks: in two bloody battles thirty thouſand of the Moſlems were ſlain: he raiſed the ſiege of Philadelphia, and deſerved the name of the deliverer of Aſia. But after a ſhort ſeaſon of proſperity, the cloud of ſlavery and ruin again burſt on that unhappy province. The inhabitants eſcaped (ſays a Greek hiſtorian) from the ſmoke into the flames; and the hoſtility of the Turks was leſs pernicious than the friendſhip of the Catalans. The lives and fortunes which they had reſcued, they conſidered as their own: the willing or reluctant maid was ſaved from the race of circumciſion for the embraces of a Chriſtian ſoldier: the exaction of fines and ſupplies was enforced by licentious rapine and arbitrary executions; and, on the reſiſtance of Magneſia, the great duke beſieged a city of the Roman empire[48]. Theſe diſorders he excuſed by the wrongs and paſſions of a victorious army; nor would his own authority or perſon have been ſafe, had he dared to puniſh his faithful followers, who were defrauded of the juſt and covenanted price of their ſervices. The threats and complaints of Andronicus diſcloſed the nakedneſs of the empire. His golden bull had invited no more than five hundred horſe and a thouſand foot ſoldiers; yet the crowds of volunteers, who migrated to the Eaſt, had been enliſted and fed by his ſpontaneous bounty. While his braveſt allies were content with three byzants, or pieces of gold, for their monthly pay, an ounce, or even two ounces, of gold were aſſigned to the Catalans, whoſe annual penſion would thus amount to near an hundred pounds ſterling: one of their chiefs had modeſtly rated at three hundred thouſand crowns the value of his *future* merits; and above a million had been iſſued from the

48 Some idea may be formed of the population of theſe cities, from the 36,000 inhabitants of Tralles, which, in the preceding reign, was rebuilt by the emperor, and ruined by the Turks (Pachymer, l. vi. c. 20, 21.).

treaſury

treaſury for the maintenance of theſe coſtly mercenaries. A cruel tax had been impoſed on the corn of the huſbandman: one third was retrenched from the ſalaries of the public officers; and the ſtandard of the coin was ſo ſhamefully debaſed, that of the four-and-twenty parts only five were of pure gold [49]. At the ſummons of the emperor, Roger evacuated a province which no longer ſupplied the materials of rapine; but he refuſed to diſperſe his troops; and while his ſtyle was reſpectful, his conduct was independent and hoſtile. He proteſted, that if the emperor ſhould march againſt him, he would advance forty paces to kiſs the ground before him, but in riſing from this proſtrate attitude Roger had a life and ſword at the ſervice of his friends. The great duke of Romania condeſcended to accept the title and ornaments of Cæſar; but he rejected the new propoſal of the government of Aſia with a ſubſidy of corn and money, on condition that he ſhould reduce his troops to the harmleſs number of three thouſand men. Aſſaſſination is the laſt reſource of cowards. The Cæſar was tempted to viſit the royal reſidence of Adrianople: in the apartment, and before the eyes, of the empreſs, he was ſtabbed by the Alani guards; and, though the deed was imputed to their private revenge, his countrymen, who dwelt at Conſtantinople in the ſecurity of peace, were involved in the ſame proſcription by the prince or people. The loſs of their leader intimidated the crowd of adventurers, who hoiſted the ſails of flight, and were ſoon ſcattered round the coaſts of the Mediterranean. But a veteran band of fifteen hundred Catalans or French ſtood firm in the ſtrong fortreſs of Gallipoli on the Helleſpont, diſplayed the banners

[49] I have collected theſe pecuniary circumſtances from Pachymer (l. xi. c. 21. l. xii. c. 4, 5. 8. 14. 19.), who deſcribes the progreſſive degradation of the gold coin. Even in the proſperous times of John Ducas Vataces, the byzants were compoſed in equal proportions of the pure and the baſer metal. The poverty of Michael Palæologus compelled him to ſtrike a new coin, with nine parts, or carats, of gold, and fifteen of copper alloy. After his death, the ſtandard roſe to ten cartas, till in the public diſtreſs it was reduced to the moiety. The prince was relieved for a moment, while credit and commerce were for ever blaſted. In France, the gold coin is of twenty-two carats (one-twelfth alloy), and the ſtandard of England and Holland is ſtill higher.

CHAP. LXII. banners of Arragon, and offered to revenge and juſtify their chief by an equal combat of ten or an hundred warriors. Inſtead of accepting this bold defiance, the emperor Michael, the ſon and colleague of Andronicus, reſolved to oppreſs them with the weight of multitudes: every nerve was ſtrained to form an army of thirteen thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot; and the Propontis was covered with the ſhips of the Greeks and Genoeſe. In two battles by ſea and land, theſe mighty forces were encountered and overthrown by the deſpair and diſcipline of the Catalans; the young emperor fled to the palace; and an inſufficient guard of light-horſe was left for the protection of the open country. Victory renewed the hopes and numbers of the adventurers: every nation was blended under the name and ſtandard of the *great company;* and three thouſand Turkiſh proſelytes deſerted from the Imperial ſervice to join this military aſſociation. In the poſſeſſion of Gallipoli, the Catalans intercepted the trade of Conſtantinople and the Black Sea, while they ſpread their devaſtations on either ſide of the Helleſpont over the confines of Europe and Aſia. To prevent their approach, the greateſt part of the Byzantine territory was laid waſte by the Greeks themſelves: the peaſants and their cattle retired into the city; and myriads of ſheep and oxen, for which neither place nor food could be procured, were unprofitably ſlaughtered on the ſame day. Four times the emperor Andronicus ſued for peace, and four times he was inflexibly repulſed, till the want of proviſions, and the diſcord of the chiefs, compelled the Catalans to evacuate the banks of the Helleſpont and the neighbourhood of the capital. After their ſeparation from the Turks, the remains of the great company purſued their march through Macedonia and Theſſaly, to ſeek a new eſtabliſhment in the heart of Greece [50].

After

[50] The Catalan war is moſt copiouſly related by Pachymer, in the xi[th], xii[th], and xiii[th] books, till he breaks off in the year 1308. Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 3—6.) is more conciſe and complete. Ducange, who adopts theſe adventurers as French, has hunted their footſteps

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Revolutions of Athens, A. D. 1204—1456.

After ſome ages of oblivion, Greece was awakened to new miſfortunes by the arms of the Latins. In the two hundred and fifty years between the firſt and the laſt conqueſt of Conſtantinople, that venerable land was diſputed by a multitude of petty tyrants; without the comforts of freedom and genius, her ancient cities were again plunged in foreign and inteſtine war; and, if ſervitude be preferable to anarchy, they might repoſe with joy under the Turkiſh yoke. I ſhall not purſue the obſcure and various dynaſties, that roſe and fell on the continent or in the iſles; but our ſilence on the fate of ATHENS[51], would argue a ſtrange ingratitude to the firſt and pureſt ſchool of liberal ſcience and amuſement. In the partition of the empire, the principality of Athens and Thebes was aſſigned to Otho de la Roche, a noble warrior of Burgundy[52], with the title of great duke[53], which the Latins underſtood in their own ſenſe, and the Greeks more fooliſhly derived from the age of Conſtantine[54]. Otho followed the ſtandard of the marquis of Montferrat; the ample ſtate which he acquired by a miracle of conduct or fortune[55], was peaceably inherited by his ſon and two grandſons, till the family, though

footſteps with his uſual diligence (Hiſt. de C. P. l. vi. c. 22—46.). He quotes an Arragoneſe hiſtory, which I have read with pleaſure, and which the Spaniards extol as a model of ſtyle and compoſition (Expedicion de los Çatalanes y Arragoneſes contra Turcos y Griegos; Barcelona, 1623, in quarto; Madrid, 1777, in octavo). Don Franciſco de Moncada, Conde de Oſona, may imitate Cæſar or Salluſt; he may tranſcribe the Greek or Italian contemporaries: but he never quotes his authorities, and I cannot diſcern any national records of the exploits of his countrymen.

[51] See the laborious hiſtory of Ducange, whoſe accurate table of the French dynaſties, recapitulates the thirty-five paſſages in which he mentions the dukes of Athens.

[52] He is twice mentioned by Villehardouin with honour (N° 151. 235.); and under the firſt paſſage, Ducange obſerves all that can be known of his perſon and family.

[53] From theſe Latin princes of the xiv[th] century, Boccace, Chaucer, and Shakeſpeare, have borrowed their Theſeus *duke* of Athens. An ignorant age transfers its own language and manners to the moſt diſtant times.

[54] The ſame Conſtantine gave to Sicily a king, to Ruſſia the *magnus dapifer* of the empire, to Thebes the *primicerius*: and theſe abſurd fables are properly laſhed by Ducange (ad Nicephor. Greg. l. vii. c. 5.). By the Latins, the Lord of Thebes was ſtyled by corruption the Megas Kurios, or Grand Sire!

[55] *Quodam miraculo*, ſays Alberic. He was probably received by Michael Choniates, the archbiſhop who had defended Athens againſt the tyrant Leo Sgurus (Nicetas in Baldwino). Michael was the brother of the hiſtorian Nicetas; and his encomium of Athens is ſtill extant in MS. in the Bodleian library (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405.).

not the nation, was changed, by the marriage of an heirefs, into the elder branch of the houfe of Brienne. The fon of that marriage, Walter de Brienne, fucceeded to the dutchy of Athens; and, with the aid of fome Catalan mercenaries, whom he invefted with fiefs, reduced above thirty caftles of the vaffal or neighbouring lords. But when he was informed of the approach and ambition of the great company, he collected a force of feven hundred knights, fix thoufand four hundred horfe, and eight thoufand foot, and boldly met them on the banks of the river Cephifus in Bœotia. The Catalans amounted to no more than three thoufand five hundred horfe, and four thoufand foot: but the deficiency of numbers was compenfated by ftratagem and order. They formed round their camp an artificial inundation: the duke and his knights advanced without fear or precaution on the verdant meadow: their horfes plunged into the bog; and he was cut in pieces, with the greateft part of the French cavalry. His family and nation were expelled; and his fon Walter de Brienne, the titular duke of Athens, the tyrant of Florence, and the conftable of France, loft his life in the field of Poitiers. Attica and Bœotia were the rewards of the victorious Catalans: they married the widows and daughters of the flain; and during fourteen years, the great company was the terror of the Grecian ftates. Their factions drove them to acknowledge the fovereignty of the houfe of Arragon; and during the remainder of the fourteenth century, Athens, as a government or an appanage, was fucceffively beftowed by the kings of Sicily. After the French and Catalans, the third dynafty was that of the Accaioli, a family, plebeian at Florence, potent at Naples, and fovereign in Greece. Athens, which they embellifhed with new buildings, became the capital of a ftate, that extended over Thebes, Argos, Corinth, Delphi, and a part of Theffaly; and their reign was finally determined by Mahomet the fecond, who ftrangled the laft duke, and educated his fons in the difcipline and religion of the feraglio.

I   Athens,

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Present state of Athens.

Athens[56], though no more than the ſhadow of her former ſelf, ſtill contains about eight or ten thouſand inhabitants: of theſe, three-fourths are Greeks in religion and language; and the Turks, who compoſe the remainder, have relaxed, in their intercourſe with the citizens, ſomewhat of the pride and gravity of their national character. The olive-tree, the gift of Minerva, flouriſhes in Attica; nor has the honey of mount Hymettus loſt any part of its exquiſite flavour[57]: but the languid trade is monopoliſed by ſtrangers; and the agriculture of a barren land is abandoned to the vagrant Walachians. The Athenians are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the ſubtlety and acuteneſs of their underſtandings: but theſe qualities, unleſs ennobled by freedom and enlightened by ſtudy, will degenerate into a low and ſelfiſh cunning: and it is a proverbial ſaying of the country, "From "the Jews of Theſſalonica, the Turks of Negropont, and the Greeks "of Athens, good Lord deliver us!" This artful people has eluded the tyranny of the Turkiſh baſhaws, by an expedient which alleviates their ſervitude and aggravates their ſhame. About the middle of the laſt century, the Athenians choſe for their protector the Kiſlar Aga, or chief black eunuch of the ſeraglio. This Æthiopian ſlave, who poſſeſſes the ſultan's ear, condeſcends to accept the tribute of thirty thouſand crowns: his lieutenant, the Waywode, whom he annually confirms, may reſerve for his own about five or ſix thouſand more; and ſuch is the policy of the citizens, that they ſeldom fail to remove and puniſh an oppreſſive governor. Their private differences are decided by the archbiſhop, one of the richeſt prelates of the Greek church, ſince he poſſeſſes a revenue of one thouſand

[56] The modern account of Athens, and the Athenians, is extracted from Spon (Voyage en Grece, tom. ii. p. 79—199.) and Wheeler (Travels into Greece, p. 337—414.), Stuart (Antiquities of Athens, paſſim) and Chandler (Travels into Greece, p. 23—172.). The firſt of theſe travellers viſited Greece in the year 1676, the laſt 1765; and ninety years had not produced much difference in the tranquil ſcene.

[57] The ancients, or at leaſt the Athenians, believed that all the bees in the world had been propagated from mount Hymettus. They taught, that health might be preſerved, and life prolonged, by the external uſe of oil, and the internal uſe of honey (Geoponica, l. xv. c. 7. p. 1089—1094. edit. Niclas).

pounds

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pounds ſterling; and by a tribunal of the eight *geronti* or elders, choſen in the eight quarters of the city: the noble families cannot trace their pedigree above three hundred years; but their principal members are diſtinguiſhed by a grave demeanour, a fur-cap, and the lofty appellation of *archon*. By ſome, who delight in the contraſt, the modern language of Athens is repreſented as the moſt corrupt and barbarous of the ſeventy dialects of the vulgar Greek[58]: this picture is too darkly coloured; but it would not be eaſy, in the country of Plato and Demoſthenes, to find a reader, or a copy, of their works. The Athenians walk with ſupine indifference among the glorious ruins of antiquity; and ſuch is the debaſement of their character, that they are incapable of admiring the genius of their predeceſſors[59].

[58] Ducange, Gloſſar. Græc. Præfat. p. 8. who quotes for his author Theodoſius Zygomalas, a modern grammarian. Yet Spon (tom. ii. p. 194.), and Wheeler (p. 355.), no incompetent judges, entertain a more favourable opinion of the Attic dialect.

[59] Yet we muſt not accuſe them of corrupting the name of Athens, which they ſtill call Athini. From the εις την Αθηνην, we have formed our own barbariſm of *Setines*.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

CHAP. LXIII.

Civil Wars, and Ruin of the Greek Empire.—Reigns of Andronicus, the Elder and Younger, and John Palæologus.—Regency, Revolt, Reign, and Abdication of John Cantacuzene.—Eſtabliſhment of a Genoeſe Colony at Pera or Galata.—Their Wars with the Empire and City of Conſtantinople.

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Superſtition of Andronicus and the times, A. D. 1282—1320.

THE long reign of Andronicus[1] the elder is chiefly memorable, by the diſputes of the Greek church, the invaſion of the Catalans, and the riſe of the Ottoman power. He is celebrated as the moſt learned and virtuous prince of the age; but ſuch virtue, and ſuch learning, contributed neither to the perfection of the individual, nor to the happineſs of ſociety. A ſlave of the moſt abject ſuperſtition, he was ſurrounded on all ſides by viſible and inviſible enemies; nor were the flames of hell leſs dreadful to his fancy, than thoſe of a Catalan or Turkiſh war. Under the reign of the Palæologi, the choice of the patriarch was the moſt important buſineſs of the ſtate; the heads of the Greek church were ambitious and fanatic monks; and their vices or virtues, their learning or ignorance, were equally miſchievous or contemptible. By his intemperate diſcipline, the patriarch Athanaſius[2] excited the hatred of the clergy

[1] Andronicus himſelf will juſtify our freedom in the invective (Nicephorus Gregoras, l. i. c. 1.), which he pronounced againſt hiſtoric falſehood. It is true, that his cenſure is more pointedly urged againſt calumny than againſt adulation.

[2] For the anathema in the pigeon's neſt, ſee Pachymer (l. ix. c. 24.), who relates the general hiſtory of Athanaſius (l. viii. c. 13—16. 20—24. l. x. c. 27—29. 31—36. l. xi. c. 1—3. 5, 6. l. xiii. c. 8. 10. 23. 35.), and is followed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vi. 5. 7. l. vii. c. 1. 9.), who includes the ſecond retreat of this ſecond Chryſoſtom.

CHAP. LXIII. clergy and people: he was heard to declare, that the ſinner ſhould ſwallow the laſt dregs of the cup of penance; and the fooliſh tale was propagated, of his puniſhing a ſacrilegious aſs that had taſted the lettuce of a convent garden. Driven from the throne by the univerſal clamour, Athanaſius compoſed before his retreat two papers of a very oppoſite caſt. His public teſtament was in the tone of charity and reſignation; the private codicil breathed the direſt anathemas againſt the authors of his diſgrace, whom he excluded for ever from the communion of the holy trinity, the angels, and the ſaints. This laſt paper he incloſed in an earthen pot, which was placed, by his order, on the top of one of the pillars in the dome of St. Sophia, in the diſtant hope of diſcovery and revenge. At the end of four years, ſome youths, climbing by a ladder in ſearch of pigeons neſts, detected the fatal ſecret; and, as Andronicus felt himſelf touched and bound by the excommunication, he trembled on the brink of the abyſs which had been ſo treacherouſly dug under his feet. A ſynod of biſhops was inſtantly convened to debate this important queſtion: the raſhneſs of theſe clandeſtine anathemas was generally condemned; but as the knot could be untied only by the ſame hand, as that hand was now deprived of the croſier, it appeared that this poſthumous decree was irrevocable by any earthly power. Some faint teſtimonies of repentance and pardon were extorted from the author of the miſchief; but the conſcience of the emperor was ſtill wounded, and he deſired, with no leſs ardour than Athanaſius himſelf, the reſtoration of a patriarch, by whom alone he could be healed. At the dead of night, a monk rudely knocked at the door of the royal bed-chamber, announcing a revelation of plague and famine, of inundations and earthquakes. Andronicus ſtarted from his bed, and ſpent the night in prayer, till he felt, or thought that he felt, a ſlight motion of the earth. The emperor on foot led the biſhops and monks to the cell of Athanaſius; and, after a proper reſiſtance, the ſaint, from whom this meſſage had been ſent, conſented to abſolve the prince, and govern the church, of Conſtantinople.

ſtantinople. Untamed by diſgrace, and hardened by ſolitude, the ſhepherd was again odious to the flock; and his enemies contrived a ſingular, and as it proved a ſucceſsful, mode of revenge. In the night, they ſtole away the footſtool or foot-cloth of his throne, which they ſecretly replaced with the decoration of a ſatirical picture. The emperor was painted with a bridle in his mouth, and Athanaſius leading the tractable beaſt to the feet of Chriſt. The authors of the libel were detected and puniſhed; but as their lives had been ſpared, the Chriſtian prieſt in ſullen indignation retired to his cell; and the eyes of Andronicus, which had been opened for a moment, were again cloſed by his ſucceſſor.

If this tranſaction be one of the moſt curious and important of a reign of fifty years, I cannot at leaſt accuſe the brevity of my materials, ſince I reduce into ſome few pages the enormous folios of Pachymer[3], Cantacuzene[4], and Nicephorus Gregoras[5], who have compoſed the prolix and languid ſtory of the times. The name and ſituation of the emperor John Cantacuzene might inſpire the moſt lively curioſity. His memorials of forty years extend from the revolt of the younger Andronicus to his own abdication of the empire; and it is obſerved, that, like Moſes and Cæſar, he was the principal actor in the ſcenes which he deſcribes. But in this eloquent work, we ſhould vainly ſeek the ſincerity of an hero or a penitent. Retired in a cloyſter from the vices and paſſions of the world, he preſents not a confeſſion, but an apology, of the life of an ambitious ſtateſman. Inſtead of unfolding the true counſels and characters of men, he

3 Pachymer, in ſeven books, 377 folio pages, deſcribes the firſt twenty-ſix years of Andronicus the Elder; and marks the date of his compoſition by the current news or lye of the day (A. D. 1308). Either death or diſguſt prevented him from reſuming the pen.

4 After an interval of twelve years, from the concluſion of Pachymer, Cantacuzenus takes up the pen; and his firſt book (c. 1—59. p. 9—150.) relates the civil war, and the eight laſt years of the elder Andronicus. The ingenious compariſon with Moſes and Cæſar, is fancied by his French tranſlator, the preſident Couſin.

5 Nicephorus Gregoras more briefly includes the entire life and reign of Andronicus the Elder (l. vi. c. 1—l. x. c. 1. p. 96—291.). This is the part of which Cantacuzene complains as a falſe and malicious repreſentation of his conduct.

he diſplays the ſmooth and ſpecious ſurface of events, highly varniſhed with his own praiſes and thoſe of his friends. Their motives are always pure; their ends always legitimate: they conſpire and rebel without any views of intereſt; and the violence which they inflict or ſuffer is celebrated as the ſpontaneous effect of reaſon and virtue.

First diſputes between the elder and younger Andronicus, A. D. 1320.

After the example of the firſt of the Palæologi, the elder Andronicus aſſociated his ſon Michael to the honours of the purple; and from the age of eighteen to his premature death, that prince was acknowledged, above twenty-five years, as the ſecond emperor of the Greeks [6]. At the head of an army, he excited neither the fears of the enemy nor the jealouſy of the court: his modeſty and patience were never tempted to compute the years of his father; nor was that father compelled to repent of his liberality either by the virtues or vices of his ſon. The ſon of Michael was named Andronicus from his grandfather, to whoſe early favour he was introduced by that nominal reſemblance. The bloſſoms of wit and beauty encreaſed the fondneſs of the elder Andronicus; and, with the common vanity of age, he expected to realize in the ſecond, the hope which had been diſappointed in the firſt, generation. The boy was educated in the palace as an heir and a favourite; and, in the oaths and acclamations of the people, the *auguſt triad* was formed by the names of the father, the ſon, and the grandſon. But the younger Andronicus was ſpeedily corrupted by his infant greatneſs, while he beheld with puerile impatience the double obſtacle that hung, and might long hang, over his riſing ambition. It was not to acquire fame, or to diffuſe happineſs, that he ſo eagerly aſpired: wealth and impunity were in his eyes the moſt precious attributes of a monarch; and his firſt indiſcreet demand was the ſovereignty

[6] He was crowned May 21st, 1295, and died October 12th, 1320 (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 239.). His brother Theodore, by a ſecond marriage, inherited the marquiſate of Montferrat, apoſtatiſed to the religion and manners of the Latins (ὅτι καὶ γνωμῃ και πιϛει και σχηματι, και γενειων κȣρα και πασιν εθεσιν Λατινος ην ακραιφνης. Nic. Greg. l. ix. c. 1.), and founded a dynaſty of Italian princes, which was extinguiſhed A. D. 1533 (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 249—253.).

of

of ſome rich and fertile iſland, where he might lead a life of independence and pleaſure. The emperor was offended by the loud and frequent intemperance which diſturbed his capital: the ſums which his parſimony denied were ſupplied by the Genoeſe uſurers of Pera; and the oppreſſive debt, which conſolidated the intereſt of a faction, could be diſcharged only by a revolution. A beautiful female, a matron in rank, a proſtitute in manners, had inſtructed the younger Andronicus in the rudiments of love; but he had reaſon to ſuſpect the nocturnal viſits of a rival; and a ſtranger paſſing through the ſtreet was pierced by the arrows of his guards, who were placed in ambuſh at her door. That ſtranger was his brother, prince Manuel, who languiſhed and died of his wound; and the emperor Michael, their common father, whoſe health was in a declining ſtate, expired on the eighth day, lamenting the loſs of both his children [7]. However guiltleſs in his intention, the younger Andronicus might impute a brother's and a father's death to the conſequence of his own vices; and deep was the ſigh of thinking and feeling men, when they perceived, inſtead of ſorrow and repentance, his ill-diſſembled joy on the removal of two odious competitors. By theſe melancholy events, and the increaſe of his diſorders, the mind of the elder emperor was gradually alienated; and, after many fruitleſs reproofs, he transferred on another grandſon [8] his hopes and affection. The change was announced by the new oath of allegiance to the reigning ſovereign, and the *perſon* whom he ſhould appoint for his ſucceſſor; and the acknowledged heir, after a repetition of inſults and complaints, was expoſed to the indignity of a public trial. Before the ſentence, which would probably have condemned him to a dungeon or a cell, the emperor was informed that the palace courts

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7 We are indebted to Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. c. 1.) for the knowledge of this tragic adventure; while Cantacuzene more diſcreetly conceals the vices of Andronicus the Younger, of which he was the witneſs, and perhaps the aſſociate (l. i. c. 1, &c.).

8 His deſtined heir was Michael Catharus, the baſtard of Conſtantine his ſecond ſon. In this project of excluding his grandſon Andronicus, Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. c. 3.) agrees with Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 1, 2.).

were

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were filled with the armed followers of his grandſon; the judgment was ſoftened to a treaty of reconciliation; and the triumphant eſcape of the prince encouraged the ardour of the younger faction.

Three civil wars between the two emperors, A. D. 1321, April 20— A. D. 1328, May 24.

Yet the capital, the clergy, and the ſenate, adhered to the perſon, or at leaſt to the government, of the old emperor; and it was only in the provinces, by flight, and revolt, and foreign ſuccour, that the malecontents could hope to vindicate their cauſe and ſubvert his throne. The ſoul of the enterpriſe was the great domeſtic John Cantacuzene: the ſally from Conſtantinople is the firſt date of his actions and memorials; and if his own pen be moſt deſcriptive of his patriotiſm, an unfriendly hiſtorian has not refuſed to celebrate the zeal and ability which he diſplayed in the ſervice of the young emperor. That prince eſcaped from the capital under the pretence of hunting; erected his ſtandard at Adrianople; and, in a few days, aſſembled fifty thouſand horſe and foot, whom neither honour nor duty could have armed againſt the Barbarians. Such a force might have ſaved or commanded the empire; but their counſels were diſcordant, their motions were ſlow and doubtful, and their progreſs was checked by intrigue and negociation. The quarrel of the two Andronici was protracted, and ſuſpended, and renewed, during a ruinous period of ſeven years. In the firſt treaty, the relics of the Greek empire were divided: Conſtantinople, Theſſalonica, and the iſlands, were left to the elder, while the younger acquired the ſovereignty of the greateſt part of Thrace, from Philippi to the Byzantine limit. By the ſecond treaty, he ſtipulated the payment of his troops, his immediate coronation, and an adequate ſhare of the power and revenue of the ſtate. The third civil war was terminated by the ſurpriſe of Conſtantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the ſole reign of his victorious grandſon. The reaſons of this delay may be found in the characters of the men and of the times. When the heir of the monarchy firſt pleaded his wrongs and his apprehenſions, he was heard with pity and applauſe: and his adherents repeated on all ſides the inconſiſtent promiſe, that he would increaſe

Coronation of the younger Andronicus, A. D. 1325, February 2.

increafe the pay of the foldiers and alleviate the burthens of the people. The grievances of forty years were mingled in his revolt; and the rifing generation was fatigued by the endlefs profpect of a reign, whofe favourites and maxims were of other times. The youth of Andronicus had been without fpirit, his age was without reverence: his taxes produced an annual revenue of five hundred thoufand pounds; yet the richeft of the fovereigns of Chriftendom was incapable of maintaining three thoufand horfe and twenty gallies, to refift the deftructive progrefs of the Turks [9]. "How dif-"ferent," faid the younger Andronicus, "is my fituation from that "of the fon of Philip! Alexander might complain, that his father "would leave him nothing to conquer: alas! my grandfire will "leave me nothing to lofe." But the Greeks were foon admonifhed, that the public diforders could not be healed by a civil war; and that their young favourite was not deftined to be the faviour of a falling empire. On the firft repulfe, his party was broken by his own levity, their inteftine difcord, and the intrigues of the ancient court, which tempted each malecontent to defert or betray the caufe of rebellion. Andronicus the younger was touched with remorfe, or fatigued with bufinefs, or deceived by negociation: pleafure rather than power was his aim; and the licence of maintaining a thoufand hounds, a thoufand hawks, and a thoufand huntfmen, was fufficient to fully his fame and difarm his ambition.

The elder Andronicus abdicates the government, A. D. 1328, May 24.

Let us now furvey the cataftrophe of this bufy plot, and the final fituation of the principal actors [10]. The age of Andronicus was confumed in civil difcord; and, amidft the events of war and treaty, his power and reputation continually decayed, till the fatal night in

[9] See Nicephorus Gregoras, l. viii. c. 6. The younger Andronicus complained, that in four years and four months, a fum of 350,000 byzants of gold was due to him for the expences of his houfehold (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 48.). Yet he would have remitted the debt, if he might have been allowed to fqueeze the farmers of the revenue.

[10] I follow the chronology of Nicephorus Gregoras, who is remarkably exact. It is proved, that Cantacuzene has miftaken the dates of his own actions, or rather that his text has been corrupted by ignorant tranfcribers.

which

which the gates of the city and palace were opened without resiſtance to his grandſon. His principal commander ſcorned the repeated warnings of danger; and retiring to reſt in the vain ſecurity of ignorance, abandoned the feeble monarch, with ſome prieſts and pages, to the terrors of a ſleepleſs night. Theſe terrors were quickly realized by the hoſtile ſhouts, which proclaimed the titles and victory of Andronicus the younger; and the aged emperor, falling proſtrate before an image of the Virgin, diſpatched a ſuppliant meſſage to reſign the ſceptre, and to obtain his life at the hands of the conqueror. The anſwer of his grandſon was decent and pious; at the prayer of his friends, the younger Andronicus aſſumed the ſole adminiſtration; but the elder ſtill enjoyed the name and pre-eminence of the firſt emperor, the uſe of the great palace, and a penſion of twenty-four thouſand pieces of gold, one half of which was aſſigned on the royal treaſure, and the other on the fiſhery of Conſtantinople. But his impotence was ſoon expoſed to contempt and oblivion; the vaſt ſilence of the palace was diſturbed only by the cattle and poultry of the neighbourhood, which roved with impunity through the ſolitary courts; and a reduced allowance of ten thouſand pieces of gold[11] was all that he could aſk, and more than he could hope. His calamities were embittered by the gradual extinction of ſight; his confinement was rendered each day more rigorous; and during the abſence and ſickneſs of his grandſon, his inhuman keepers, by the threats of inſtant death, compelled him to exchange the purple for the monaſtic habit and profeſſion. The monk *Antony* had renounced the pomp of the world: yet he had occaſion for a coarſe fur in the winter ſeaſon, and as wine was forbidden by his confeſſor, and water by his phyſician, the ſherbet of Egypt was his common drink. It was not without difficulty that the late

[11] I have endeavoured to reconcile the 24,000 pieces of Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 1.) with the 10,000 of Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 2.); the one of whom wiſhed to ſoften, the other to magnify, the hardſhips of the old emperors.

emperor could procure three or four pieces to ſatisfy theſe ſimple wants; and if he beſtowed the gold to relieve the more painful diſtreſs of a friend, the ſacrifice is of ſome weight in the ſcale of humanity and religion. Four years after his abdication, Andronicus or Antony expired in a cell, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age: and the laſt ſtrain of adulation could only promiſe a more ſplendid crown of glory in heaven, than he had enjoyed upon earth[12]. CHAP. LXIII. His death, A. D. 1332, February 13.

Reign of Andronicus the younger, A. D. 1328, May 24— A. D. 1341, June 15.

Nor was the reign of the younger, more glorious or fortunate than that of the elder, Andronicus[13]. He gathered the fruits of ambition; but the taſte was tranſient and bitter: in the ſupreme ſtation he loſt the remains of his early popularity; and the defects of his character became ſtill more conſpicuous to the world. The public reproach urged him to march in perſon againſt the Turks; nor did his courage fail in the hour of trial; but a defeat and a wound were the only trophies of his expedition in Aſia, which confirmed the eſtabliſhment of the Ottoman monarchy. The abuſes of the civil government attained their full maturity and perfection: his neglect of forms, and the confuſion of national dreſſes, are deplored by the Greeks as the fatal ſymptoms of the decay of the empire. Andronicus was old before his time: the intemperance of youth had accelerated the infirmities of age; and after being reſcued from a dangerous malady by nature, or phyſic, or the Virgin, he was ſnatched away before he had accompliſhed his forty-fifth year. He was twice married; and as the progreſs of the Latins in arms and arts had ſoftened the prejudices of the Byzantine court, his two wives were choſen in the princely houſes of Germany and Italy. The firſt, Agnes at home, Irene in Greece, was daughter of the duke of

His two wives.

[12] See Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. 6, 7, 8. 10. 14. l. x. c. 1.). The hiſtorian had taſted of the proſperity, and ſhared the retreat, of his benefactor; and that friendſhip, which "waits or to the ſcaffold or the "cell," ſhould not lightly be accuſed as "a "hireling, a proſtitute to praiſe."

[13] The ſole reign of Andronicus the younger is deſcribed by Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 1—40. p. 191—339.) and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ix. c. 7—l. xi. c. 11. p. 262—361.).

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Brunſwick. Her father[14] was a petty lord[15] in the poor and ſavage regions of the north of Germany[16]: yet he derived ſome revenue from his ſilver-mines[17]; and his family is celebrated by the Greeks as the moſt ancient and noble of the Teutonic name[18]. After the death of this childleſs princeſs, Andronicus ſought in marriage Jane, the ſiſter of the count of Savoy[19]; and his ſuit was preferred to that of the French king[20]. The count reſpected in his ſiſter the ſuperior majeſty of a Roman empreſs: her retinue was compoſed of

[14] Agnes, or Irene, was the daughter of duke Henry the Wonderful, the chief of the houſe of Brunſwick, and the fourth in deſcent from the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and conqueror of the Slavi on the Baltic coaſt. Her brother Henry was ſurnamed the *Greek*, from his two journies into the Eaſt: but theſe journies were ſubſequent to his ſiſter's marriage; and I am ignorant *how* Agnes was diſcovered in the heart of Germany, and recommended to the Byzantine court (Rimius, Memoirs of the Houſe of Brunſwick, p. 126—137.).

[15] Henry the Wonderful was the founder of the branch of Grubenhagen, extinct in the year 1596 (Rimius, p. 287.). He reſided in the caſtle of Wolfenbuttel, and poſſeſſed no more than a ſixth part of the allodial eſtates of Brunſwick and Luneburgh, which the Guelph family had ſaved from the confiſcation of their great fiefs. The frequent partitions among brothers, had almoſt ruined the princely houſes of Germany, till that juſt, but pernicious, law was ſlowly ſuperſeded by the right of primogeniture. The principality of Grubenhagen, one of the laſt remains of the Hercynian foreſt, is a woody, mountainous, and barren tract (Buſching's Geography, vol. vi. p. 270—286. Engliſh tranſlation).

[16] The royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburgh will teach us, how juſtly, in a much later period, the north of Germany deſerved the epithets of poor and barbarous (Eſſai ſur les Mœurs, &c.). In the year 1306, in the woods of Luneburgh, ſome wild people of the Vened race were allowed to bury alive their infirm and uſeleſs parents (Rimius, p. 136.).

[17] The aſſertion of Tacitus, that Germany was deſtitute of the precious metals, muſt be taken, even in his own time, with ſome limitation (Germania, c. 5. Annal. xi. 20.). According to Spener (Hiſt. Germaniæ Pragmatica, tom. i. p. 351.), *Argentifodinæ* in Hercyniis montibus, imperante Othone magno (A. D. 968) primum apertæ, largam etiam opes augendi dederunt copiam: but Rimius (p. 258, 259.) defers till the year 1016 the diſcovery of the ſilver mines of Grubenhagen, or the Upper Hartz, which were productive in the beginning of the xiv[th] century, and which ſtill yield a conſiderable revenue to the houſe of Brunſwick.

[18] Cantacuzene has given a moſt honourable teſtimony, ην δ'εκ Γερμανων αὐτη θυγατηρ δȣκος ντι μπρȣζȣικ (the modern Greeks employ the ντ for the δ, and the μπ for the β, and the whole will read in the Italian idiom di Brunzuic), τȣ παρ' αυτοις επιφανεςατȣ, και λαμπροτητι παντας τȣς ὁμοφυλȣς ὑπερβαλλοντος τȣ γενȣς. The praiſe is juſt in itſelf, and pleaſing to an Engliſh ear.

[19] Anne, or Jane, was one of the four daughters of Amedée the Great, by a ſecond marriage, and half ſiſter of his ſucceſſor Edward count of Savoy (Anderſon's Tables, p. 650.). See Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 40—42.).

[20] That king, if the fact be true, muſt have been Charles the Fair, who in five years (1321—1326) was married to three wives (Anderſon, p. 628.). Anne of Savoy arrived at Conſtantinople in February 1326.

knights

knights and ladies; ſhe was regenerated and crowned in St. Sophia, under the more orthodox appellation of Anne; and, at the nuptial feaſt, the Greeks and Italians vied with each other in the martial exerciſes of tilts and tournaments.

Reign of John Palæologus, A. D. 1341, June 15—A. D. 1391. Fortune of John Cantacuzenus.

The empreſs Anne of Savoy ſurvived her huſband: their ſon, John Palæologus, was left an orphan and an emperor, in the ninth year of his age; and his weakneſs was protected by the firſt and moſt deſerving of the Greeks. The long and cordial friendſhip of his father for John Cantacuzene is alike honourable to the prince and the ſubject. It had been formed amidſt the pleaſures of their youth: their families were almoſt equally noble[21]; and the recent luſtre of the purple was amply compenſated by the energy of a private education. We have ſeen that the young emperor was ſaved by Cantacuzene from the power of his grandfather; and, after ſix years of civil war, the ſame favourite brought him back in triumph to the palace of Conſtantinople. Under the reign of Andronicus the younger, the great domeſtic ruled the emperor and the empire; and it was by his valour and conduct that the iſle of Leſbos and the principality of Ætolia were reſtored to their ancient allegiance. His enemies confeſs, that, among the public robbers, Cantacuzene alone was moderate and abſtemious; and the free and voluntary account which he produces of his own wealth[22] may ſuſtain the preſumption that it was devolved by inheritance, and not accumulated by rapine. He does not indeed ſpecify the value of his money, plate, and jewels; yet, after a voluntary gift of two hundred vaſes of ſilver, after much had been ſecreted by his friends and plundered by his foes, his forfeit treaſures were ſufficient for the equipment of a fleet of ſeventy gallies. He does not meaſure the ſize and number of his eſtates; but

[21] The noble race of the Cantacuzeni (illuſtrious from the xi[th] century in the Byzantine annals) was drawn from the Paladins of France, the heroes of thoſe romances which in the xiii[th] century were tranſlated and read by the Greeks (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 258.).

[22] See Cantacuzene (l. iii. c. 24. 30. 36.).

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his granaries were heaped with an incredible ſtore of wheat and barley; and the labour of a thouſand yoke of oxen might cultivate, according to the practice of antiquity, about ſixty-two thouſand five hundred acres of arable land[23]. His paſtures were ſtocked with two thouſand five hundred brood mares, two hundred camels, three hundred mules, five hundred aſſes, five thouſand horned cattle, fifty thouſand hogs, and ſeventy thouſand ſheep[24]: a precious record of rural opulence, in the laſt period of the empire, and in a land, moſt probably in Thrace, ſo repeatedly waſted by foreign and domeſtic hoſtility. The favour of Cantacuzene was above his fortune. In the moments of familiarity, in the hour of ſickneſs, the emperor was deſirous to level the diſtance between them, and preſſed his friend to accept the diadem and purple. The virtue of the great domeſtic, which is atteſted by his own pen, reſiſted the dangerous propoſal; but the laſt teſtament of Andronicus the younger named him the guardian of his ſon, and the regent of the empire.

He is left regent of the empire.

His regency is attacked, A. D. 1341,

Had the regent found a ſuitable return of obedience and gratitude, perhaps he would have acted with pure and zealous fidelity in the ſervice of his pupil[25]. A guard of five hundred ſoldiers watched over his perſon and the palace; the funeral of the late emperor was decently performed; the capital was ſilent and ſubmiſſive; and five hundred letters, which Cantacuzene diſpatched in the firſt month, informed the provinces of their loſs and their duty. The proſpect of a tranquil minority was blaſted by the great duke or admiral

[23] Saſerna, in Gaul, and Columella, in Italy or Spain, allow two yoke of oxen, two drivers, and ſix labourers, for two hundred jugera (125 Engliſh acres) of arable land, and three more men muſt be added if there be much underwood (Columella de Re Ruſticâ, l. ii. c. 13. p. 441. edit. Geſner).

[24] In this enumeration (l. iii. c. 30.), the French tranſlation of the preſident Couſin is blotted with three palpable and eſſential errors. 1. He omits the 1000 yoke of working oxen. 2. He interprets the πεντακοσιαι προς δισχιλιαις, by the number of fifteen hundred. 3. He confounds myriads with chiliads, and gives Cantacuzene no more than 5000 hogs. Put not your truſt in tranſlations!

[25] See the regency and reign of John Cantacuzenus, and the whole progreſs of the civil war, in his own hiſtory (l. iii. c. 1—100. p. 348—700.), and in that of Nicephorus Gregoras (l. xii. c. 1—l. xv. c. 9. p. 353—492.).

Apocaucus;

Apocaucus; and to exaggerate *his* perfidy, the Imperial hiftorian is pleafed to magnify his own imprudence, in raifing him to that office againft the advice of his more fagacious fovereign. Bold and fubtle, rapacious and profufe, the avarice and ambition of Apocaucus were by turns fubfervient to each other; and his talents were applied to the ruin of his country. His arrogance was heightened by the command of a naval force and an impregnable caftle, and under the mafk of oaths and flattery he fecretly confpired againft his benefactor. The female court of the emprefs was bribed and directed: he encouraged Anne of Savoy to affert, by the law of nature, the tutelage of her fon; the love of power was difguifed by the anxiety of maternal tendernefs; and the founder of the Palæologi had inftructed his pofterity to dread the example of a perfidious guardian. The patriarch John of Apri, was a proud and feeble old man, encompaffed by a numerous and hungry kindred. He produced an obfolete epiftle of Andronicus, which bequeathed the prince and people to his pious care: the fate of his predeceffor Arfenius prompted him to prevent, rather than punifh, the crimes of an ufurper; and Apocaucus fmiled at the fuccefs of his own flattery, when he beheld the Byzantine prieft affuming the ftate and temporal claims of the Roman pontiff[26]. Between three perfons fo different in their fituation and character, a private league was concluded: a fhadow of authority was reftored to the fenate; and the people was tempted by the name of freedom. By this powerful confederacy, the great domeftic was affaulted at firft with clandeftine, at length with open, arms. His prerogatives were difputed; his opinions flighted; his friends perfecuted; and his fafety was threatened both in the camp and city. In his abfence on the public fervice, he was accufed of treafon; profcribed as an enemy of the church and ftate;

by Apocaucus;

by the emprefs Anne of Savoy;

by the patriarch.

[26] He affumed the royal privilege of red fhoes or bufkins; placed on his head a mitre of filk and gold; fubfcribed his epiftles with hyacinth or green ink, and claimed for the new, whatever Conftantine had given to the ancient, Rome (Cantacuzen. l. iii. c. 36. Nic. Gregoras, l. xiv. c. 3.).

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and delivered, with all his adherents, to the ſword of juſtice, the vengeance of the people, and the power of the devil: his fortunes were confiſcated; his aged mother was caſt into priſon; all his paſt ſervices were buried in oblivion; and he was driven by injuſtice to perpetrate the crime of which he was accuſed[27]. From the review of his preceding conduct, Cantacuzene appears to have been guiltleſs of any treaſonable deſigns; and the only ſuſpicion of his innocence muſt ariſe from the vehemence of his proteſtations, and the ſublime purity which he aſcribes to his own virtue. While the empreſs and the patriarch ſtill affected the appearances of harmony, he repeatedly ſolicited the permiſſion of retiring to a private, and even a monaſtic, life. After he had been declared a public enemy, it was his fervent wiſh to throw himſelf at the feet of the young emperor, and to receive without a murmur the ſtroke of the executioner: it was not without reluctance that he liſtened to the voice of reaſon, which inculcated the ſacred duty of ſaving his family and friends, and proved that he could only ſave them by drawing the ſword and aſſuming the Imperial title.

Cantacuzene aſſumes the purple, A. D. 1341, October 26.

In the ſtrong city of Demotica, his peculiar domain, the emperor John Cantacuzenus was inveſted with the purple buſkins: his right-leg was clothed by his noble kinſmen, the left by the Latin chiefs, on whom he conferred the order of knighthood. But even in this act of revolt, he was ſtill ſtudious of loyalty; and the titles of John Palæologus and Anne of Savoy were proclaimed before his own name and that of his wife Irene. Such vain ceremony is a thin diſguiſe of rebellion, nor are there perhaps any *perſonal* wrongs that can authoriſe a ſubject to take arms againſt his ſovereign: but the want of preparation and ſucceſs may confirm the aſſurance of the uſurper, that this deciſive ſtep was the effect of neceſſity rather than of

[27] Nic. Gregoras (l. xii. c. 5.) confeſſes the innocence and virtues of Cantacuzenus, the guilt and flagitious vices of Apocaucus; nor does he diſſemble the motive of his perſonal and religious enmity to the former; νυν δε δια κακιαν αλλων, αιτιος ὁ πρᾳοτατος της των ὁλων εδοξεν ειναι φθορας.

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choice. Conſtantinople adhered to the young emperor: the king of Bulgaria was invited to the relief of Adrianople: the principal cities of Thrace and Macedonia, after ſome heſitation, renounced their obedience to the great domeſtic; and the leaders of the troops and provinces were induced, by their private intereſt, to prefer the looſe dominion of a woman and a prieſt. The army of Cantacuzene, in ſixteen diviſions, was ſtationed on the banks of the Melas to tempt or intimidate the capital: it was diſperſed by treachery or fear; and the officers, more eſpecially the mercenary Latins, accepted the bribes, and embraced the ſervice, of the Byzantine court. After this loſs, the rebel emperor (he fluctuated between the two characters) took the road of Theſſalonica with a choſen remnant; but he failed in his enterpriſe on that important place; and he was cloſely purſued by the great duke, his enemy Apocaucus, at the head of a ſuperior power by ſea and land. Driven from the coaſt, in his march, or rather flight, into the mountains of Servia, Cantacuzene aſſembled his troops to ſcrutinize thoſe who were worthy and willing to accompany his broken fortunes. A baſe majority bowed and retired; and his truſty band was diminiſhed to two thouſand, and at laſt to five hundred, volunteers. The *cral*[28], or deſpot of the Servians, received him with generous hoſpitality; but the ally was inſenſibly degraded to a ſuppliant, an hoſtage, a captive; and, in this miſerable dependence, he waited at the door of the Barbarian, who could diſpoſe of the life and liberty of a Roman emperor. The moſt tempting offers could not perſuade the cral to violate his truſt; but he ſoon inclined to the ſtronger ſide; and his friend was diſmiſſed without injury to a new viciſſitude of hopes and perils.

[28] The princes of Servia (Ducange, Famil. Dalmaticæ, &c. c. 2, 3, 4. 9.) were ſtyled Deſpots in Greek, and Cral, in their native idiom (Ducange, Gloſſ. Græc. p. 751.). That title, the equivalent of king, appears to be of Sclavonic origin, from whence it has been borrowed by the Hungarians, the modern Greeks, and even by the Turks (Leunclavius, Pandect. Turc. p. 422.), who reſerve the name of Padiſhah for the emperor. To obtain the latter inſtead of the former, is the ambition of the French at Conſtantinople (Avertiſſement à l'Hiſtoire de Timur Bec, p. 39.).

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The civil war, A.D. 1341—1347.

Near ſix years the flame of diſcord burnt with various ſucceſs and unabated rage: the cities were diſtracted by the faction of the nobles and the plebeians; the Cantacuzeni and Palæologi: and the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Turks, were invoked on both ſides as the inſtruments of private ambition and the common ruin. The regent deplored the calamities, of which he was the author and victim: and his own experience might dictate a juſt and lively remark on the different nature of foreign and civil war. "The former," ſaid he, "is the external warmth of ſummer, always tolerable, and "often beneficial; the latter is the deadly heat of a fever, which "conſumes without a remedy the vitals of the conſtitution[29]."

Victory of Cantacuzene.

The introduction of barbarians and ſavages into the conteſts of civilized nations, is a meaſure pregnant with ſhame and miſchief; which the intereſt of the moment may compel, but which is reprobated by the beſt principles of humanity and reaſon. It is the practice of both ſides to accuſe their enemies of the guilt of the firſt alliances; and thoſe who fail in their negociations, are loudeſt in their cenſure of the example which they envy, and would gladly imitate. The Turks of Aſia were leſs barbarous perhaps than the ſhepherds of Bulgaria and Servia; but their religion rendered them the implacable foes of Rome and Chriſtianity. To acquire the friendſhip of their emirs, the two factions vied with each other in baſeneſs and profuſion: the dexterity of Cantacuzene obtained the preference: but the ſuccour and victory were dearly purchaſed by the marriage of his daughter with an infidel, the captivity of many thouſand Chriſtians, and the paſſage of the Ottomans into Europe, the laſt and fatal ſtroke in the fall of the Roman empire. The inclining ſcale was decided in his favour by the death of Apocaucus, the juſt, though ſingular, retribution of his crimes. A crowd of nobles or plebeians, whom he feared or hated, had been ſeized by his orders

[29] Nic. Gregoras, l. xii. c. 14. It is ſurpriſing, that Cantacuzene has not inſerted this juſt and lively image in his own writings.

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in the capital and the provinces; and the old palace of Conſtantine was aſſigned for the place of their confinement. Some alterations in raiſing the walls, and narrowing the cells, had been ingeniouſly contrived to prevent their eſcape, and aggravate their miſery; and the work was inceſſantly preſſed by the daily viſits of the tyrant. His guards watched at the gate, and as he ſtood in the inner-court to overlook the architects, without fear or ſuſpicion, he was aſſaulted and laid breathleſs on the ground, by two reſolute priſoners of the Palæologian race[30], who were armed with ſticks, and animated by deſpair. On the rumour of revenge and liberty, the captive multitude broke their fetters, fortified their priſon, and expoſed from the battlements the tyrant's head, preſuming on the favour of the people and the clemency of the empreſs. Anne of Savoy might rejoice in the fall of an haughty and ambitious miniſter, but while ſhe delayed to reſolve or to act, the populace, more eſpecially the mariners, were excited by the widow of the great duke to a ſedition, an aſſault, and a maſſacre. The priſoners (of whom the far greater part were guiltleſs or inglorious of the deed) eſcaped to a neighbouring church: they were ſlaughtered at the foot of the altar; and in his death the monſter was not leſs bloody and venomous than in his life. Yet his talents alone upheld the cauſe of the young emperor; and his ſurviving aſſociates, ſuſpicious of each other, abandoned the conduct of the war, and rejected the faireſt terms of accommodation. In the beginning of the diſpute, the empreſs felt and complained, that ſhe was deceived by the enemies of Cantacuzene: the patriarch was employed to preach againſt the forgiveneſs of injuries; and her promiſe of immortal hatred was ſealed by an oath, under the penalty of excommunication[31]. But Anne

[30] The two avengers were both Palæologi, who might reſent, with royal indignation, the ſhame of their chains. The tragedy of Apocaucus may deſerve a peculiar reference to Cantacuzene (l. iii. c. 86.) and Nic. Gregoras (l. xiv. c. 10.).

[31] Cantacuzene accuſes the patriarch, and ſpares the empreſs, the mother of his ſovereign (l. iii. 33, 34.), againſt whom Nic. Gregoras expreſſes a particular animoſity (l. xiv. 10, 11. xv. 5.). It is true, that they do not ſpeak exactly of the ſame time.

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foon learned to hate without a teacher: fhe beheld the misfortunes of the empire with the indifference of a ftranger: her jealoufy was exafperated by the competition of a rival emprefs; and on the firft fymptoms of a more yielding temper, fhe threatened the patriarch to convene a fynod, and degrade him from his office. Their incapacity and difcord would have afforded the moft decifive advantage; but the civil war was protracted by the weaknefs of both parties; and the moderation of Cantacuzene has not efcaped the reproach of timidity and indolence. He fucceffively recovered the provinces and cities; and the realm of his pupil was meafured by the walls of Conftantinople; but the metropolis alone counterbalanced the reft of the empire; nor could he attempt that important conqueft till he had fecured in his favour the public voice and a private correfpondence. An Italian, of the name of Facciolati[32], had fucceeded to the office of great duke: the fhips, the guards, and the golden gate, were fubject to his command; but his humble ambition was bribed to become the inftrument of treachery; and the revolution was accomplifhed without danger or bloodfhed. Deftitute of the powers of refiftance, or the hope of relief, the inflexible Anne would have ftill defended the palace, and have fmiled to behold the capital in flames, rather than in the poffeffion of a rival. She yielded to the prayers of her friends and enemies; and the treaty was dictated by the conqueror, who profeffed a loyal and zealous attachment to the fon of his benefactor. The marriage of his daughter with John Palæologus was at length confummated: the hereditary right of the pupil was acknowledged; but the fole adminiftration during ten years was vefted in the guardian. Two emperors and three empreffes were feated on the Byzantine throne; and a general amnefty quieted the apprehenfions, and confirmed the property, of the moft guilty fubjects. The feftival of the corona-

He re-enters Conftantinople, A.D. 1347, January 8.

[32] The traitor and treafon are revealed by Nic. Gregoras (l. xv. c. 8.): but the name is more difcreetly fuppreffed by his great accomplice (Cantacuzen, l. iii. c. 99.).

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tion and nuptials was celebrated with the appearances of concord and magnificence, and both were equally fallacious. During the late troubles, the treaſures of the ſtate, and even the furniture of the palace, had been alienated or embezzled: the royal banquet was ſerved in pewter or earthen-ware; and ſuch was the proud poverty of the times, that the abſence of gold and jewels was ſupplied by the paltry artifices of glaſs and gilt-leather [33].

Reign of John Cantacuzene, A. D. 1347, January 8— A. D. 1355, January.

I haſten to conclude the perſonal hiſtory of John Cantacuzene [34]. He triumphed and reigned; but his reign and triumph were clouded by the diſcontent of his own and the adverſe faction. His followers might ſtyle the general amneſty, an act of pardon for his enemies, and of oblivion for his friends [35]: in his cauſe, their eſtates had been forfeited or plundered; and as they wandered naked and hungry through the ſtreets, they curſed the ſelfiſh generoſity of a leader; who, on the throne of the empire, might relinquiſh without merit his private inheritance. The adherents of the empreſs bluſhed to hold their lives and fortunes by the precarious favour of an uſurper; and the thirſt of revenge was concealed by a tender concern for the ſucceſſion, and even the ſafety, of her ſon. They were juſtly alarmed by a petition of the friends of Cantacuzene, that they might be releaſed from their oath of allegiance to the Palæologi; and entruſted with the defence of ſome cautionary towns; a meaſure ſupported with argument and eloquence; and which was rejected (ſays the Imperial hiſtorian) "by *my* ſublime, and almoſt incredible, "virtue." His repoſe was diſturbed by the ſound of plots and ſeditions; and he trembled, leſt the lawful prince ſhould be ſtolen

33 Nic. Greg. l. xv. 11. There were however ſome true pearls, but very thinly ſprinkled. The reſt of the ſtones had only παντοδαπην χροιαν προς το διαυγες.

34 From his return to Conſtantinople, Cantacuzene continues his hiſtory, and that of the empire, one year beyond the abdication of his ſon Matthew, A. D. 1357 (l. iv. c. 1—50. p. 705—911.). Nicephorus Gregoras ends with the ſynod of Conſtantinople, in the year 1351 (l. xxii. c. 3. p. 660. the reſt to the concluſion of the xxiv[th] book, p. 717. is all controverſy); and his fourteen laſt books are ſtill MSS. in the king of France's library.

35 The emperor (Cantacuzen, l. iv. c. 1.) repreſents his own virtues, and Nic. Gregoras (l. xv. c. 11.) the complaints of his friends, who ſuffered by it's effects. I have lent them the words of our poor cavaliers after the reſtoration.

 away

away by ſome foreign or domeſtic enemy, who would inſcribe his name and his wrongs in the banners of rebellion. As the ſon of Andronicus advanced in the years of manhood, he began to feel and to act for himſelf; and his riſing ambition was rather ſtimulated than checked by the imitation of his father's vices. If we may truſt his own profeſſions, Cantacuzene laboured with honeſt induſtry to correct theſe ſordid and ſenſual appetites, and to raiſe the mind of the young prince to a level with his fortune. In the Servian expedition, the two emperors ſhewed themſelves in cordial harmony to the troops and provinces; and the younger colleague was initiated by the elder in the myſteries of war and government. After the concluſion of the peace, Palæologus was left at Theſſalonica, a royal reſidence, and a frontier ſtation, to ſecure by his abſence the peace of Conſtantinople, and to withdraw his youth from the temptations of a luxurious capital. But the diſtance weakened the powers of control, and the ſon of Andronicus was ſurrounded with artful or unthinking companions, who taught him to hate his guardian, to deplore his exile, and to vindicate his rights. A private treaty with the cral or deſpot of Servia, was ſoon followed by an open revolt; and Cantacuzene, on the throne of the elder Andronicus, defended the cauſe of age and prerogative, which in his youth he had ſo vigorouſly attacked. At his requeſt, the empreſs mother undertook the voyage of Theſſalonica, and the office of mediation: ſhe returned without ſucceſs; and unleſs Anne of Savoy was inſtructed by adverſity, we may doubt the ſincerity, or at leaſt the fervour, of her zeal. While the regent graſped the ſceptre with a firm and vigorous hand, ſhe had been inſtructed to declare, that the ten years of his legal adminiſtration would ſoon elapſe; and that after a full trial of the vanity of the world, the emperor Cantacuzene ſighed for the repoſe of a cloyſter, and was ambitious only of an heavenly crown. Had theſe ſentiments been genuine, his voluntary abdication would have reſtored the peace of the empire, and his conſcience would have been relieved by an act of juſtice. Palæologus alone was reſponſible for his future government; and whatever might be his vices, they

were

were surely less formidable than the calamities of a civil war, in which the Barbarians and infidels were again invited to assist the Greeks in their mutual destruction. By the arms of the Turks, who now struck a deep and everlasting root in Europe, Cantacuzene prevailed in the third contest in which he had been involved; and the young emperor, driven from the sea and land, was compelled to take shelter among the Latins of the isle of Tenedos. His insolence and obstinacy provoked the victor to a step which must render the quarrel irreconcilable: and the association of his son Matthew, whom he invested with the purple, established the succession in the family of the Cantacuzeni. But Constantinople was still attached to the blood of her ancient princes: and this last injury accelerated the restoration of the rightful heir. A noble Genoese espoused the cause of Palæologus, obtained a promise of his sister, and atchieved the revolution with two gallies and two thousand five hundred auxiliaries. Under the pretence of distress, they were admitted into the lesser port; a gate was opened, and the Latin shout of, "long life "and victory to the emperor, John Palæologus!" was answered by a general rising in his favour. A numerous and loyal party yet adhered to the standard of Cantacuzene: but he asserts in his history (does he hope for belief?) that his tender conscience rejected the assurance of conquest; that, in free obedience to the voice of religion and philosophy, he descended from the throne, and embraced with pleasure the monastic habit and profession[36]. So soon as he ceased to be a prince, his successor was not unwilling that he should be a saint: the remainder of his life was devoted to piety and learning; in the cells of Constantinople and mount Athos, the monk Joasaph was respected as the temporal and spiritual father of the emperor; and if he issued from his retreat, it was as the minister of

John Palæologus takes up arms against him, A. D. 1353.

Abdication of Cantacuzene, A. D. 1355, January.

[36] The awkward apology of Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 39—42.), who relates, with visible confusion, his own downfall, may be supplied by the less accurate, but more honest narratives of Matthew Villani (l. iv. c. 46. in the Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xiv. p. 268.) and Ducas (c. 10, 11.).

peace,

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peace, to ſubdue the obſtinacy, and ſolicit the pardon, of his rebellious ſon[37].

Diſpute concerning the light of mount Thabor, A.D. 1341—1351.

Yet in the cloyſter, the mind of Cantacuzene was ſtill exerciſed by theological war. He ſharpened a controverſial pen againſt the Jews and Mahometans[38]; and in every ſtate, he defended with equal zeal the divine light of mount Thabor, a memorable queſtion which conſummates the religious follies of the Greeks. The fakirs of India[39], and the monks of the Oriental church, were alike perſuaded, that, in total abſtraction of the faculties of the mind and body, the purer ſpirit may aſcend to the enjoyment and viſion of the Deity. The opinion and practice of the monaſteries of mount Athos[40] will be beſt repreſented in the words of an abbot, who flouriſhed in the eleventh century. "When thou art alone in thy cell," ſays the aſcetic teacher, "ſhut thy door, and ſeat thyſelf in a corner; raiſe "thy mind above all things vain and tranſitory; recline thy beard "and chin on thy breaſt; turn thy eyes and thy thought towards "the middle of thy belly, the region of the navel; and ſearch the "place of the heart, the ſeat of the ſoul. At firſt, all will be dark "and comfortleſs; but if you perſevere day and night, you will "feel an ineffable joy; and no ſooner has the ſoul diſcovered the "place of the heart, than it is involved in a myſtic and etherial "light." This light, the production of a diſtempered fancy, the creature of an empty ſtomach and an empty brain, was adored by

[37] Cantacuzene, in the year 1375, was honoured with a letter from the pope (Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 250.). His death is placed by reſpectable authority on the 20th of November 1411 (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 260.). But if he were of the age of his companion Andronicus the Younger, he muſt have lived 116 years; a rare inſtance of longevity, which in ſo illuſtrious a perſon would have attracted univerſal notice.

[38] His four diſcourſes, or books, were printed at Baſil 1543 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 473.). He compoſed them to ſatisfy a proſelyte who was aſſaulted with letters from his friends of Iſpahan. Cantacuzene had read the Koran; but I underſtand from Maracci, that he adopts the vulgar prejudices and fables againſt Mahomet and his religion.

[39] See the Voyages de Bernier, tom. i. p. 127.

[40] Moſheim, Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 522, 523. Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 22. 24. 107—114, &c. The former unfolds the cauſes with the judgment of a philoſopher, the latter tranſcribes and tranſlates with the prejudices of a Catholic prieſt.

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the Quietifts as the pure and perfect effence of God himfelf; and as long as the folly was confined to mount Athos, the fimple folitaries were not inquifitive how the divine effence could be a *material* fubftance, or how an *immaterial* fubftance could be perceived by the eyes of the body. But in the reign of the younger Andronicus, thefe monafteries were vifited by Barlaam [41], a Calabrian monk, who was equally fkilled in philofophy and theology; who poffeffed the languages of the Greeks and Latins; and whofe verfatile genius could maintain their oppofite creeds, according to the intereft of the moment. The indifcretion of an afcetic revealed to the curious traveller the fecrets of mental prayer; and Barlaam embraced the opportunity of ridiculing the Quietifts, who placed the foul in the navel; of accufing the monks of mount Athos of herefy and blafphemy. His attack compelled the more learned to renounce or diffemble the fimple devotion of their brethren; and Gregory Palamas introduced a fcholaftic diftinction between the effence and operation of God. His inacceffible effence dwells in the midft of an uncreated and eternal light; and this beatific vifion of the faints had been manifefted to the difciples on mount Thabor, in the transfiguration of Chrift. Yet this diftinction could not efcape the reproach of polytheifm; the eternity of the light of Thabor was fiercely denied; and Barlaam ftill charged the Palamites with holding two eternal fubftances, a vifible and an invifible God. From the rage of the monks of mount Athos, who threatened his life, the Calabrian retired to Conftantinople, where his fmooth and fpecious manners introduced him to the favour of the great domeftic and the emperor. The court and the city were involved in this theological difpute, which flamed amidft the civil war; but the

[41] Bafnage (in Canifii Antiq. Lectiones, tom. iv. p. 363—368.) has inveftigated the character and ftory of Barlaam. The duplicity of his opinions had infpired fome doubts of the identity of his perfon. See likewife Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 427—432.).

doctrine

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doctrine of Barlaam was diſgraced by his flight and apoſtacy: the Palamites triumphed; and their adverſary, the patriarch John of Apri, was depoſed by the conſent of the adverſe factions of the ſtate. In the character of emperor and theologian, Cantacuzene preſided in the ſynod of the Greek church, which eſtabliſhed, as an article of faith, the uncreated light of mount Thabor; and, after ſo many inſults, the reaſon of mankind was ſlightly wounded by the addition of a ſingle abſurdity. Many rolls of paper or parchment have been blotted; and the impenitent ſectaries, who refuſed to ſubſcribe the orthodox creed, were deprived of the honours of Chriſtian burial; but in the next age the queſtion was forgotten; nor can I learn that the axe or the faggot were employed for the extirpation of the Barlaamite hereſy [42].

Eſtabliſhment of the Genoeſe at Pera or Galata, A. D. 1261—1347.

For the concluſion of this chapter, I have reſerved the Genoeſe war, which ſhook the throne of Cantacuzene, and betrayed the debility of the Greek empire. The Genoeſe, who, after the recovery of Conſtantinople, were ſeated in the ſuburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable fief from the bounty of the emperor. They were indulged in the uſe of their laws and magiſtrates; but they ſubmitted to the duties of vaſſals and ſubjects: the forcible word of *liegemen* [43] was borrowed from the Latin juriſprudence; and their *podeſta*, or chief, before he entered on his office, ſaluted the emperor with loyal acclamations and vows of fidelity. Genoa ſealed a firm alliance with the Greeks; and, in caſe of a defenſive war, a ſupply of fifty empty gallies, and a ſuccour of fifty gallies completely armed and manned, was promiſed

[42] See Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 39, 40. l. iv. c. 3. 23, 24, 25.), and Nic. Gregoras (l. xi. c. 10. l. xv. 3, 7, &c.), whoſe laſt books, from the xix[th] to the xxiv[th], are almoſt confined to a ſubject ſo intereſting to the authors. Boivin (in Vit. Nic. Gregoræ), from the unpubliſhed books, and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 462—473.), or rather Montfauçon, from the MSS. of the Coiſlin library, have added ſome facts and documents.

[43] Pachymer (l. v. c. 10.) very properly explains λιζιυς (ligios) by ιδιυς. The uſe of theſe words in the Greek and Latin of the feudal times, may be amply underſtood from the Gloſſaries of Ducange (Græc. p. 811, 812. Latin. tom. iv. p. 109—111.).

by

by the republic to the empire. In the revival of a naval force, it was the aim of Michael Palæologus to deliver himſelf from a foreign aid; and his vigorous government contained the Genoeſe of Galata within thoſe limits which the inſolence of wealth and freedom provoked them to exceed. A ſailor threatened that they ſhould ſoon be maſters of Conſtantinople, and ſlew the Greek who reſented this national affront; and an armed veſſel, after refuſing to ſalute the palace, was guilty of ſome acts of piracy in the Black Sea. Their countrymen threatened to ſupport their cauſe; but the long and open village of Galata was inſtantly ſurrounded by the Imperial troops; till, in the moment of the aſſault, the proſtrate Genoeſe implored the clemency of their ſovereign. The defenceleſs ſituation which ſecured their obedience, expoſed them to the attack of their Venetian rivals, who, in the reign of the elder Andronicus, preſumed to violate the majeſty of the throne. On the approach of their fleets, the Genoeſe, with their families and effects, retired into the city: their empty habitations were reduced to aſhes; and the feeble prince, who had viewed the deſtruction of his ſuburb, expreſſed his reſentment, not by arms, but by ambaſſadors. This misfortune, however, was advantageous to the Genoeſe, who obtained, and imperceptibly abuſed, the dangerous licence of ſurrounding Galata with a ſtrong wall; of introducing into the ditch the waters of the ſea; of erecting lofty turrets; and of mounting a train of military engines on the rampart. The narrow bounds in which they had been circumſcribed, were inſufficient for the growing colony; each day they acquired ſome addition of landed property; and the adjacent hills were covered with their villas and caſtles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications[44]. The navigation and trade of the Euxine was the patri-

[44] The eſtabliſhment and progreſs of the Genoeſe at Pera, or Galata, is deſcribed by Ducange (C. P. Chriſtiana, l. i. p. 68, 69.) from the Byzantine hiſtorians, Pachymer (l. ii. c. 35. l. v. 10. 30. l. ix. 15. l. xii. 6. 9.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v. c. 4. l. vi. c. 11. l. ix. c. 5. l. xi. c. 1. l. xv. c. 1. 6.), and Cantacuzene (l. i. c. 12. l. ii. c. 29, &c.).

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mony of the Greek emperors, who commanded the narrow entrance, the gates, as it were, of that inland ſea. In the reign of Michael Palæologus, their prerogative was acknowledged by the ſultan of Egypt, who ſolicited and obtained the liberty of ſending an annual ſhip for the purchaſe of ſlaves in Circaſſia and the Leſſer Tartary; a liberty pregnant with miſchief to the Chriſtian cauſe; ſince theſe youths were transformed by education and diſcipline into the formidable Mamalukes [45]. From the colony of Pera, the Genoeſe engaged with ſuperior advantage in the lucrative trade of the Black Sea; and their induſtry ſupplied the Greeks with fiſh and corn; two articles of food almoſt equally important to a ſuperſtitious people. The ſpontaneous bounty of nature appears to have beſtowed the harveſts of the Ukraine, the produce of a rude and ſavage huſbandry; and the endleſs exportation of ſalt fiſh and caviar is annually renewed by the enormous ſturgeons that are caught at the mouth of the Don or Tanais, in their laſt ſtation of the rich mud and ſhallow water of the Mæotis [46]. The waters of the Oxus, the Caſpian, the Volga, and the Don, opened a rare and laborious paſſage for the gems and ſpices of India; and, after three months march, the caravans of Carizme met the Italian veſſels in the harbours of Crimæa [47]. Theſe various branches of trade were monopoliſed by the diligence and power of the Genoeſe. Their rivals of Venice and Piſa were forcibly expelled; the natives were awed by the caſtles and cities, which aroſe on the foundations of their humble factories; and their

Their trade and inſolence.

45 Both Pachymer (l. iii. c. 3, 4, 5.) and Nic. Gregoras (l. iv. c. 7.) underſtand and deplore the effects of this dangerous indulgence. Bibars, ſultan of Egypt, himſelf a Tartar, but a devout Muſulman, obtained from the children of Zingis the permiſſion to build a ſtately moſch in the capital of Crimæa (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 343.).

46 Chardin (Voyages en Perſe, tom. i. p. 48.) was aſſured at Caffa, that theſe fiſhes were ſometimes twenty-four or twenty-ſix feet long, weighed eight or nine hundred pounds, and yielded three or four quintals of caviar. The corn of the Boſphorus had ſupplied the Athenians in the time of Demoſthenes.

47 De Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 343, 344. Viaggi di Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 400. But this land or water carriage could only be practicable when Tartary was united under a wiſe and powerful monarch.

principal

principal eſtabliſhment of Caffa[48] was beſieged without effect by the Tartar powers. Deſtitute of a navy, the Greeks were oppreſſed by theſe haughty merchants, who fed, or famiſhed, Conſtantinople, according to their intereſt. They proceeded to uſurp the cuſtoms, the fiſhery, and even the toll, of the Boſphorus; and while they derived from theſe objects a revenue of two hundred thouſand pieces of gold, a remnant of thirty thouſand was reluctantly allowed to the emperor[49]. The colony of Pera or Galata acted, in peace and war, as an independent ſtate; and, as it will happen in diſtant ſettlements, the Genoeſe podeſta too often forgot that he was the ſervant of his own maſters.

Their war with the emperor Cantacuzene, A. D. 1348.

Theſe uſurpations were encouraged by the weakneſs of the elder Andronicus, and by the civil wars that afflicted his age and the minority of his grandſon. The talents of Cantacuzene were employed to the ruin, rather than the reſtoration, of the empire; and after his domeſtic victory, he was condemned to an ignominious trial, whether the Greeks or the Genoeſe ſhould reign in Conſtantinople. The merchants of Pera were offended by his refuſal of ſome contiguous lands, ſome commanding heights, which they propoſed to cover with new fortifications; and in the abſence of the emperor, who was detained at Demotica by ſickneſs, they ventured to brave the debility of a female reign. A Byzantine veſſel, which had preſumed to fiſh at the mouth of the harbour, was ſunk by theſe audacious ſtrangers; the fiſhermen were murdered. Inſtead of ſuing for pardon, the Genoeſe demanded ſatisfaction; required in an haughty ſtrain, that the Greeks ſhould renounce the exerciſe of navigation; and encountered with regular arms the firſt ſallies of the popular indignation. They inſtantly occupied the debateable land; and by the labour of a whole people, of either ſex and of every age, the

[48] Nic. Gregoras (l. xiii. c. 12.) is judicious and well-informed on the trade and colonies of the Black Sea. Chardin deſcribes the preſent ruins of Caffa, where, in forty days, he ſaw above 400 ſail employed in the corn and fiſh trade (Voyages en Perſe, tom. i. p. 46—48.).

[49] See Nic. Gregoras, l. xvii. c. 1.

wall

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wall was raiſed, and the ditch was ſunk, with incredible ſpeed. At the ſame time, they attacked and burnt two Byzantine gallies; while the three others, the remainder of the Imperial navy, eſcaped from their hands: the habitations without the gates, or along the ſhore, were pillaged and deſtroyed; and the care of the regent, of the empreſs Irene, was confined to the preſervation of the city. The return of Cantacuzene diſpelled the public conſternation: the emperor inclined to peaceful counſels; but he yielded to the obſtinacy of his enemies, who rejected all reaſonable terms, and to the ardour of his ſubjects, who threatened, in the ſtyle of ſcripture, to break them in pieces like a potter's veſſel. Yet they reluctantly paid the taxes, that he impoſed for the conſtruction of ſhips, and the expences of the war; and as the two nations were maſters, the one of the land, the other of the ſea, Conſtantinople and Pera were preſſed by the evils of a mutual ſiege. The merchants of the colony, who had believed that a few days would terminate the war, already murmured at their loſſes; the ſuccours from their mother-country were delayed by the factions of Genoa; and the moſt cautious embraced the opportunity of a Rhodian veſſel to remove their families and effects from the ſcene of hoſtility. In the ſpring, the Byzantine fleet, ſeven gallies and a train of ſmaller veſſels, iſſued from the mouth of the harbour, and ſteered in a ſingle line along the ſhore of Pera; unſkilfully preſenting their ſides to the beaks of the adverſe ſquadron. The crews were compoſed of peaſants and mechanics; nor was their ignorance compenſated by the native courage of Barbarians: the wind was ſtrong, the waves were rough; and no ſooner did the Greeks perceive a diſtant and inactive enemy, than they leaped headlong into the ſea, from a doubtful, to an inevitable, peril. The troops that marched to the attack of the lines of Pera were ſtruck at the ſame moment with a ſimilar panic; and the Genoeſe were aſtoniſhed, and almoſt aſhamed, at their double victory. Their triumphant veſſels, crowned with flowers, and dragging after them the

Deſtruction of his fleet, A.D. 1349.

the captive gallies, repeatedly paffed and repaffed before the palace: the only virtue of the emperor was patience; and the hope of revenge his fole confolation. Yet the diftrefs of both parties interpofed a temporary agreement; and the fhame of the empire was difguifed by a thin veil of dignity and power. Summoning the chiefs of the colony, Cantacuzene affected to defpife the trivial object of the debate; and, after a mild reproof, moft liberally granted the lands, which had been previoufly refigned to the feeming cuftody of his officers[50].

Victory of the Genoefe over the Venetians and Greeks, A.D. 1352, February 13.

But the emperor was foon folicited to violate the treaty, and to join his arms with the Venetians, the perpetual enemies of Genoa and her colonies. While he compared the reafons of peace and war, his moderation was provoked by a wanton infult of the inhabitants of Pera, who difcharged from their rampart a large ftone that fell in the midft of Conftantinople. On his juft complaint, they coldly blamed the imprudence of their engineer; but the next day the infult was repeated, and they exulted in a fecond proof that the royal city was not beyond the reach of their artillery. Cantacuzene inftantly figned his treaty with the Venetians; but the weight of the Roman empire was fcarcely felt in the balance of thefe opulent and powerful republics[51]. From the ftreights of Gibraltar to the mouth of the Tanais, their fleets encountered each other with various fuccefs; and a memorable battle was fought in the narrow fea, under the walls of Conftantinople. It would not be an eafy tafk to reconcile the accounts of the Greeks, the Venetians, and the Genoefe[52]; and while I depend on the narrative of an impartial historian,

[50] The events of this war are related by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 11.) with obfcurity and confufion, and by Nic. Gregoras (l. xvii. c. 1—7.) in a clear and honeft narrative. The prieft was lefs refponfible than the prince for the defeat of the fleet.

[51] This fecond war is darkly told by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 18. p. 24, 25. 28—32.), who wifhes to difguife what he dares not deny. I regret this part of Nic. Gregoras, which is ftill in MS. at Paris.

[52] Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 144.) refers to the moft ancient Chronicles of Venice (Carefinus, the continuator of Andrew Dandulus, tom. xii. p. 421, 422.) and Genoa (George Stella, Annales Genuenfes, tom. xvii. p. 1091, 1092.); both which I have diligently confulted in his great Collection of the Hiftorians of Italy.

CHAP. LXIII. hiſtorian [53], I ſhall borrow from each nation the facts that redound to their own diſgrace, and the honour of their foes. The Venetians, with their allies the Catalans, had the advantage of number; and their fleet, with the poor addition of eight Byzantine gallies, amounted to ſeventy-five ſail: the Genoeſe did not exceed ſixty-four; but in thoſe times their ſhips of war were diſtinguiſhed by the ſuperiority of their ſize and ſtrength. The names and families of their naval commanders, Piſani and Doria, are illuſtrious in the annals of their country; but the perſonal merit of the former was eclipſed by the fame and abilities of his rival. They engaged in tempeſtuous weather; and the tumultuary conflict was continued from the dawn to the extinction of light. The enemies of the Genoeſe applaud their proweſs: the friends of the Venetians are diſſatisfied with their behaviour; but all parties agree in praiſing the ſkill and boldneſs of the Catalans, who, with many wounds, ſuſtained the brunt of the action. On the ſeparation of the fleets, the event might appear doubtful; but the thirteen Genoeſe gallies, that had been ſunk or taken, were compenſated by a double loſs of the allies; of fourteen Venetians, ten Catalans, and two Greeks; and even the grief of the conquerors expreſſed the aſſurance and habit of more deciſive victories. Piſani confeſſed his defeat, by retiring into a fortified harbour, from whence, under the pretext of the orders of the ſenate, he ſteered with a broken and flying ſquadron for the iſle of Candia, and abandoned to his rivals the ſovereignty of the ſea. In a public epiſtle, addreſſed to the doge and ſenate, Petrarch employs his eloquence to reconcile the maritime powers, the two luminaries of Italy. The orator celebrates the valour and victory of the Genoeſe, the firſt of men in the exerciſe of naval war: he drops a tear on the

[53] See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani of Florence, l. ii. c. 59, 60. p. 145—147. c. 74, 75. p. 156, 157. in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiv.

[54] The Abbé de Sade (Memoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 257—263.) tranſlates this letter, which he had copied from a MS. in the king of France's library. Though a ſervant of the duke of Milan, Petrarch pours forth his aſtoniſhment and grief at the defeat and deſpair of the Genoeſe in the following year (p. 323—332.).

misfortunes of their Venetian brethren; but he exhorts them to pursue with fire and sword the base and perfidious Greeks; to purge the metropolis of the East from the heresy with which it was infected. Deserted by their friends, the Greeks were incapable of resistance; and three months after the battle, the emperor Cantacuzene solicited and subscribed a treaty, which for ever banished the Venetians and Catalans, and granted to the Genoese a monopoly of trade, and almost a right of dominion. The Roman empire (I smile in transcribing the name) might soon have sunk into a province of Genoa, if the ambition of the republic had not been checked by the ruin of her freedom and naval power. A long contest of one hundred and thirty years was determined by the triumph of Venice; and the factions of the Genoese compelled them to seek for domestic peace under the protection of a foreign lord, the duke of Milan, or the French king. Yet the spirit of commerce survived that of conquest; and the colony of Pera still awed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final servitude of Constantinople itself.

Their treaty with the empire, May 6.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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Conquests of Zingis Khan and the Moguls from China to Poland.—Escape of Constantinople and the Greeks.—Origin of the Ottoman Turks in Bithynia.—Reigns and Victories of Othman, Orchan, Amurath the First, and Bajazet the First.—Foundation and Progress of the Turkish Monarchy in Asia and Europe.—Danger of Constantinople and the Greek Empire.

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FROM the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to the victorious Turks; whose domestic slavery was ennobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history: but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruption of the Moguls and Tartars; whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe. I have long since asserted my claim to introduce the nations, the immediate or remote authors of the fall of the Roman empire; nor can I refuse myself to those events, which, from their uncommon magnitude, will interest a philosophic mind in the history of blood[1].

[1] The reader is invited to review the chapters of the second and third volumes; the manners of pastoral nations, the conquests of Attila and the Huns, which were composed at a time when I entertained the wish, rather than the hope, of concluding my history.

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ZingisKhan, firſt emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, A.D. 1206—1227.

From the ſpacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caſpian Sea, the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. Theſe ancient ſeats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many paſtoral tribes, of the ſame deſcent and ſimilar manners, which were united and led to conqueſt by the formidable Zingis. In his aſcent to greatneſs, that Barbarian (whoſe private appellation was Temugin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His birth was noble: but it was in the pride of victory, that the prince or people deduced his ſeventh anceſtor from the immaculate conception of a virgin. His father had reigned over thirteen hords, which compoſed about thirty or forty thouſand families: above two-thirds refuſed to pay tithes or obedience to his infant ſon; and at the age of thirteen, Temugin fought a battle againſt his rebellious ſubjects. The future conqueror of Aſia was reduced to fly and to obey: but he roſe ſuperior to his fortune, and in his fortieth year he had eſtabliſhed his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. In a ſtate of ſociety, in which policy is rude and valour is univerſal, the aſcendant of one man muſt be founded on his power and reſolution to puniſh his enemies and recompenſe his friends. His firſt military league was ratified by the ſimple rites of ſacrificing an horſe and taſting of a running ſtream: Temugin pledged himſelf to divide with his followers the ſweets and the bitters of life; and, when he had ſhared among them his horſes and apparel, he was rich in their gratitude and his own hopes. After his firſt victory, he placed ſeventy chaldrons on the fire, and ſeventy of the moſt guilty rebels were caſt headlong into the boiling water. The ſphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the ſubmiſſion of the prudent; and the boldeſt chieftains might tremble, when they beheld, enchaſed in ſilver, the ſkull of the khan of the Keraites[2]; who, under the name of Preſter John,

[2] The khans of the Keraites were moſt probably incapable of reading the pompous epiſtles compoſed in their name by the Neſtorian miſſionaries, who endowed them with the

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John, had correfponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temugin condefcended to employ the arts of fuperftition; and it was from a naked prophet, who could afcend to heaven on a white horfe, that he accepted the title of Zingis [3], the *moft great*; and a divine right to the conqueft and dominion of the earth. In a general *couroultai*, or diet, he was feated on a felt, which was long afterwards revered as a relic, and folemnly proclaimed great khan, or emperor, of the Moguls [4] and Tartars [5]. Of thefe kindred, though rival, names, the former had given birth to the Imperial race; and the latter has been extended, by accident or error, over the fpacious wildernefs of the north.

His laws.

The code of laws which Zingis dictated to his fubjects, was adapted to the prefervation of domeftic peace, and the exercife of foreign hoftility. The punifhment of death was inflicted on the crimes of adultery, murder, perjury, and the capital thefts of an horfe or ox; and the fierceft of men were mild and juft in their intercourfe with each other. The future election of the great khan was vefted in the princes of his family and the heads of the tribes; and the regulations of the chace were effential to the pleafures and plenty of a Tartar camp. The victorious nation was held facred from all fervile labours, which were abandoned to flaves and ftrangers;

the fabulous wonders of an Indian kingdom. Perhaps thefe Tartars (the Prefbyter or Prieft John) had fubmitted to the rites of baptifm and ordination (Affeman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 487—503.).

[3] Since the hiftory and tragedy of Voltaire, *Gengis*, at leaft in French, feems to be the more fafhionable fpelling: but Abulghazi Khan muft have known the true name of his anceftor. His etymology appears juft: *Zin*, in the Mogul tongue, fignifies *great*, and *gis* is the fuperlative termination (Hift. Genealogique des Tatars, part iii. p. 194, 195.). From the fame idea of magnitude, the appellation of *Zingis* is beftowed on the ocean.

[4] The name of Moguls has prevailed among the Orientals, and ftill adheres to the titular fovereign, the Great Mogul, of Hindoftan.

[5] The Tartars (more properly Tatars) were defcended from Tatar Khan, the brother of Mogul Khan (fee Abulghazi, part i and ii.), and once formed a hord of 70,000 families on the borders of Kitay (p. 103—112.). In the great invafion of Europe (A. D. 1238), they feem to have led the vanguard; and the fimilitude of the name of *Tartarei*, recommended that of Tartars to the Latins (Matt. Paris, p. 398, &c.).

and

and every labour was servile except the profession of arms. The service and discipline of the troops, who were armed with bows, scymetars, and iron maces, and divided by hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, were the institutions of a veteran commander. Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honour of his companions; and the spirit of conquest breathed in the law, that peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy. But it is the religion of Zingis that best deserves our wonder and applause. The Catholic inquisitors of Europe, who defended nonsense by cruelty, might have been confounded by the example of a Barbarian, who anticipated the lessons of philosophy [6], and established by his laws a system of pure theism and perfect toleration. His first and only article of faith was the existence of one God, the author of all good; who fills by his presence the heavens and earth, which he has created by his power. The Tartars and Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes; and many of them had been converted by the foreign missionaries to the religions of Moses, of Mahomet, and of Christ. These various systems in freedom and concord, were taught and practised within the precincts of the same camp; and the Bonze, the Imam, the Rabbi, the Nestorian and the Latin priest, enjoyed the same honourable exemption from service and tribute: in the mosch of Bochara, the insolent victor might trample the koran under his horses feet, but the calm legislator respected the prophets and pontiffs of the most hostile sects. The reason of Zingis was not informed by books; the khan could neither read nor write; and, except the tribe of the Igours, the greatest part of the Moguls and Tartars were as illiterate as their sovereign. The memory of

[6] A singular conformity may be found between the religious laws of Zingis Khan and of Mr. Locke (Constitutions of Carolina, in his works, vol. iv. p. 535. 4[to] edition, 1777).

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their exploits was preserved by tradition: sixty-eight years after the death of Zingis, these traditions were collected and transcribed[7]; the brevity of their domestic annals may be supplied by the Chinese[8], Persians[9], Armenians[10], Syrians[11], Arabians[12], Greeks[13], Russians[14], Poles[15],

[7] In the year 1294, by the command of Cazan, khan of Persia, the fourth in descent from Zingis. From these traditions, his vizir Fadlallah composed a Mogul history in the Persian language, which has been used by Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Genghizcan, p. 537—539.). The Histoire Genealogique des Tatars (à Leyde, 1726, in 12mo, 2 tomes) was translated by the Swedish prisoners in Siberia from the Mogul MS. of Abulgasi Bahadur Khan, a descendant of Zingis, who reigned over the Usbeks of Charasm, or Carizme (A. D. 1644—1663). He is of most value and credit for the names, pedigrees, and manners of his nation. Of his nine parts, the ist descends from Adam to Mogul Khan; the ii^{d}, from Mogul to Zingis; the iii^{d}, is the life of Zingis; the ivth, vth, vith, and viith, the general history of his four sons, and their posterity; the viiith and ixth, the particular history of the descendants of Sheibani Khan, who reigned in Maurenahar and Charasm.

[8] Histoire de Gentchiscan, et de toute la Dinastie des Mongous ses Successeurs, Conquerans de la Chine; tirée de l'Histoire de la Chine, par le R. P. Gaubil, de la Societé de Jesus, Missionaire à Peking; à Paris, 1739, in 4to. This translation is stamped with the Chinese character of domestic accuracy and foreign ignorance.

[9] See the Histoire du Grand Genghizcan, premier Empereur des Mogols et Tartares, par M. Petis de la Croix, à Paris, 1710, in 12mo: a work of ten years labour, chiefly drawn from the Persian writers, among whom Nisavi, the secretary of sultan Gelaleddin, has the merit and prejudices of a contemporary. A slight air of romance is the fault of the originals, or the compiler. See likewise the articles of *Genghizcan*, *Mohammed*, *Gelaleddin*, &c. in the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot.

[10] Haithonus, or Aithonus, an Armenian prince, and afterwards a monk of Premontré (Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 34.), dictated in the French language, his book de *Tartaris*, his old fellow-soldiers. It was immediately translated into Latin, and is inserted in the Novus Orbis of Simon Grynæus (Basil, 1555, in folio).

[11] Zingis Khan, and his first successors, occupy the conclusion of the ixth Dynasty of Abulpharagius (vers. Pocock, Oxon. 1663, in 4to); and his xth Dynasty is that of the Moguls of Persia. Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii.) has extracted some facts from his Syriac writings, and the lives of the Jacobite maphrians, or primates of the East.

[12] Among the Arabians, in language and religion, we may distinguish Abulfeda, sultan of Hamah in Syria, who fought in person, under the Mamaluke standard, against the Moguls.

[13] Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 5, 6.) has felt the necessity of connecting the Scythian and Byzantine histories. He describes with truth and elegance the settlement and manners of the Moguls of Persia, but he is ignorant of their origin, and corrupts the names of Zingis and his sons.

[14] M. Levesque (Histoire de Russie, tom. ii.) has described the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, from the patriarch Nicon, and the old chronicles.

[15] For Poland, I am content with the Sarmatia Asiatica et Europea of Matthew à Michou, or de Michoviâ, a canon and physician of Cracow (A. D. 1506), inserted in the Novus Orbis of Grynæus. Fabric. Bibliot. Latin mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, tom. v. p. 56.

Hungarians.

Hungarians[16], and Latins[17]; and each nation will deserve credit in the relation of their own disasters and defeats[18].

His invasion of China, A. D. 1210—1214.

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hords of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mogul emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the Chinese emperors; and Temugin himself had been disgraced by a title of honour and servitude. The court of Pekin was astonished by an embassy from its former vassal, who, in the tone of the king of nations, exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the *son of heaven* as the most contemptible of mankind. An haughty answer disguised their secret apprehensions; and their fears were soon justified by the march of innumerable squadrons, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed, or starved, by the Moguls; ten only escaped; and Zingis, from a knowledge of the filial piety of the Chinese, covered his

[16] I should quote Thuroczius, the oldest general historian (pars ii. c. 74. p. 150.), in the i[st] volume of the Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, did not the same volume contain the original narrative of a contemporary, an eye-witness, and a sufferer (M. Rogerii, Hungari, Varadiensis Capituli Canonici, Carmen miserabile, seu Historia super Destructione Regni Hungariæ, Temporibus Belæ IV. Regis per Tartaros facta, p. 292—321.): the best picture that I have ever seen of all the circumstances of a Barbaric invasion.

[17] Matthew Paris has represented, from authentic documents, the danger and distress of Europe (consult the word *Tartari* in his copious Index). From motives of zeal and curiosity, the court of the great Khan, in the xiii[th] century, was visited by two friars, John de Plano Carpini, and William Rubruquis, and by Marco Polo, a Venetian gentleman. The Latin relations of the two former are inserted in the i[st] volume of Hackluyt; the Italian original or version of the third (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 198. tom. v. p. 25.) may be found in the ii[d] tome of Ramusio.

[18] In his great History of the Huns, M. de Guignes has most amply treated of Zingis Khan and his successors. See tom. iii. l. xv—xix. and in the collateral articles of the Seljukians of Roum, tom. ii. l. xi. the Carizmians, l. xiv. and the Mamalukes, tom. iv. l. xxi.: consult likewise the tables of the i[st] volume. He is ever learned and accurate; yet I am only indebted to him for a general view, and some passages of Abulfeda, which are still latent in the Arabic text.

vanguard

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vanguard with their captive parents; an unworthy, and by degrees a fruitlefs, abufe of the virtue of his enemies. His invafion was fupported by the revolt of an hundred thoufand Khitans, who guarded the frontier: yet he liftened to a treaty; and a princefs of China, three thoufand horfes, five hundred youths and as many virgins, and a tribute of gold and filk, were the price of his retreat. In his fecond expedition, he compelled the Chinefe emperor to retire beyond the yellow river to a more fouthern refidence. The fiege of Pekin [19] was long and laborious: the inhabitants were reduced by famine to decimate and devour their fellow-citizens; when their ammunition was fpent, they difcharged ingots of gold and filver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital; and the conflagration of the palace burnt above thirty days. China was defolated by Tartar war and domeftic faction; and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

of Carizme, Tranfoxiana, and Perfia, A. D. 1218—1224.

In the Weft, he touched the dominions of Mohammed fultan of Carizme, who reigned from the Perfian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkeftan; and who, in the proud imitation of Alexander the Great, forgot the fervitude and ingratitude of his fathers to the houfe of Seljuk. It was the wifh of Zingis to eftablifh a friendly and commercial intercourfe with the moft powerful of the Moflem princes; nor could he be tempted by the fecret folicitations of the caliph of Bagdad, who facrificed to his perfonal wrongs the fafety of the church and ftate. A rafh and inhuman deed provoked and juftified the Tartar arms in the invafion of the fouthern Afia. A caravan of three ambaffadors and one hundred and fifty merchants, was arrefted and murdered at Otrar, by the command of Moham-

[19] More properly *Yen-king*, an ancient city, whofe ruins ftill appear fome furlongs to the fouth-eaft of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan (Gaubel, p. 146). Pe-king and Nan-king are vague titles, the courts of the north and of the fouth. The identity and change of names perplex the moft fkilful readers of the Chinefe geography (p. 177.).

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med; nor was it till after a demand and denial of juſtice, till he had prayed and faſted three nights on a mountain, that the Mogul emperor appealed to the judgment of God and his ſword. Our European battles, ſays a philoſophic writer[20], are petty ſkirmiſhes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Aſia. Seven hundred thouſand Moguls and Tartars are ſaid to have marched under the ſtandard of Zingis and his four ſons. In the vaſt plains that extend to the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes, they were encountered by four hundred thouſand ſoldiers of the ſultan; and in the firſt battle, which was ſuſpended by the night, one hundred and ſixty thouſand Carizmians were ſlain. Mohammed was aſtoniſhed by the multitude and valour of his enemies: he withdrew from the ſcene of danger, and diſtributed his troops in the frontier towns, truſting that the Barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repulſed by the length and difficulty of ſo many regular ſieges. But the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chineſe engineers, ſkilled in the mechanic arts, informed perhaps of the ſecret of gunpowder, and capable, under his diſcipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigour and ſucceſs than they had defended their own. The Perſian hiſtorians will relate the ſieges and reduction of Otrar, Cogende, Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Niſabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conqueſt of the rich and populous countries of Tranſoxiana, Carizme, and Choraſan. The deſtructive hoſtilities of Attila and the Huns have long ſince been elucidated by the example of Zingis and the Moguls; and in this more proper place I ſhall be content to obſerve, that, from the Caſpian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind, and that five centuries have not been ſufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops:

[20] M. de Voltaire, Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Generale, tom. iii. c. 60. p. 8. His account of Zingis and the Moguls contains, as uſual, much general ſenſe and truth, with ſome particular errors.

the

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the hope of future poffeffion was loft in the ardour of rapine and flaughter; and the caufe of the war exafperated their native fiercenefs by the pretence of juftice and revenge. The downfal and death of the fultan Mohammed, who expired unpitied and alone, in a defert ifland of the Cafpian Sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizmian empire have been faved by a fingle hero, it would have been faved by his fon Gelaleddin, whofe active valour repeatedly checked the Moguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppreffed by their innumerable hoft, till, in the laft moment of defpair, Gelaleddin fpurred his horfe into the waves, fwam one of the broadeft and moft rapid rivers of Afia, and extorted the admiration and applaufe of Zingis himfelf. It was in this camp that the Mogul conqueror yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who fighed for the enjoyment of their native land. Incumbered with the fpoils of Afia, he flowly meafured back his footfteps, betrayed fome pity for the mifery of the vanquifhed, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been fwept away by the tempeft of his arms. After he had repaffed the Oxus and Jaxartes, he was joined by two generals, whom he had detached with thirty thoufand horfe, to fubdue the weftern provinces of Perfia. They had trampled on the nations which oppofed their paffage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traverfed the Volga and the Defert, and accomplifhed the circuit of the Cafpian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted, and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was fignalized by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary; and he died in the fulnefs of years and glory, with his laft breath exhorting and inftructing his fons to atchieve the conqueft of the Chinefe empire.

His death, A.D. 1227.

Conquefts of the Moguls under the fucceffors of Zingis,

The haram of Zingis was compofed of five hundred wives and concubines; and of his numerous progeny, four fons, illuftrious by their

A. D. 1227—1295.

their birth and merit, exercifed under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toufhi was his great huntfman, Zagatai[21] his judge, Octai his minifter, and Tuli his general; and their names and actions are often confpicuous in the hiftory of his conquefts. Firmly united for their own and the public intereft, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent fceptres; and Octai, by general confent, was proclaimed great khan, or emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. He was fucceeded by his fon Gayuk, after whofe death the empire devolved to his coufins Mangou and Cublai, the fons of Tuli, and the grandfons of Zingis. In the fixty-eight years of his four firft fucceffors, the Mogul fubdued almoft all Afia, and a large portion of Europe. Without confining myfelf to the order of time, without expatiating on the detail of events, I fhall prefent a general picture of the progrefs of their arms; I. In the Eaft; II. In the South; III. In the Weft; and IV. In the North.

Of the northern empire of China, A. D. 1234.

I. Before the invafion of Zingis, China was divided into two empires or dynafties of the North and South[22]; and the difference of origin and intereft was fmoothed by a general conformity of laws, language, and national manners. The Northern empire, which had been difmembered by Zingis, was finally fubdued feven years after his death. After the lofs of Pekin, the emperor had fixed his refidence at Kaifong, a city many leagues in circumference, and which contained, according to the Chinefe annals, fourteen hundred thoufand families of inhabitants and fugitives. He efcaped from thence with only feven horfemen, and made his laft ftand in a third capital,

[21] Zagatai gave his name to his dominions of Maurenahar, or Tranfoxiana; and the Moguls of Hindoftan, who emigrated from that country, are ftyled Zagatais by the Perfians. This certain etymology, and the fimilar example of Uzbek, Nogai, &c. may warn us not abfolutely to reject the derivations of a national, from a perfonal, name.

[22] In Marco Polo, and the Oriental geographers, the names of Cathay and Mangi diftinguifh the northern and fouthern empires, which, from A. D. 1234 to 1279, were thofe of the Great Khan, and of the Chinefe. The fearch of Cathay, after China had been found, excited and mifled our navigators of the fixteenth century, in their attempts to difcover the north-eaft paffage.

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till at length the hopeless monarch, protesting his innocence and accusing his fortune, ascended a funeral pile, and gave orders, that, as soon as he had stabbed himself, the fire should be kindled by his attendants. The dynasty of the *Song*, the native and ancient sovereigns of the whole empire, survived about forty-five years the fall of the northern usurpers; and the perfect conquest was reserved for the arms of Cublai. During this interval, the Moguls were often diverted by foreign wars; and, if the Chinese seldom dared to meet their victors in the field, their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm and of millions to slaughter. In the attack and defence of places, the engines of antiquity and the Greek fire were alternately employed: the use of gunpowder in cannon and bombs appears as a familiar practice [23]; and the sieges were conducted by the Mahometans and Franks, who had been liberally invited into the service of Cublai. After passing the great river, the troops and artillery were conveyed along a series of canals, till they invested the royal residence of Hamcheu, or Quinsay, in the country of silk, the most delicious climate of China. The emperor, a defenceless youth, surrendered his person and sceptre; and before he was sent in exile into Tartary he struck nine times the ground with his forehead, to adore in prayer or thanksgiving the mercy of the great khan. Yet the war (it was now styled a rebellion) was still maintained in the southern provinces from Hamcheu to Canton; and the obstinate remnant of independence and hostility was transported from the land to the sea. But when the fleet of the *Song* was surrounded and oppressed by a superior armament, their last cham-

Of the southern, A. D. 1279.

[23] I depend on the knowledge and fidelity of the Pere Gaubil, who translates the Chinese text of the Annals of the Moguls or Yuen (p. 71. 93. 153.); but I am ignorant at what time these annals were composed and published. The two uncles of Marco Polo, who served as engineers at the siege of Siengyangfou (l. ii. c. 61. in Ramusio, tom. ii. See Gaubil, p. 155. 157.), must have felt and related the effects of this destructive powder, and their silence is a weighty, and almost decisive, objection. I entertain a suspicion, that the recent discovery was carried from Europe to China by the caravans of the xv[th] century, and falsely adopted as an old national discovery before the arrival of the Portuguese and Jesuits in the xvi[th]. Yet the Pere Gaubil affirms, that the use of gunpowder has been known to the Chinese above 1600 years.

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pion leaped into the waves with his infant emperor in his arms. "It is more glorious," he cried, "to die a prince, than to live a "ſlave." An hundred thouſand Chineſe imitated his example; and the whole empire, from Tonkin to the great wall, ſubmitted to the dominion of Cublai. His boundleſs ambition aſpired to the conqueſt of Japan: his fleet was twice ſhipwrecked; and the lives of an hundred thouſand Moguls and Chineſe were ſacrificed in the fruitleſs expedition. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian ocean with a fleet of a thouſand ſhips: they ſailed in ſixty-eight days, moſt probably to the iſle of Borneo, under the equinoctial line; and though they returned not without ſpoil or glory, the emperor was diſſatisfied that the ſavage king had eſcaped from their hands.

Of Perſia, and the empire of the caliphs, A. D. 1258.

II. The conqueſt of Hindoſtan by the Moguls, was reſerved in a later period for the houſe of Timour; but that of Iran, or Perſia, was atchieved by Holagou Khan, the grandſon of Zingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two ſucceſſive emperors, Mangou and Cublai. I ſhall not enumerate the crowd of ſultans, emirs, and atabeks, whom he trampled into duſt: but the extirpation of the *Aſſaſſins*, or Iſmaelians[24] of Perſia, may be conſidered as a ſervice to mankind. Among the hills to the ſouth of the Caſpian, theſe odious ſectaries had reigned with impunity above an hundred and ſixty years; and their prince, or Imam, eſtabliſhed his lieutenant to lead and govern the colony of mount Libanus, ſo famous and formidable in the hiſtory of the cruſades[25]. With the fanaticiſm of the Koran, the Iſmaelians had blended the Indian tranſmigration, and the vi-

[24] All that can be known of the Aſſaſſins of Perſia and Syria, is poured from the copious, and even profuſe, erudition of M. Falconet, in two *memoires* read before the Academy of Inſcriptions (tom. xvii. p. 127—170.).

[25] The Iſmaelians of Syria, 40,000 Aſſaſſins, had acquired or founded ten caſtles in the hills above Tortoſa. About the year 1280, they were extirpated by the Mamalukes.

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sions of their own prophets: and it was their first duty to devote their souls and bodies in blind obedience to the vicar of God. The daggers of his missionaries were felt both in the East and West: the Christians and the Moslems enumerate, and perhaps multiply, the illustrious victims that were sacrificed to the zeal, avarice, or resentment of *the old man* (as he was corruptly styled) *of the mountain*. But these daggers, his only arms, were broken by the sword of Holagou, and not a vestige is left of the enemies of mankind, except the word *assassin*, which, in the most odious sense, has been adopted in the languages of Europe. The extinction of the Abbassides cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants, the caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad and the Arabian Irak; but the city was distracted by theological factions, and the commander of the faithful was lost in a haram of seven hundred concubines. The invasion of the Moguls he encountered with feeble arms and haughty embassies. "On the divine decree," said the caliph Mostasem, "is founded the throne of the sons of Abbas: and "their foes shall surely be destroyed in this world and in the next. "Who is this Holagou that dares to arise against them? If he be "desirous of peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory; and perhaps he may obtain from our clemency the pardon "of his fault." This presumption was cherished by a perfidious vizir, who assured his master, that, even if the Barbarians had entered the city, the women and children, from the terraces, would be sufficient to overwhelm them with stones. But when Holagou touched the phantom, it instantly vanished into smoke. After a siege of two months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls: and their savage commander pronounced the death of the caliph Mostasem, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet; whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above five hundred years. Whatever might be the designs of the conqueror, the holy

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cities of Mecca and Medina[26] were protected by the Arabian desert; but the Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost, had she been defended only by her feeble offspring: but the Mamalukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air: equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well-fought field; and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. But it overflowed with resistless violence the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians, and the latter by the Turks. The sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms, till Azzadin sought a refuge among the Greeks of Constantinople, and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian dynasty, were finally extirpated by the khans of Persia.

Of Anatolia, A. D. 1242—1272.

III. No sooner had Octai subverted the northern empire of China, than he resolved to visit with his arms, the most remote countries of the West. Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll; of these the great khan selected a third, which he entrusted to the command of his nephew Batou, the son of Tuli; who reigned over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian Sea. After a festival of forty days, Batou set forwards on this great expedition; and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, that in less than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula and Danube, they either swam with their horses, or passed on the ice, or traversed in leathern boats, which followed the camp, and transported their waggons and artillery. By the first victories of Batou, the remains of national freedom

Of Kipzak, Russia, Poland, Hungary, &c. A. D. 1235—1245.

[26] As a proof of the ignorance of the Chinese in foreign transactions, I must observe, that some of their historians extend the conquests of Zingis himself to Medina, the country of Mahomet (Gaubil, p. 42.).

were

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were eradicated in the immenſe plains of Turkeſtan and Kipzak[27]. In his rapid progreſs, he overran the kingdoms, as they are now ſtyled, of Aſtracan and Cazan; and the troops which he detached towards mount Caucaſus, explored the moſt ſecret receſſes of Georgia and Circaſſia. The civil diſcord of the great dukes, or princes, of Ruſſia, betrayed their country to the Tartars. They ſpread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moſcow and Kiow, the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to aſhes; a temporary ruin, leſs fatal than the deep, and perhaps indelible, mark, which a ſervitude of two hundred years has imprinted on the character of the Ruſſians. The Tartars ravaged with equal fury the countries which they hoped to poſſeſs, and thoſe which they were haſtened to leave. From the permanent conqueſt of Ruſſia, they made a deadly, though tranſient, inroad into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated: they approached the ſhores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz, they defeated the dukes of Sileſia, the Poliſh palatines, and the great maſter of the Teutonic order, and filled nine ſacks with the right-ears of the ſlain. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their weſtern march, they turned aſide to the invaſion of Hungary; and the preſence or ſpirit of Batou inſpired the hoſt of five hundred thouſand men: the Carpathian hills could not be long impervious to their divided columns; and their approach had been fondly diſbelieved till it was irreſiſtibly felt. The king, Bela the fourth, aſſembled the military force of his counts and biſhops: but he had alienated the nation by adopting a vagrant hord of forty thouſand families of Comans, and theſe ſavage gueſts were provoked to revolt by the ſuſpicion of treachery and the murder of their prince. The whole country north of the Danube was loſt in a day, and depopulated in a ſummer; and the ruins of cities and churches were overſpread

[27] The *Daſhté Kipzak*, or plain of Kipzak, extends on either ſide of the Volga, in a boundleſs ſpace towards the Jaik and Boryſthenes, and is ſuppoſed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Coſacks.

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with the bones of the natives, who expiated the ſins of their Turkiſh anceſtors. An eccleſiaſtic, who fled from the ſack of Waradin, deſcribes the calamities which he had ſeen or ſuffered; and the ſanguinary rage of ſieges and battles is far leſs atrocious than the treatment of the fugitives, who had been allured from the woods under a promiſe of peace and pardon, and who were coolly ſlaughtered as ſoon as they had performed the labours of the harveſt and vintage. In the winter, the Tartars paſſed the Danube on the ice, and advanced to Gran or Strigonium, a German colony, and the metropolis of the kingdom. Thirty engines were planted againſt the walls; the ditches were filled with ſacks of earth and dead bodies; and after a promiſcuous maſſacre, three hundred noble matrons were ſlain in the preſence of the khan. Of all the cities and fortreſſes of Hungary, three alone ſurvived the Tartar invaſion, and the unfortunate Bata hid his head among the iſlands of the Adriatic.

The Latin world was darkened by this cloud of ſavage hoſtility: a Ruſſian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden; and the remote nations of the Baltic and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars[28], whom their fear and ignorance were inclined to ſeparate from the human ſpecies. Since the invaſion of the Arabs in the eighth century, Europe had never been expoſed to a ſimilar calamity; and if the diſciples of Mahomet would have oppreſſed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the ſhepherds of Scythia would extinguiſh her cities, her arts, and all the inſtitutions of civil ſociety. The Roman pontiff attempted to appeaſe and convert theſe invincible Pagans by a miſſion of Franciſcan and Dominican friars; but he was aſtoniſhed by the reply of the khan, that

[28] In the year 1238, the inhabitants of Gothia (*Sweden*) and Friſe were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from ſending, as uſual, their ſhips to the herring-fiſhery on the coaſt of England; and as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of theſe fiſh were ſold for a ſhilling (Matthew Paris, p. 396.). It is whimſical enough, that the orders of a Mogul khan, who reigned on the borders of China, ſhould have lowered the price of herrings in the Engliſh market.

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that the sons of God and of Zingis were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate the nations; and that the pope would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he visited in person, and as a suppliant, the royal hord. The emperor Frederic the second embraced a more generous mode of defence; and his letters to the kings of France and England, and the princes of Germany, represented the common danger, and urged them to arm their vassals in this just and rational crusade [29]. The Tartars themselves were awed by the fame and valour of the Franks: the town of Newstadt in Austria was bravely defended against them by fifty knights and twenty cross-bows; and they raised the siege on the appearance of a German army. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, Batou slowly retreated from the Danube to the Volga to enjoy the rewards of victory in the city and palace of Serai, which started at his command from the midst of the desert.

Of Siberia, A.D. 1242, &c.

IV. Even the poor and frozen regions of the North attracted the arms of the Moguls: Sheibani Khan, the brother of the great Batou, led an hord of fifteen thousand families into the wilds of Siberia; and his descendants reigned at Tobolskoy above three centuries, till the Russian conquest. The spirit of enterprise which pursued the course of the Oby and Yenisei must have led to the discovery of the icy sea. After brushing away the monstrous fables, of men with dogs heads and cloven feet, we shall find, that, fifteen years after the death of Zingis, the Moguls were informed of the name and manners of the Samoyedes in the neighbourhood of the polar circle,

[29] I shall copy his characteristic or flattering epithets of the different countries of Europe: Furens ac fervens ad arma Germania, strenuæ militiæ genetrix et alumna Francia, bellicosa et audax Hispania, virtuosa viris et classe munita fertilis Anglia, impetuosis bellatoribus referta Alemannia, navalis Dacia, indomita Italia, pacis ignara Burgundia, inquieta Apulia, cum maris Græci, Adriatici et Tyrrheni insulis pyraticis et invictis, Cretâ, Cypro, Siciliâ, cum Oceano conterminis insulis, et regionibus, cruenta Hybernia, cum agili Wallia, palustris Scotia, glacialis Norwegia suam electam militiam sub vexillo Crucis destinabunt, &c. (Matthew Paris, p. 498.).

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who dwelt in ſubterraneous huts, and derived their furs and their food from the ſole occupation of hunting[30].

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The ſucceſſors of Zingis, A. D. 1227—1259.

While China, Syria, and Poland, were invaded at the ſame time by the Moguls and Tartars, the authors of the mighty miſchief were content with the knowledge and declaration, that their word was the ſword of death. Like the firſt caliphs, the firſt ſucceſſors of Zingis ſeldom appeared in perſon at the head of their victorious armies. On the banks of the Onon and Selinga, the royal or *golden hord* exhibited the contraſt of ſimplicity and greatneſs; of the roaſted ſheep and mare's milk which compoſed their banquets; and of a diſtribution in one day of five hundred waggons of gold and ſilver. The ambaſſadors and princes of Europe and Aſia were compelled to undertake this diſtant and laborious pilgrimage; and the life and reign of the great dukes of Ruſſia, the kings of Georgia and Armenia, the ſultans of Iconium, and the emirs of Perſia, were decided by the frown or ſmile of the great khan. The ſons and grandſons of Zingis had been accuſtomed to the paſtoral life; but the village of Caracorum[31] was gradually ennobled by their election and reſidence. A change of manners is implied in the removal of Octai and Mangou from a tent to an houſe; and their example was imitated by the princes of their family and the great officers of the empire. Inſtead of the boundleſs foreſt, the incloſure of a park afforded the more indolent pleaſures of the chace; their new habitations were decorated with painting and ſculpture; their ſuperfluous treaſures were caſt in fountains, and baſons, and ſtatues of maſſy ſilver; and the artiſts of China and Paris vied with each other in the ſervice of the great khan[32]. Caracorum contained two ſtreets, the

[30] See Carpin's relation in Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 30. The pedigree of the khans of Siberia is given by Abulghazi (part viii. p. 485—495.). Have the Ruſſians found no Tartar chronicles at Tobolſkoi?

[31] The Map of d'Anville, and the Chineſe Itineraries (de Guignes, tom. i. part ii. p. 57.), ſeem to mark the poſition of Holin, or Caracorum, about ſix hundred miles to the north-weſt of Pekin. The diſtance between Selinginſky and Pekin is near 2000 Ruſſian verſts, between 1300 and 1400 Engliſh miles (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 67.).

[32] Rubruquis found at Caracoram his countryman

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the one of Chinese mechanics, the other of Mahometan traders; and the places of religious worship, one Nestorian church, two moschs, and twelve temples of various idols, may represent in some degree the number and division of inhabitants. Yet a French missionary declares, that the town of St. Denys, near Paris, was more considerable than the Tartar capital; and that the whole palace of Mangou was scarcely equal to a tenth part of that Benedictine abbey. The conquests of Russia and Syria might amuse the vanity of the great khans; but they were seated on the borders of China; the acquisition of that empire was the nearest and most interesting object; and they might learn from their pastoral œconomy, that it is for the advantage of the shepherd to protect and propagate his flock. I have already celebrated the wisdom and virtue of a Mandarin, who prevented the desolation of five populous and cultivated provinces. In a spotless administration of thirty years, this friend of his country and of mankind continually laboured to mitigate, or suspend, the havock of war; to save the monuments, and to rekindle the flame, of science; to restrain the military commander by the restoration of civil magistrates; and to instill the love of peace and justice into the minds of the Moguls. He struggled with the barbarism of the first conquerors; but his salutary lessons produced a rich harvest in the second generation. The northern, and by degrees the southern, empire, acquiesced in the government of Cublai, the lieutenant, and afterwards the successor, of Mangou; and the nation was loyal to a prince who had been educated in the manners of China. He restored the forms of her venerable constitution; and the victors submitted to the laws, the fashions, and even the prejudices, of the vanquished people. This peaceful triumph, which has been more than once repeated, may be ascribed in a great measure to the numbers and servitude of the Chinese. The Mogul army was dissolved in a vast and populous country; and their

adopt the manners of China, A. D. 1259—1368.

countryman *Guillaume Boucher orfevre de Paris*, who had executed for the khan a silver tree, supported by four lions, and ejecting four different liquors. Abulghazi (part iv. p. 366.) mentions the painters of Kitay or China.

their emperors adopted with pleaſure a political ſyſtem, which gives to the prince the ſolid ſubſtance of deſpotiſm, and leaves to the ſubject the empty names of philoſophy, freedom, and filial obedience. Under the reign of Cublai, letters and commerce, peace and juſtice, were reſtored; the great canal, of five hundred miles, was opened from Nankin to the capital; he fixed his reſidence at Pekin; and diſplayed in his court the magnificence of the greateſt monarch of Aſia. Yet this learned prince declined from the pure and ſimple religion of his great anceſtor; he ſacrificed to the idol Fo; and his blind attachment to the lamas of Thibet and the bonzes of China [33] provoked the cenſure of the diſciples of Confucius. His ſucceſſors polluted the palace with a crowd of eunuchs, phyſicians, and aſtrologers, while thirteen millions of their ſubjects were conſumed in the provinces by famine. One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis, his degenerate race, the dynaſty of the Yuen, was expelled by a revolt of the native Chineſe; and the Mogul emperors were loſt in the oblivion of the deſert. Before this revolution, they had forfeited their ſupremacy over the dependent branches of their houſe, the khans of Kipzak and Ruſſia, the khans of Zagatai or Tranſoxiana, and the khans of Iran or Perſia. By their diſtance and power theſe royal lieutenants had ſoon been releaſed from the duties of obedience; and, after the death of Cublai, they ſcorned to accept a ſceptre or a title from his unworthy ſucceſſors. According to their reſpective ſituation they maintained the ſimplicity of the paſtoral life, or aſſumed the luxury of the cities of Aſia; but the princes and their hords were alike diſpoſed for the reception of a foreign worſhip. After ſome heſitation between the Goſpel and the Koran, they conformed to the

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Diviſion of the Mogul empire, A.D. 1259—1300.

[33] The attachment of the khans, and the hatred of the mandarins, to the bonzes and lamas (Duhalde, Hiſt. de la Chine, tom. i. p. 502, 503.) ſeems to repreſent them as the prieſts of the ſame god, of the Indian *Fo*, whoſe worſhip prevails among the ſects of Hindoſtan, Siam, Thibet, China, and Japan. But this myſterious ſubject is ſtill loſt in a cloud, which the reſearches of our Aſiatic Society may gradually diſpel.

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religion of Mahomet; and while they adopted for their brethren the Arabs and Persians, they renounced all intercourse with the ancient Moguls, the idolaters of China.

Escape of Constantinople and the Greek empire from the Moguls, A. D. 1240—1304.

In this shipwreck of nations, some surprise may be excited by the escape of the Roman empire, whose relics, at the time of the Mogul invasion, were dismembered by the Greeks and Latins. Less potent than Alexander, they were pressed, like the Macedonian, both in Europe and Asia, by the shepherds of Scythia; and had the Tartars undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad. The glorious and voluntary retreat of Batou from the Danube was insulted by the vain triumph of the Franks and Greeks [34]; and in a second expedition death surprised him in full march to attack the capital of the Cæsars. His brother Borga carried the Tartar arms into Bulgaria and Thrace; but he was diverted from the Byzantine war by a visit to Novogorod, in the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, where he numbered the inhabitants and regulated the tributes of Russia. The Mogul khan formed an alliance with the Mamalukes against his brethren of Persia: three hundred thousand horse penetrated through the gates of Derbend; and the Greeks might rejoice in the first example of domestic war. After the recovery of Constantinople, Michael Palæologus [35], at a distance from his court and army, was surprised and surrounded in a Thracian castle by twenty thousand Tartars. But the object of their march was a private interest: they came to the deliverance of Azzadin, the Turkish sultan; and were content with his person and the treasure of the emperor. Their general Noga, whose name is perpetuated in the hords of Astracan, raised a formidable rebellion against Mengo Timour, the third of the khans of Kipzak; obtained in marriage Maria the natural daughter of

[34] Some repulse of the Moguls in Hungary (Matthew Paris, p. 545, 546.) might propagate and colour the report of the union and victory of the kings of the Franks on the confines of Bulgaria. Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 310.), after forty years, beyond the Tigris, might be easily deceived.

[35] See Pachymer, l. iii. c. 25. and l. ix. c. 26, 27.: and the false alarm at Nice, l. iii. c. 27. Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. c. 6.

Palæo-

Palæologus; and guarded the dominions of his friend and father. The ſubſequent invaſions of a Scythian caſt were thoſe of outlaws and fugitives; and ſome thouſands of Alani and Comans, who had been driven from their native ſeats, were reclaimed from a vagrant life, and enliſted in the ſervice of the empire. Such was the influence in Europe of the invaſion of the Moguls. The firſt terror of their arms ſecured, rather than diſturbed, the peace of the Roman Aſia. The ſultan of Iconium ſolicited a perſonal interview with John Vataces; and his artful policy encouraged the Turks to defend their barrier againſt the common enemy [36]. That barrier indeed was ſoon overthrown; and the ſervitude and ruin of the Seljukians expoſed the nakedneſs of the Greeks. The formidable Holagou threatened to march to Conſtantinople at the head of four hundred thouſand men; and the groundleſs panic of the citizens of Nice will preſent an image of the terror which he had inſpired. The accident of a proceſſion, and the ſound of a doleful litany, "From "the fury of the Tartars, good Lord deliver us," had ſcattered the haſty report of an aſſault and maſſacre. In the blind credulity of fear, the ſtreets of Nice were crowded with thouſands of both ſexes, who knew not from what or to whom they fled; and ſome hours elapſed before the firmneſs of the military officers could relieve the city from this imaginary foe. But the ambition of Holagou and his ſucceſſors was fortunately diverted by the conqueſt of Bagdad, and a long viciſſitude of Syrian wars: their hoſtility to the Moſlems inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks [37]; and their generoſity or contempt had offered the kingdom of Anatolia as the reward of an Armenian vaſſal. The fragments of the Seljukian monarchy were diſputed by the emirs who had occupied the cities

[36] G. Acropolita, p. 36, 37. Nic. Gregoras, l. ii. c. 6. l. iv. c. 5.

[37] Abulpharagius, who wrote in the year 1284, declares, that the Moguls, ſince the fabulous defeat of Batou, had not attacked either the Franks or Greeks; and of this he is a competent witneſs. Hayton, likewiſe the Armeniac prince, celebrates their friendſhip for himſelf and his nation.

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or the mountains; but they all confeffed the fupremacy of the khans of Perfia; and he often interpofed his authority, and fometimes his arms, to check their depredations, and to preferve the peace and balance of his Turkifh frontier. The death of Cazan [38], one of the greateft and moft accomplifhed princes of the houfe of Zingis, removed this falutary control; and the decline of the Moguls gave a free fcope to the rife and progrefs of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE [39].

Decline of the Mogul khans of Perfia, A.D. 1304, May 31.

Origin of the Ottomans, A.D. 1240, &c.

After the retreat of Zingis, the fultan Gelaleddin of Carizme had returned from India to the poffeffion and defence of his Perfian kingdoms. In the fpace of eleven years, that hero fought in perfon fourteen battles; and fuch was his activity, that he led his cavalry in feventeen days from Teflis to Kerman, a march of a thoufand miles. Yet he was oppreffed by the jealoufy of the Moflem princes, and the innumerable armies of the Moguls; and after his laft defeat, Gelaleddin perifhed ignobly in the mountains of Curdiftan. His death diffolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carizmians or Corafmins many Turkman hords, that had attached themfelves to the fultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy fepulchre of Jerufalem: the more humble engaged in the fervice of Aladin, fultan of Iconium; and among thefe were the obfcure fathers of the Ottoman line. They had formerly pitched their tents near the fouthern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Nefa; and it is fomewhat remarkable, that the fame fpot fhould have produced the firft authors of the Parthian and Turkifh empires.

[38] Pachymer gives a fplendid character of Cazan Khan, the rival of Cyrus and Alexander (l. xii. c. 1.). In the conclufion of his hiftory (l. xiii. c. 36.), he *hopes* much from the arrival of 30,000 Tochars or Tartars, who were ordered by the fucceffor of Cazan to reftrain the Turks of Bithynia, A. D. 1308.

[39] The origin of the Ottoman dynafty is illuftrated by the critical learning of M. M. de Guignes (Hift. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 329—337.) and d'Anville (Empire Turc, p. 14—22.), two inhabitants of Paris, from whom the Orientals may learn the hiftory and geography of their own country.

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At the head, or in the rear, of a Carizmian army, Soliman Shah was drowned in the paſſage of the Euphrates: his ſon Orthogrul became the ſoldier and ſubject of Aladin, and eſtabliſhed at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred families or tents, whom he governed fifty-two years both in peace and war. He was the father of Thaman, or Athman, whoſe Turkiſh name has been melted into the appellation of the caliph Othman; and if we deſcribe that paſtoral chief as a ſhepherd and a robber, we muſt ſeparate from thoſe characters all idea of ignominy and baſeneſs. Othman poſſeſſed, and perhaps ſurpaſſed, the ordinary virtues of a ſoldier; and the circumſtances of time and place were propitious to his independence and ſucceſs. The Seljukian dynaſty was no more; and the diſtance and decline of the Mogul khans ſoon enfranchiſed him from the control of a ſuperior. He was ſituate on the verge of the Greek empire: the Koran ſanctified his *gazi*, or holy war, againſt the infidels; and their political errors unlocked the paſſes of mount Olympus, and invited him to deſcend into the plains of Bithynia. Till the reign of Palæologus, theſe paſſes had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own ſafety and an exemption from taxes. The emperor aboliſhed their privilege and aſſumed their office; but the tribute was rigorouſly collected, the cuſtody of the paſſes was neglected, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peaſants without ſpirit or diſcipline. It was on the twenty-ſeventh of July, in the year twelve hundred and ninety-nine of the Chriſtian æra, that Othman firſt invaded the territory of Nicomedia [40]; and the ſingular accuracy of the date ſeems to diſcloſe ſome foreſight of the rapid and deſtructive growth of the monſter. The annals of the twenty-ſeven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the ſame inroads; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the acceſſion

Reign of Othman, A.D. 1299—1326.

[40] See Pachymer, l. x. c. 25, 26. l. xiii. c. 33, 34. 36.; and concerning the guard of the mountains, l. i. c. 3—6.: Nicephorus Gregoras, l. vii. c. 1. and the 1st book of Laonicus Chalcocondyles, the Athenian.

of

CHAP. LXIV. of captives and volunteers. Inftead of retreating to the hills, he maintained the moft ufeful and defenfible pofts; fortified the towns and caftles which he had firft pillaged; and renounced the paftoral life for the baths and palaces of his infant capitals. But it was not till Othman was oppreffed by age and infirmities, that he received the welcome news of the conqueft of Prufa, which had been furrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his fon Orchan. The glory of Othman is chiefly founded on that of his defcendants; but the Turks have tranfcribed or compofed a royal teftament of his laft counfels of juftice and moderation[41].

Reign of Orchan, A. D. 1326—1360.

From the conqueft of Prufa, we may date the true æra of the Ottoman empire. The lives and poffeffions of the Chriftian fubjects were redeemed by a tribute or ranfom of thirty thoufand crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, affumed the afpect of a Mahometan capital; Prufa was decorated with a mofch, a college, and an hofpital, of royal foundation; the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impreffion of the new dynafty: and the moft fkilful profeffors, of human and divine knowledge, attracted the Perfian and Arabian ftudents from the ancient fchools of Oriental learning. The office of vizir was inftituted for Aladin, the brother of Orchan; and a different habit diftinguifhed the citizens from the peafants, the Moflems from the infidels. All the troops of

[41] I am ignorant whether the Turks have any writers older than Mahomet II. nor can I reach beyond a meagre chronicle (Annales Turcici ad Annum 1550), tranflated by John Gaudier, and publifhed by Leunclavius (ad calcem Laonic. Chalcond. p. 311—350.), with copious pandects, or commentaries. The Hiftory of the Growth and Decay (A.D. 1300—1683) of the Othman Empire, was tranflated into Englifh from the Latin MS. of Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia (London, 1734, in folio). The author is guilty of ftrange blunders in Oriental hiftory; but he was converfant with the language, the annals, and inftitutions of the Turks. Cantemir partly draws his materials from the Synopfis of Saadi Effendi of Lariffa, dedicated in the year 1696 to fultan Muftapha, and a valuable abridgment of the original hiftorians. In one of the Ramblers, Dr. Johnfon praifes Knolles (a General Hiftory of the Turks to the prefent Year. London, 1603) as the firft of hiftorians, unhappy only in the choice of his fubject. Yet I much doubt whether a partial and verbofe compilation from Latin writers, thirteen hundred folio pages of fpeeches and battles, can either inftruct or amufe an enlightened age, which requires from the hiftorian fome tincture of philofophy and criticifm.

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Othman had consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman cavalry; who served without pay and fought without discipline: but a regular body of infantry was first established and trained by the prudence of his son. A great number of volunteers was enrolled with a small stipend, but with the permission of living at home, unless they were summoned to the field: their rude manners, and seditious temper, disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as his soldiers and those of the prophet; but the Turkish peasants were still allowed to mount on horseback, and follow his standard, with the appellation and the hopes of *freebooters*. By these arts he formed an army of twenty-five thousand Moslems: a train of battering engines was framed for the use of sieges; and the first successful experiment was made on the cities of Nice and Nicomedia. Orchan granted a safe-conduct to all who were desirous of departing with their families and effects; but the widows of the slain were given in marriage to the conquerors; and the sacrilegious plunder, the books, the vases, and the images, were sold or ransomed at Constantinople. The emperor Andronicus the younger was vanquished and wounded by the son of Othman[42]: he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bithynia, as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of a reign, which claimed the voluntary attachment of the Turks of Asia. Yet Orchan was content with the modest title of emir; and in the list of his compeers, the princes of Roum or Anatolia[43], his military forces were surpassed by the emirs of Ghermian and Caramania, each of whom could bring into the field an army of forty thousand men. Their dominions were situate in the heart of the Seljukian kingdom: but the holy warriors, though of inferior note, who

His conquest of Bithynia, A.D. 1326—1339.

Division of Anatolia among the Turkish emirs, A.D. 1300, &c.

[42] Cantacuzene, though he relates the battle and heroic flight of the younger Andronicus (l. ii. c. 6, 7, 8.), dissembles by his silence the loss of Prusa, Nice, and Nicomedia, which are fairly confessed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. 15. ix. 9. 13. xi. 6.). It appears that Nice was taken by Orchan in 1330, and Nicomedia in 1339, which are somewhat different from the Turkish dates.

[43] The partition of the Turkish emirs is extracted from two contemporaries, the Greek Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 1.) and the Arabian Marakeschi (de Guignes, tom. ii. P. ii. p. 76, 77.). See likewise the first book of Laonicus Chacondyles.

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formed new principalities on the Greek empire, are more conſpicuous in the light of hiſtory. The maritime country from the Propontis to the Mæander and the iſle of Rhodes, ſo long threatened and ſo often pillaged, was finally loſt about the thirtieth year of Andronicus the elder[44]. Two Turkiſh chieftains, Sarukhan and Aidin, left their names to their conqueſts, and their conqueſts to their poſterity. The captivity or ruin of the *ſeven* churches of Aſia was conſummated; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia ſtill trample on the monuments of claſſic and Chriſtian antiquity. In the loſs of Epheſus, the Chriſtians deplored the fall of the firſt angel, the extinction of the firſt candleſtick, of the revelations[45]: the deſolation is complete; and the temple of Diana, or the church of Mary, will equally elude the ſearch of the curious traveller. The circus and three ſtately theatres of Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and foxes; Sardes is reduced to a miſerable village; the God of Mahomet, without a rival or a ſon, is invoked in the moſchs of Thyatira and Pergamus; and the populouſneſs of Smyrna is ſupported by the foreign trade of the Franks and Armenians. Philadelphia alone has been ſaved by prophecy, or courage. At a diſtance from the ſea, forgotten by the emperors, encompaſſed on all ſides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourſcore years; and at length capitulated with the proudeſt of the Ottomans. Among the Greek colonies and churches of Aſia, Philadelphia is ſtill erect; a column in a ſcene of ruins; a pleaſing example, that the paths of honour and ſafety may ſometimes be the ſame. The ſervitude of Rhodes was delayed above two centuries by the eſtabliſhment of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem[46]: under the diſcipline of the order, that iſland emerged into fame and opulence; the noble and warlike

Loſs of the Aſiatic provinces, A. D. 1312, &c.

The knights of Rhodes, A. D. 1310, Auguſt 15— A. D. 1523, January 1.

44 Pachymer, l. xiii. c. 13.

45 See the Travels of Wheeler and Spon, of Pococke and Chandler, and more particularly Smith's Survey of the Seven Churches of Aſia, p. 205—276. The more pious antiquaries labour to reconcile the promiſes and threats of the author of the Revelations with the *preſent* ſtate of the ſeven cities. Perhaps it would be more prudent to confine his predictions to the characters and events of his own times.

46 Conſult the ivth book of the Hiſtoire de l'Ordre de Malthe, par l'Abbé de Vertot. That pleaſing writer betrays his ignorance, in ſuppoſing that Othman, a freebooter of the Bithynian hills, could beſiege Rhodes by ſea and land.

monks

[library stamp]

monks were renowned by land and ſea; and the bulwark of Chriſtendom provoked, and repelled, the arms of the Turks and Saracens. CHAP. LXIV.

First paſſage of the Turks into Europe, A. D. 1341—1347.

The Greeks, by their inteſtine diviſions, were the authors of their final ruin. During the civil wars of the elder and younger Andronicus, the ſon of Othman atchieved, almoſt without reſiſtance, the conqueſt of Bithynia; and the ſame diſorders encouraged the Turkiſh emirs of Lydia and Ionia to build a fleet, and to pillage the adjacent iſlands and the ſea-coaſt of Europe. In the defence of his life and honour, Cantacuzene was tempted to prevent, or imitate, his adverſaries; by calling to his aid the public enemies of his religion and country. Amir, the ſon of Aidin, concealed under a Turkiſh garb the humanity and politeneſs of a Greek; he was united with the great domeſtic by mutual eſteem and reciprocal ſervices; and their friendſhip is compared, in the vain rhetoric of the times, to the perfect union of Oreſtes and Pylades[47]. On the report of the danger of his friend, who was perſecuted by an ungrateful court, the prince of Ionia aſſembled at Smyrna a fleet of three hundred veſſels, with an army of twenty-nine thouſand men; ſailed in the depth of winter, and caſt anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. From thence, with a choſen band of two thouſand Turks, he marched along the banks of the river, and reſcued the empreſs, who was beſieged in Demotica by the wild Bulgarians. At that diſaſtrous moment, the life or death of his beloved Cantacuzene was concealed by his flight into Servia: but the grateful Irene, impatient to behold her deliverer, invited him to enter the city, and accompanied her meſſage with a preſent of rich apparel, and an hundred horſes. By a peculiar ſtrain of delicacy, the gentle Barbarian refuſed, in the abſence of an unfortunate friend, to viſit his wife, or to taſte the luxuries of the palace; ſuſtained in his tent the rigour of the winter; and rejected the hoſpitable gift, that he might ſhare the hardſhips of two

47 Nicephorus Gregoras has expatiated with pleaſure on this amiable character (l. xii. 7. xiii. 4. 10. xiv. 1. 9. xvi. 6.). Cantacuzene ſpeaks with honour and eſteem of his ally (l. iii. c. 56, 57. 63, 64. 66, 67, 68. 86. 89. 95, 96.); but he ſeems ignorant of his own ſentimental paſſion for the Turk, and indirectly denies the poſſibility of ſuch unnatural friendſhip (l. iv. c. 40.).

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thousand companions, all as deserving as himself of that honour and distinction. Necessity and revenge might justify his prædatory excursions by sea and land: he left nine thousand five hundred men for the guard of his fleet; and persevered in the fruitless search of Cantacuzene, till his embarkation was hastened by a fictitious letter, the severity of the season, the clamours of his independent troops, and the weight of his spoil and captives. In the prosecution of the civil war, the prince of Ionia twice returned to Europe; joined his arms with those of the emperor; besieged Thessalonica, and threatened Constantinople. Calumny might affix some reproach on his imperfect aid, his hasty departure, and a bribe of ten thousand crowns, which he accepted from the Byzantine court; but his friend was satisfied; and the conduct of Amir is excused by the more sacred duty of defending against the Latins his hereditary dominions. The maritime power of the Turks had united the pope, the king of Cyprus, the republic of Venice, and the order of St. John, in a laudable crusade; their gallies invaded the coast of Ionia; and Amir was slain with an arrow, in the attempt to wrest from the Rhodian knights the citadel of Smyrna[48]. Before his death, he generously recommended another ally of his own nation; not more sincere or zealous than himself, but more able to afford a prompt and powerful succour, by his situation along the Propontis and in the front of Constantinople. By the prospect of a more advantageous treaty, the Turkish prince of Bithynia was detached from his engagements with Anne of Savoy; and the pride of Orchan dictated the most solemn protestations, that if he could obtain the daughter of Cantacuzene, he would invariably fulfil the duties of a subject and a son. Parental tenderness was silenced by the voice of ambition; the Greek clergy connived at the marriage of a Christian princess with a sectary of Mahomet; and the father of Theodora describes, with shameful satisfaction, the dishonour of the purple[49]. A body of Turkish cavalry attended

Marriage of Orchan with a Greek princess, A. D. 1346.

[48] After the conquest of Smyrna by the Latins, the defence of this fortress was imposed by pope Gregory XI. on the knights of Rhodes (see Vertot, l. v.).

[49] See Cantacuzenus, l. iii. c. 95. Nicephorus Gregoras, who, for the light of mount Thabor,

attended the ambaſſadors, who diſembarked from thirty veſſels before his camp of Selybria. A ſtately pavillon was erected, in which the empreſs Irene paſſed the night with her daughters. In the morning, Theodora aſcended a throne, which was ſurrounded with curtains of ſilk and gold: the troops were under arms; but the emperor alone was on horſeback. At a ſignal the curtains were ſuddenly withdrawn, to diſcloſe the bride, or the victim, encircled by kneeling eunuchs and hymenæal torches: the ſound of flutes and trumpets proclaimed the joyful event; and her pretended happineſs was the theme of the nuptial ſong, which was chaunted by ſuch poets as the age could produce. Without the rites of the church, Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord: but it had been ſtipulated, that ſhe ſhould preſerve her religion in the haram of Burſa; and her father celebrates her charity and devotion in this ambiguous ſituation. After his peaceful eſtabliſhment on the throne of Conſtantinople, the Greek emperor viſited his Turkiſh ally, who with four ſons, by various wives, expected him at Scutari, on the Aſiatic ſhore. The two princes partook, with ſeeming cordiality, of the pleaſures of the banquet and the chace; and Theodora was permitted to repaſs the Boſphorus, and to enjoy ſome days in the ſociety of her mother. But the friendſhip of Orchan was ſubſervient to his religion and intereſt; and in the Genoeſe war he joined without a bluſh the enemies of Cantacuzene.

Eſtabliſhment of the Ottomans in Europe, A.D. 1353.

In the treaty with the empreſs Anne, the Ottoman prince had inſerted a ſingular condition, that it ſhould be lawful for him to ſell his priſoners at Conſtantinople, or tranſport them into Aſia. A naked crowd of Chriſtians of both ſexes and every age, of prieſts and monks, of matrons and virgins, was expoſed in the public market; the whip was frequently uſed to quicken the charity of redemption;

Thabor, brands the emperor with the names of tyrant and Herod, excuſes, rather than blames, this Turkiſh marriage, and alleges the paſſion and power of Orchan, εγγυτατος, και τη δυναμει τυς κατ' αυτον ηδη Περσικυς (*Turkiſh*) ὑπεραιρων Σατραπας (l. xv. 5.). He afterwards celebrates his kingdom and armies. See his reign in Cantemir, p. 24—30.

demption; and the indigent Greeks deplored the fate of their brethren, who were led away to the worſt evils of temporal and ſpiritual bondage [50]. Cantacuzene was reduced to ſubſcribe the ſame terms; and their execution muſt have been ſtill more pernicious to the empire: a body of ten thouſand Turks had been detached to the aſſiſtance of the empreſs Anne; but the entire forces of Orchan were exerted in the ſervice of his father. Yet theſe calamities were of a tranſient nature; as ſoon as the ſtorm had paſſed away, the fugitives might return to their habitations; and at the concluſion of the civil and foreign wars, Europe was completely evacuated by the Moſlems of Aſia. It was in his laſt quarrel with his pupil that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound, which could never be healed by his ſucceſſors, and which is poorly expiated by his theological dialogues againſt the prophet Mahomet. Ignorant of their own hiſtory, the modern Turks confound their firſt and their final paſſage of the Helleſpont [51], and deſcribe the ſon of Orchan as a nocturnal robber, who, with eighty companions, explores by ſtratagem an hoſtile and unknown ſhore. Soliman, at the head of ten thouſand horſe, was tranſported in the veſſels, and entertained as the friend, of the Greek emperor. In the civil wars of Romania, he performed ſome ſervice and perpetrated more miſchief; but the Cherſoneſus was inſenſibly filled with a Turkiſh colony; and the Byzantine court ſolicited in vain the reſtitution of the fortreſſes of Thrace. After ſome artful delays between the Ottoman prince and his ſon, their ranſom was valued at ſixty thouſand crowns, and the firſt payment had been made, when an earthquake ſhook the walls and cities of the provinces; the diſmantled places were occupied by the Turks; and Gallipoli, the key of the Helleſpont, was rebuilt

[50] The moſt lively and conciſe picture of this captivity, may be found in the hiſtory of Ducas (c. 8.), who fairly deſcribes what Cantacuzene confeſſes with a guilty bluſh!

[51] In this paſſage, and the firſt conqueſts in Europe, Cantemir (p. 27, &c.) gives a miſerable idea of his Turkiſh guides: nor am I much better ſatisfied with Chalcondyles (l. i. p. 12, &c.). They forget to conſult the moſt authentic record, the iv[th] book of Cantacuzene. I likewiſe regret the laſt books, which are ſtill manuſcript, of Nicephorus Gregoras.

and

and repeopled by the policy of Soliman. The abdication of Cantacuzene diſſolved the feeble bands of domeſtic alliance; and his laſt advice admoniſhed his countrymen to decline a raſh conteſt, and to compare their own weakneſs with the numbers and valour, the diſcipline and enthuſiaſm, of the Moſlems. His prudent counſels were deſpiſed by the headſtrong vanity of youth, and ſoon juſtified by the victories of the Ottomans. But as he practiſed in the field the exercise of the *jerid*, Soliman was killed by a fall from his horſe; and the aged Orchan wept and expired on the tomb of his valiant ſon.

Death of Orchan and his ſon Soliman.

But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies; and the Turkiſh ſcymetar was wielded with the ſame ſpirit by Amurath the firſt, the ſon of Orchan and the brother of Soliman. By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine annals [52], we can diſcern, that he ſubdued without reſiſtance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Helleſpont to mount Hæmus, and the verge of the capital; and that Adrianople was choſen for the royal ſeat of his government and religion in Europe. Conſtantinople, whoſe decline is almoſt coeval with her foundation, had often, in the lapſe of a thouſand years, been aſſaulted by the Barbarians of the Eaſt and Weſt; but never till this fatal hour had the Greeks been ſurrounded, both in Aſia and Europe, by the arms of the ſame hoſtile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generoſity of Amurath poſtponed for a while this eaſy conqueſt; and his pride was ſatisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of the emperor John Palæologus and his four ſons, who followed at his ſummons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He marched againſt the Sclavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Boſnians, and Albanians; and theſe warlike

The reign and European conqueſts of Amurath I. A.D. 1360—1389, September.

[52] After the concluſion of Cantacuzene and Gregoras, there follows a dark interval of an hundred years. George Phranza, Michael Ducas, and Laonicus Chalcondyles, all three wrote after the taking of Conſtantinople.

tribes,

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tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. Their countries did not abound either in gold or silver; nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce or decorated by the arts of luxury. But the natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age by their hardiness of mind and body; and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness [53]. The vizir of Amurath reminded his sovereign that, according to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed; the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words: "Let them "be called janizaries (*Yengi cheri*, or new soldiers); may their coun- "tenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! "may their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies! and "wheresoever they go, may they return with a *white face* [54]!" Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and their tumultuary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics; but at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war; since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of

The Janizaries.

[53] See Cantemir, p. 37—41. with his own large and curious annotations.

[54] *White* and *black* face are common and proverbial expressions of praise and reproach in the Turkish language. Hic *niger* est, hunc tu Romane caveto, was likewise a Latin sentence.

Christen-

Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their *idolatrous* countrymen; and in the battle of Cossova, the league and independence of the Sclavonian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths; and listened to the flattering reply of his vizir, that age and wisdom would have taught them not to oppose his irresistible arms. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair; a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound. The grandson of Othman was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue; but the Moslems were scandalised at his absence from public worship; and he was corrected by the firmness of the mufti, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause: a mixture of servitude and freedom not unfrequent in Oriental history[55].

The reign of Bajazet I. Ilderim, A. D. 1389—1403, March 9.

The character of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname of *Ilderim*, or the lightning; and he might glory in an epithet, which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the fourteen years of his reign[56], he incessantly moved, at the head of his armies, from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates; and, though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, the northern regions of Antolia were re-

His conquests, from the Euphrates to the Danube.

[55] See the life and death of Morad, or Amurath I. in Cantemir (p. 33—45.), the i[st] book of Chalcondyles, and the Annales Turcici of Leunclavius. According to another story, the sultan was stabbed by a Croat in his tent; and this accident was alleged to Busbequius (Epist. i. p. 98.) as an excuse for the unworthy precaution of pinioning, as it were, between two attendants, an ambassador's arms, when he is introduced to the royal presence.

[56] The reign of Bajazet I. or Ilderim Bayazid, is contained in Cantemir (p. 46.), the ii[d] book of Chalcondyles, and the Annales Turcici. The surname of Ilderim, or lightning, is an example, that the conquerors and poets of every age have *felt* the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror.

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duced to his obedience: he ſtripped of their hereditary poſſeſſions, his brother emirs of Ghermian and Caramania, of Aidin and Sarukhan; and after the conqueſt of Iconium, the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynaſty. Nor were the conqueſts of Bajazet leſs rapid or important in Europe. No ſooner had he impoſed a regular form of ſervitude on the Servians and Bulgarians, than he paſſed the Danube to ſeek new enemies and new ſubjects in the heart of Moldavia [57]. Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Theſſaly, acknowledged a Turkiſh maſter: an obſequious biſhop led him through the gates of Thermopylæ into Greece; and we may obſerve, as a ſingular fact, that the widow of a Spaniſh chief, who poſſeſſed the ancient ſeat of the oracle of Delphi, deſerved his favour by the ſacrifice of a beauteous daughter. The Turkiſh communication between Europe and Aſia had been dangerous and doubtful, till he ſtationed at Gallipoli a fleet of gallies, to command the Helleſpont and intercept the Latin ſuccours of Conſtantinople. While the monarch indulged his paſſions in a boundleſs range of injuſtice and cruelty, he impoſed on his ſoldiers the moſt rigid laws of modeſty and abſtinence; and the harveſt was peaceably reaped and ſold within the precincts of his camp. Provoked by the looſe and corrupt adminiſtration of juſtice, he collected in a houſe the judges and lawyers of his dominions, who expected that in a few moments the fire would be kindled to reduce them to aſhes. His miniſters trembled in ſilence: but an Æthiopian buffoon preſumed to inſinuate the true cauſe of the evil; and future venality was left without excuſe, by annexing an adequate ſalary to the office of cadhi [58]. The humble title of emir was no longer ſuitable to the Ottoman

[57] Cantemir, who celebrates the victories of the great Stephen over the Turks (p. 47.), had compoſed the ancient and modern ſtate of his principality of Moldavia, which has been long promiſed, and is ſtill unpubliſhed.

[58] Leunclav. Annal. Turcici, p. 318, 319. The venality of the cadhis has long been an object of ſcandal and ſatire; and if we diſtruſt the

Ottoman greatneſs; and Bajazet condeſcended to accept a patent of ſultan from the caliphs who ſerved in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes[59]: a laſt and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion; by the Turkiſh conquerors to the houſe of Abbas and the ſucceſſors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the ſultan was inflamed by the obligation of deſerving this auguſt title; and he turned his arms againſt the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkiſh victories and defeats. Sigiſmond, the Hungarian king, was the ſon and brother of the emperors of the Weſt: his cauſe was that of Europe and the church: and, on the report of his danger, the braveſt knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his ſtandard and that of the croſs. In the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of an hundred thouſand Chriſtians, who had proudly boaſted, that if the ſky ſhould fall they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were ſlain or driven into the Danube; and Sigiſmond, eſcaping to Conſtantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned after a long circuit to his exhauſted kingdom[60]. In the pride of victory, Bajazet threatened that he would beſiege Buda; that he would ſubdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy; and that he would feed his horſe with a buſhel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. His progreſs was checked, not by the miraculous interpoſition of the apoſtle, not by a cruſade of the Chriſtian powers, but by a long and painful fit of the gout. The diſorders of the moral, are ſometimes corrected by thoſe of the phyſical, world; and an acrimonious humour falling on a ſingle fibre of one man, may prevent or ſuſpend the miſery of nations.

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Battle of Nicopolis, A.D. 1396, Sept. 28.

the obſervations of our travellers, we may conſult the feeling of the Turks themſelves (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, p. 216, 217. 229, 230.).

59 The fact, which is atteſted by the Arabic hiſtory of Ben Schounah, a contemporary Syrian (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 336.), deſtroys the teſtimony of Saad Effendi and Cantemir (p. 14, 15.), of the election of Othman to the dignity of ſultan.

60 See the Decades Rerum Hungaricarum (Dec. iii. l. ii. p. 379.) of Bonfinius, an Italian, who, in the xv[th] century, was invited into Hungary to compoſe an eloquent hiſtory of that kingdom. Yet, if it be extant and acceſſible, I ſhould give the preference to ſome homely chronicle of the time and country.

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Crusade and captivity of the French princes, A. D. 1396—1398.

Such is the general idea of the Hungarian war; but the disastrous adventure of the French has procured us some memorials which illustrate the victory and character of Bajazet[61]. The duke of Burgundy, sovereign of Flanders, and uncle of Charles the sixth, yielded to the ardour of his son, John count of Nevers; and the fearless youth was accompanied by four princes, *his* cousins, and those of the French monarch. Their inexperience was guided by the sire de Coucy, one of the best and oldest captains of Christendom[62]; but the constable, admiral, and marshal, of France[63] commanded an army which did not exceed the number of a thousand knights and squires. These splendid names were the source of presumption and the bane of discipline. So many might aspire to command, that none were willing to obey; their national spirit despised both their enemies and their allies; and in the persuasion that Bajazet *would* fly, or *must* fall, they began to compute how soon they should visit Constantinople and deliver the holy sepulchre. When their scouts announced the approach of the Turks, the gay and thoughtless youths were at table, already heated with wine; they instantly clasped their armour, mounted their horses, rode full speed to the vanguard, and resented as an affront the advice of Sigismond, which would have deprived them of the right and honour of the foremost attack. The battle of Nicopolis would not have been lost, if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the Hungarians: but it

[61] I should not complain of the labour of this work, if my materials were always derived from such books as the chronicle of honest Froissard (vol. iv. c. 67. 69. 72. 74. 79—83. 85. 87. 89.), who read little, enquired much, and believed all. The original Memoirs of the marechal de Boucicault (Partie i. c. 22—28.); add some facts, but they are dry and deficient, if compared with the pleasant garrulity of Froissard.

[62] An accurate memoir on the life of Enguerrand VII. sire de Coucy, has been given by the baron de Zurlauben (Hist. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv.). His rank and possessions were equally considerable in France and England; and, in 1375, he led an army of adventurers into Switzerland, to recover a large patrimony which he claimed in right of his grandmother, the daughter of the emperor Albert I. of Austria (Sinner, Voyage dans la Suisse Occidentale, tom. i. p. 118—124.).

[63] That military office, so respectable at present, was still more conspicuous when it was divided between two persons (Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Françoise, tôm. ii. p. 5.). One of these, the marshal of the crusade, was the famous Boucicault, who afterwards afterwards defended Constantinople, governed Genoa, invaded the coast of Asia, and died in the field of Azincour.

might

might have been glorioufly won, had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They difperfed the firft line, confifting of the troops of Afia; forced a rampart of ftakes, which had been planted againft the cavalry; broke, after a bloody conflict, the Janizaries themfelves; and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous fquadrons that iffued from the woods, and charged on all fides this handful of intrepid warriors. In the fpeed and fecrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle, his enemies felt and admired the military talents of Bajazet. They accufe his cruelty in the ufe of victory. After referving the count of Nevers, and four-and-twenty lords, whofe birth and riches were attefted by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had furvived the flaughter of the day, were led before his throne; and, as they refufed to abjure their faith, were fucceffively beheaded in his prefence. The fultan was exafperated by the lofs of his braveft Janizaries; and if it be true, that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had maffacred their Turkifh prifoners [64], they might impute to themfelves the confequences of a juft retaliation. A knight, whofe life had been fpared, was permitted to return to Paris, that he might relate the deplorable tale, and folicit the ranfom of the noble captives. In the mean while, the count of Nevers, with the princes and barons of France, were dragged along in the marches of the Turkifh camp, expofed as a grateful trophy to the Moflems of Europe and Afia, and ftrictly confined at Bourfa, as often as Bajazet refided in his capital. The fultan was preffed each day to expiate with their blood the blood of his martyrs; but he had pronounced, that they fhould live, and either for mercy or deftruction his word was irrevocable. He was affured of their value and importance by the return of the meffenger, and the gifts and interceffions of the kings of France and of Cyprus. Lufignan prefented him with

[64] For this odious fact, the Abbé de Vertot quotes the Hift. Anonyme de St. Denys, l. xvi. c. 10, 11. (Ordre de Malthe, tom. ii. p. 310.)

a gold

CHAP. LXIV. a gold salt-cellar of curious workmanship, and of the price of ten thousand ducats; and Charles the sixth dispatched by the way of Hungary a cast of Norwegian hawks, and six horse-loads of scarlet cloth, of fine linen of Rheims, and of Arras tapestry, representing the battles of the great Alexander. After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of two hundred thousand ducats for the count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons: the marshal Boucicault, a famous warrior, was of the number of the fortunate; but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle; and the constable, with the sire de Coucy, died in the prison of Boursa. This heavy demand, which was doubled by incidental costs, fell chiefly on the duke of Burgundy, or rather on his Flemish subjects, who were bound by the feudal laws to contribute for the knighthood and captivity of the eldest son of their lord. For the faithful discharge of the debt, some merchants of Genoa gave security to the amount of five times the sum; a lesson to those warlike times, that commerce and credit are the links of the society of nations. It had been stipulated in the treaty, that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of their conqueror; but the ungenerous restraint was abolished by Bajazet himself. "I despise," said he to the heir of Burgundy, "thy oaths and thy arms. Thou art young, and mayest be "ambitious of effacing the disgrace or misfortune of thy first chi-"valry. Assemble thy powers, proclaim thy design, and be assured "that Bajazet will rejoice to meet thee a second time in a field of "battle." Before their departure, they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Boursa. The French princes admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawking equipage was composed of seven thousand huntsmen and seven thousand falconers[65]. In their presence, and at his command, the belly

[65] Sherefeddin Ali (Hist. de Timour Bec, l. v. c. 13.) allows Bajazet a round number of 12,000 officers and servants of the chace. A part of his spoils was afterwards displayed in

belly of one of his chamberlains was cut open, on a complaint against him for drinking the goats-milk of a poor woman. The ſtrangers were aſtoniſhed by this act of juſtice; but it was the juſtice of a ſultan who diſdains to balance the weight of evidence or to meaſure the degrees of guilt.

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The emperor John Palæologus, A. D. 1355, January 8— A. D. 1391.

After his enfranchiſement from an oppreſſive guardian, John Palæologus remained thirty-ſix years, the helpleſs, and as it ſhould ſeem, the careleſs, ſpectator, of the public ruin[66]. Love, or rather luſt, was his only vigorous paſſion; and in the embraces of the wives and virgins of the city, the Turkiſh ſlave forgot the diſhonour of the emperor of the *Romans*. Andronicus, his eldeſt ſon, had formed, at Adrianople, an intimate and guilty friendſhip with Sauzes the ſon of Amurath; and the two youths conſpired againſt the authority and lives of their parents. The preſence of Amurath in Europe ſoon diſcovered and diſſipated their raſh counſels; and, after depriving Sauzes of his ſight, the Ottoman threatened his vaſſal with the treatment of an accomplice and an enemy, unleſs he inflicted a ſimilar puniſhment on his own ſon. Palæologus trembled and obeyed; and a cruel precaution involved in the ſame ſentence the childhood and innocence of John the ſon of the criminal. But the operation was ſo mildly, or ſo unſkilfully, performed, that the one retained the ſight of an eye, and the other was afflicted only with the infirmity of ſquinting. Thus excluded from the ſucceſſion, the two princes were confined in the tower of Anema; and the piety of Manuel, the ſecond ſon of the reigning monarch, was rewarded with the gift of the Imperial crown. But at the end of two years, the turbulence of the Latins and the levity of the Greeks produced a revolution; and the two emperors were buried in the tower from whence

Diſcord of the Greeks.

in a hunting-match of Timour: 1. hounds with ſattin houſings; 2. leopards with collars ſet with jewels; 3. Grecian greyhounds; and, 4. dogs from Europe, as ſtrong as African lions (idem, l. vi. c. 15). Bajazet was particularly fond of flying his hawks at cranes (Chalcondyles, l. ii. p. 35.).

[66] For the reigns of John Palæologus and his ſon Manuel, from 1354 to 1402, ſee Ducas, c. 9—15. Phranza, l. i. c. 16—21. and the ist and iid books of Chalcondyles, whoſe proper ſubject is drowned in a ſea of epiſode.

CHAP. LXIV. whence the two prisoners were exalted to the throne. Another period of two years afforded Palæologus and Manuel the means of escape: it was contrived by the magic, or subtlety, of a monk, who was alternately named the angel or the devil: they fled to Scutari; their adherents armed in their cause; and the two Byzantine factions displayed the ambition and animosity, with which Cæsar and Pompey had disputed the empire of the world. The Roman world was now contracted to a corner of Thrace, between the Propontis and the Black Sea, about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth; a space of ground not more extensive than the lesser principalities of Germany or Italy, if the remains of Constantinople had not still represented the wealth and populousness of a kingdom. To restore the public peace, it was found necessary to divide this fragment of the empire; and while Palæologus and Manuel were left in possession of the capital, almost all that lay without the walls was ceded to the blind princes, who fixed their residence at Rhodosto and Selybria. In the tranquil slumber of royalty, the passions of John Palæologus survived his reason and his strength; he deprived his favourite and heir of a blooming princess of Trebizond; and while the feeble emperor laboured to consummate his nuptials, Manuel, with an hundred of the noblest Greeks, was sent on a peremptory summons to the Ottoman *porte*. They served with honour in the wars of Bajazet; but a plan of fortifying Constantinople excited his jealousy: he threatened their lives; the new works were instantly demolished; and we shall bestow a praise, perhaps above the merit of Palæologus, if we impute this last humiliation as the cause of his death.

The emperor Manuel, A. D. 1391—1425, July 25.

The earliest intelligence of that event was communicated to Manuel, who escaped with speed and secrecy from the palace of Boursa to the Byzantine throne. Bajazet affected a proud indifference at the loss of this valuable pledge; and while he pursued his conquests in Europe and Asia, he left the emperor to struggle with his blind cousin

cousin John of Selybria, who, in eight years of civil war, asserted his right of primogeniture. At length the ambition of the victorious sultan pointed to the conquest of Constantinople; but he listened to the advice of his vizir, who represented, that such an enterprise might unite the powers of Christendom in a second and more formidable crusade. His epistle to the emperor was conceived in these words: "By the divine clemency, our invincible scymetar has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with many and large countries in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople; for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city; stipulate thy reward; or tremble, for thyself and thy unhappy people, at the consequences of a rash refusal." But his ambassadors were instructed to soften their tone, and to propose a treaty, which was subscribed with submission and gratitude. A truce of ten years was purchased by an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold: the Greeks deplored the public toleration of the law of Mahomet, and Bajazet enjoyed the glory of establishing a Turkish cadhi, and founding a royal mosch in the metropolis of the Eastern church [67]. Yet this truce was soon violated by the restless sultan: in the cause of the prince of Selybria, the lawful emperor, an army of Ottomans again threatened Constantinople; and the distress of Manuel implored the protection of the king of France. His plaintive embassy obtained much pity and some relief; and the conduct of the succour was entrusted to the marshal Boucicault [68], whose religious chivalry was inflamed by the desire of revenging his captivity on the infidels. He sailed with four ships of war, from Aiguesmortes to the Hellespont; forced the passage, which was guarded by seventeen Turkish gallies; landed at Constantinople a supply of six hundred men at arms and sixteen hundred archers; and reviewed them in the ad-

Distress of Constantinople, A. D. 1395—1402.

67 Cantemir, p. 50—53. Of the Greeks, Ducas alone (c. 13. 15.) acknowledges the Turkish cadhi at Constantinople. Yet even Ducas dissembles the mosch.

68 Memoirs du bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit *Boucicault*, Maréchal de France, partie i^re, c. 30—35.

jacent

CHAP. LXIV. jacent plain, without condefcending to number or array the multitude of Greeks. By his prefence, the blockade was raifed both by fea and land; the flying fquadrons of Bajazet were driven to a more refpectful diftance; and feveral caftles in Europe and Afia were ftormed by the emperor and the marfhal, who fought with equal valour by each other's fide. But the Ottomans foon returned with an encreafe of numbers; and the intrepid Boucicault, after a year's ftruggle, refolved to evacuate a country which could no longer afford either pay or provifions for his foldiers. The marfhal offered to conduct Manuel to the French court, where he might folicit in perfon a fupply of men and money; and advifed in the mean while, that, to extinguifh all domeftic difcord, he fhould leave his blind competitor on the throne. The propofal was embraced: the prince of Selybria was introduced to the capital; and fuch was the public mifery, that the lot of the exile feemed more fortunate than that of the fovereign. Inftead of applauding the fuccefs of his vaffal, the Turkifh fultan claimed the city as his own; and on the refufal of the emperor John, Conftantinople was more clofely preffed by the calamities of war and famine. Againft fuch an enemy, prayers and refiftance were alike unavailing; and the favage would have devoured his prey, if, in the fatal moment, he had not been overthrown by another favage ftronger than himfelf. By the victory of Timour or Tamerlane, the fall of Conftantinople was delayed about fifty years; and this important, though accidental, fervice may juftly introduce the life and character of the Mogul conqueror.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. LXV.

Elevation of Timour or Tamerlane to the Throne of Samarcand.—His Conquests in Persia, Georgia, Tartary, Russia, India, Syria, and Anatolia.—His Turkish War.—Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet.—Death of Timour.—Civil War of the Sons of Bajazet.—Restoration of the Turkish Monarchy by Mahomet the First.—Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the Second.

CHAP. LXV. Histories of TIMOUR, or *Tamerlane.*

THE conquest and monarchy of the world was the first object of the ambition of TIMOUR. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages was the second wish of his magnanimous spirit. All the civil and military transactions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals of his secretaries[1]: the authentic narrative was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour, that the monarch himself composed the *commentaries*[2] of his life,

[1] These journals were communicated to Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin Ali, a native, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour Beg, which has been translated into French by M. Petis de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12mo), and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be trusted for public facts, though he servilely praises the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries, may be seen in the Institutions, p. 215. 217. 349. 351.

[2] These Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe: but Mr. White gives some hope, that they may be imported and translated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the East this "minute and faithful narrative of "an interesting and eventful period."

 and

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and the *institutions*[3] of his government[4]. But these cares were ineffectual for the preservation of his fame, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or at least from the knowledge of Europe. The nations which he vanquished exercised a base and impotent revenge; and ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny[5], which had disfigured the birth and character, the person, and even the name, of *Tamerlane*[6]. Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debased, by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Asia; nor can his lameness be a theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeasible succession of the house of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel subject; yet he sprang from the noble tribe of Berlass: his fifth ancestor, Carashar Nevian, had been the vizir of Zagatai, in his new realm of Transoxiana; and in the ascent of some generations, the branch of Timour is

[3] I am ignorant whether the original institution, in the Turki or Mogul language, be still extant. The Persic version, with an English translation and most valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1783, in 4to) by the joint labours of Major Davy, and Mr. White the Arabic professor. This work has been since translated from the Persic into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langlès, a learned Orientalist, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

[4] Shaw Allum, the present Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the institutions of his great ancestor. The English translator relies on their internal evidence: but if any suspicions should arise of fraud and fiction, they will not be dispelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticism; the patronage of a prince, less honourable perhaps, is not less lucrative than that of a bookseller: nor can it be deemed incredible, that a Persian, the *real* author, should renounce the credit, to raise the value and price, of the work.

[5] The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much esteemed for its florid elegance of style: *Ahmedis Arabsiadæ* (Ahmed Ebn Arabshah) *Vitæ et Rerum gestarum Timuri. Arabice et Latine. Edidit Samuel Henricus Manger. Franequeræ*, 1767, 2 *tom. in* 4to. This Syrian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant, enemy: the very titles of his chapters are injurious; as how the wicked, as how the impious, as how the viper, &c. The copious article of TIMUR, in Bibliothéque Orientale, is of a mixed nature, as d'Herbelot indifferently draws his materials (p. 877—888.) from Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, and the Lebtarikh.

[6] *Demir*, or *Timour*, signifies, in the Turkish language, Iron; and *Beg* is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into *Lenc*, or lame; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of Tamerlane.

confounded,

confounded, at leaſt by the females [7], with the Imperial ſtem [8]. He was born forty miles to the ſouth of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Caſh, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thouſand horſe [9]. His birth [10] was caſt on one of thoſe periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Aſiatic dynaſties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatai were extinct; the emirs aſpired to independence; and their domeſtic feuds could only be ſuſpended by the conqueſt and tyranny of the khans of Kaſhgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks [11], invaded the Tranſoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age, Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth, he ſtood forth as the deliverer of his country; and the eyes and wiſhes of the people were turned towards an hero who ſuffered in their cauſe. The chiefs of the law and of the army had pledged their ſalvation to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes; but in the hour of danger they were ſilent and afraid; and, after waiting ſeven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the deſert with only ſixty

His firſt adventures, A. D. 1361—1370.

[7] After relating ſome falſe and fooliſh tales of Timour *Lenc*, Arabſhah is compelled to ſpeak truth, and to own him for a kinſman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peeviſhly adds) laqueos Satanæ (pars i. c. 1. p. 25.). The teſtimony of Abulghazi Khan (P. ii. c. 5. P. v. c. 4.) is clear, unqueſtionable, and deciſive.

[8] According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth anceſtor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed, that the poſterity of the elder ſhould ſucceed to the dignity of khan, and that the deſcendants of the younger ſhould fill the office of their miniſter and general. This tradition was at leaſt convenient to juſtify the *firſt* ſteps of Timour's ambition (Inſtitutions, p. 24, 25. from the MS. fragments of Timour's hiſtory).

[9] See the preface of Sherefeddin, and Abulfeda's Geography (Chorafmiæ, &c. Deſcriptio, p. 60, 61.), in the iii^d volume of Hudſon's Minor Greek Geographers.

[10] See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (Syntagma Diſſertat. tom. ii. p. 466.), as it was caſt by the aſtrologers of his grandſon Ulugh Beg. He was born A. D. 1336, April 9, 11° 57′ P. M. lat. 36. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the ſurname of Saheb Keran, or maſter of the conjunctions (Bibliot. Orient. p. 878.).

[11] In the Inſtitutions of Timour, theſe ſubjects of the khan of Kaſhgar are moſt improperly ſtyled Ouzbegs, or Uzbeks, a name which belongs to another branch and country of Tartars (Abulghazi, P. v. c. 5. P. vii. c. 5.). Could I be ſure that this word is in the Turkiſh original, I would boldly pronounce, that the Inſtitutions were framed a century after the death of Timour, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Uzbeks in Tranſoxiana.

 horſemen.

horſemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thouſand Getes, whom he repulſed with incredible ſlaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune "and the divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten, a number which was ſoon diminiſhed by the deſertion of three Carizmians. He wandered in the deſert with his wife, ſeven companions, and four horſes; and ſixty-two days was he plunged in a loathſome dungeon, from whence he eſcaped by his own courage, and the remorſe of the oppreſſor. After ſwimming the broad and rapid ſtream of the Jihoon, or Oxus, he led, during ſome months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw, on the borders of the adjacent ſtates. But his fame ſhone brighter in adverſity; he learned to diſtinguiſh the friends of his perſon, the aſſociates of his fortune, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and above all for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was ſucceſſively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiouſly ſought him in the deſert; nor can I refuſe to deſcribe, in his pathetic ſimplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He preſented himſelf as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of ſeventy horſe. "When their eyes fell upon "me," ſays Timour, "they were overwhelmed with joy; and they "alighted from their horſes; and they came and kneeled; and they "kiſſed my ſtirrup. I alſo came down from my horſe, and took "each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head "of the firſt chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and wrought "with gold, I bound on the loins of the ſecond; and the third, I "clothed in my own coat. And they wept, and I wept alſo; "and the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. And we "mounted our horſes, and came to my dwelling; and I collected "my people, and made a feaſt." His truſty bands were ſoon encreaſed by the braveſt of the tribes; he led them againſt a ſuperior foe; and after ſome viciſſitudes of war, the Getes were finally driven from

from the kingdom of Tranſoxiana. He had done much for his own glory; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and ſome blood to be ſpilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their maſter. The birth and power of emir Houſſein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whoſe ſiſter was the beſt beloved of his wives. Their union was ſhort and jealous; but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels, expoſed his rival to the reproach of injuſtice and perfidy: and, after a final defeat, Houſſein was ſlain by ſome ſagacious friends, who preſumed, for the laſt time, to diſobey the commands of their lord. At the age of thirty-four [12], and in a general diet or *couroultai*, he was inveſted with *Imperial* command, but he affected to revere the houſe of Zingis; and while the emir Timour reigned over Zagatai and the Eaſt, a nominal khan ſerved as a private officer in the armies of his ſervant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have ſatisfied the ambition of a ſubject; but Timour aſpired to the dominion of the world; and before his death, the crown of Zagatai was one of the twenty-ſeven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns; without deſcribing the lines of march, which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Aſia; I ſhall briefly repreſent his conqueſts in, I. Perſia, II. Tartary, and, III. India [13], and from thence proceed to the more intereſting narrative of his Ottoman war.

He aſcends the throne of Zagatai, A. D. 1370, April.

His conqueſts, A. D. 1370—1400. I. Of Perſia, A. D. 1380—1393.

I. For every war, a motive of ſafety or revenge, of honour or zeal, of right or convenience, may be readily found in the juriſprudence of conquerors. No ſooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar,

[12] The iſt book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himſelf, or his ſecretary (Inſtitutions, p. 3—77.), enlarges with pleaſure on the thirteen deſigns and enterpriſes which moſt truly conſtitute his *perſonal* merit. It even ſhines through the dark colouring of Arabſhah, P. i. c. 1—12.

[13] The conqueſts of Perſia, Tartary, and India, are repreſented in the iid and iiid books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabſhah, c. 13—55. Conſult the excellent Indexes to the Inſtitutions.

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dahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris, that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Abousaid, the last of the descendants of the great Holacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years; and the Mogul invader might seem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: they separately stood, and successively fell; and the difference of their fate was only marked by the promptitude of submission or the obstinacy of resistance. Ibrahim, prince of Shirwan or Albania, kissed the footstool of the Imperial throne. His peace-offerings of silks, horses, and jewels, were composed, according to the Tartar fashion, each article of nine pieces; but a critical spectator observed, that there were only eight slaves. "I myself am the ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour[14]. Shah Mansour, prince of Fars, or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thousand soldiers, the *coul* or main-body of thirty thousand horse, where the emperor fought in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the standard of Timour: he stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a scymetar[15]: the Moguls rallied; the head of Mansour was thrown at his feet, and he declared his esteem of the valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Persian gulf; and the richness and weakness of Ormuz[16] were displayed in an annual tribute of six hundred thousand

[14] The reverence of the Tartars for the mysterious number of nine, is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reason, divides his Genealogical History into nine parts.

[15] According to Arabshah (P. i. c. 28. p. 183.), the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himself from the pursuit of Shah Mansour under the women's garments. Perhaps Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 25) has magnified his courage.

[16] The history of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was destroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring island without fresh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fishery, possessed

ſand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the ſeat of the caliphs; but the nobleſt conqueſt of Houlacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious ſucceſſor. The whole courſe of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the ſources of thoſe rivers, was reduced to his obedience: he entered Edeſſa; and the Turkmans of the black ſheep were chaſtiſed for the ſacrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia, the native Chriſtians ſtill braved the law and the ſword of Mahomet; by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the *gazie*, or holy war; and the prince of Teflis became his proſelyte and friend.

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II. Of Turkeſtan, A. D. 1370—1383;

II. A juſt retaliation might be urged for the invaſion of Turkeſtan, or the eaſtern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Getes: he paſſed the Sihoon, ſubdued the kingdom of Caſhgar, and marched ſeven times into the heart of their country. His moſt diſtant camp was two months journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues to the north-eaſt of Samarcand; and his emirs, who traverſed the river Irtiſh, engraved in the foreſts of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conqueſt of Kipzak, or the weſtern Tartary[17], was founded on the double motive of aiding the diſtreſſed, and chaſtiſing the ungrateful. Toctamiſh, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court: the ambaſſadors of Auruſs Khan were diſmiſſed with an haughty denial, and followed on the ſame day by the armies of Zagatai; and their ſucceſs eſtabliſhed Toctamiſh in the Mogul empire of the north. But after a reign of ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the ſtrength of his benefactor; the baſe uſurper, as he deemed him, of

poſſeſſed large territories both in Perſia and Arabia; but they were at firſt the tributaries of the ſultans of Kerman, and at laſt were delivered (A. D. 1505) by the Portugueſe tyrants from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l. i. c. 15, 16. fol. 7, 8. Abulfeda Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 261, 262. an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Stevens' Hiſtory of Perſia, p. 376—416. and the Itineraries inſerted in the 1st volume of Ramuſio, of Ludovico Barthema (1503), fol. 167. of Andrea Corſali (1517), fol. 202, 203, and of Odoardo Barbeſſa (in 1516), fol. 315—318.).

17 Arabſhah had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a ſingular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions, of that northern region (P. i. c. 45—49.).

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of the ſacred rights of the houſe of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Perſia at the head of ninety thouſand horſe: with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circaſſia, and Ruſſia, he paſſed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidſt the winter ſnows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expoſtulation and a glorious victory, the emperor reſolved on revenge: and by the eaſt, and the weſt, of the Caſpian, and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak with ſuch mighty powers, that thirteen miles were meaſured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footſteps of man; and their daily ſubſiſtence was often truſted to the fortune of the chace. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the ſtandard-bearer, who, in the heat of action, reverſed the Imperial ſtandard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais; and Toctamiſh (I ſpeak the language of the inſtitutions) gave the tribe of Touſhi to the wind of deſolation [18]. He fled to the Chriſtian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domeſtic rival, at laſt periſhed in the wilds of Siberia. The purſuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Ruſſia: a duke of the reigning family was made priſoner amidſt the ruins of his capital; and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might eaſily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moſcow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the reſiſtance would have been feeble, ſince the hopes of the Ruſſians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whoſe protection they aſcribed the caſual and voluntary retreat of the conqueror. Ambition and prudence recalled him to the South, the deſolate country was exhauſted, and the Mogul ſoldiers were enriched with an im-

of Kipzak, Ruſſia, &c. A.D. 1390—1396.

[18] Inſtitutions of Timour, p. 123. 125. Mr. White, the editor, beſtows ſome animadverſion on the ſuperficial account of Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 12, 13, 14.), who was ignorant of the deſigns of Timour, and the true ſprings of action.

menſe

mense spoil of precious furs, of linen of Antioch [19], and of ingots of gold and silver [20]. On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received an humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt [21], Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Biscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the state of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes; the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed; but all the Christians, who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or slavery [22]. Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Astrachan, the monuments of rising civilization; and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight, a strange phenomenon, which authorised his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer [23].

III. Of Hindostan, A.D. 1398, 1399.

III. When Timour first proposed to his princes and emirs the invasion of India or Hindostan [24], he was answered by a murmur of discontent:

[19] The furs of Russia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous; and Antioch was in ruins. I suspect that it was some manufacture of Europe, which the Hanse merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

[20] M. Levêsque (Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 247. Vie de Timour, p. 64—67. before the French version of the Institutes) has corrected the error of Sherefeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conquests. His arguments are superfluous, and a simple appeal to the Russian Annals is sufficient to prove that Moscow, which six years before had been taken by Toctamish, escaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

[21] An Egyptian consul from Grand Cairo, is mentioned in Barbaro's voyage to Tana in 1436, after the city had been rebuilt (Ramusio, tom. ii. fol. 92.).

[22] The sack of Azoph is described by Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 55.); and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (Andreas de Redusiis de Quero, in Chron. Tarvisiano, in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 802—805.). He had conversed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been sent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had lost at Azoph three sons and 12,000 ducats.

[23] Sherefeddin only says (l. iii. c. 13.), that the rays of the setting, and those of the rising sun, were scarcely separated by any interval; a problem which may be solved in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis, and a long summer twilight. But a *day* of forty days (Khondemir apud d'Herbelot, p. 880.) would rigorously confine us within the polar circle.

[24] For the Indian war, see the Institutions (p. 129—139.), the fourth book of Sherefeddin,

CHAP. LXV. discontent: "The rivers! and the mountains and deserts! and the "soldiers clad in armour! and the elephants, destroyers of men!" But the displeasure of the emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors; and his superior reason was convinced, that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was safe and easy in the execution. He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan: the Soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion; and the perpetual infancy of sultan Mahmood was despised even in the haram of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions: and Timour observes with pleasure, that the ninety-two squadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet. Between the Jihoon and the Indus, they crossed one of the ridges of mountains, which are styled by the Arabian geographers The stony girdles of the earth. The highland robbers were subdued or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow; the emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold, the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*, or five rivers[25], that fall into the master-stream. From Attok to Delhi, the high road measures no more than six hundred miles; but the two conquerors deviated to the south-east; and the motive of Timour was to join his grandson, who had atchieved by his command the conquest of Moultan. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Batnir, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city,

feddin, and the history of Ferishta (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 1—20.), which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindostan.

[25] The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennel's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir, he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

city, which had fubfifted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The fiege, more efpecially of the caftle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weaknefs, the fultan Mahmoud and his vizir to defcend into the plain, with ten thoufand cuiraffiers, forty thoufand of his foot-guards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whofe tufks are faid to have been armed with fharp and poifoned daggers. Againft thefe monfters, or rather againft the imagination of his troops, he condefcended to ufe fome extraordinary precautions of fire and a ditch, of iron fpikes and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to fmile at their own fears; and, as foon as thefe unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior fpecies (the men of India) difappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindoftan; and admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the ftately mofch; but the order or licence of a general pillage and maffacre polluted the feftival of his victory. He refolved to purify his foldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who ftill furpafs, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moflems. In this pious defign, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-eaft of Delhi, paffed the Ganges, fought feveral battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the ftatue of the cow, that *feems* to difcharge the mighty river, whofe fource is far diftant among the mountains of Thibet [26]. His return was along the fkirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year juftify the ftrange forefight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

[26] The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, rife in Thibet, from the oppofite ridges of the fame hills, feparate from each other to the diftance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding courfe of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet fo capricious is Fame, that the Burrampooter is a late difcovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern ftory. Coupele, the fcene of Timour's laft victory, muft be fituate near Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta; and, in 1774, a Britifh camp! (Rennel's Memoir, p. 7. 59. 90, 91. 99.

It

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His war against sultan Bajazet, A.D. 1400, September 1.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of the sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by sixty-three years, and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia [27]. To the soldiers who had served in the Indian war, he granted the choice of remaining at home or following their prince; but the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Persia were commanded to assemble at Ispahan, and wait the arrival of the Imperial standard. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter season; but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour: the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran; and if both religions boasted of their martyrs, that name is more justly due to the Christian prisoners, who were offered the choice of abjuration or death. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces; which fermented two years before the final explosion. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will seldom be wanting. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time and treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory; of threatening his vassals; and protecting his rebels; and, by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more

[27] See the Institutions, p. 141. to the end of the 1st book, and Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 1 —16.), to the entrance of Timour into Syria.

dangerous

dangerous than the oppofition of intereft; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a fuperior. The firft epiftle [28] of the Mogul emperor muft have provoked, inftead of reconciling the Turkifh fultan; whofe family and nation he affected to defpife [29]. "Doft thou not know, that the "greateft part of Afia is fubject to our arms and our laws? that our "invincible forces extend from one fea to the other? that the po-"tentates of the earth form a line before our gate? and that we "have compelled fortune herfelf to watch over the profperity of our "empire? What is the foundation of thy infolence and folly? "Thou haft fought fome battles in the woods of Anatolia; con-"temptible trophies! Thou haft obtained fome victories over the "Chriftians of Europe; thy fword was bleffed by the apoftle of "God; and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging "war againft the infidels, is the fole confideration that prevents us "from deftroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the "Moflem world. Be wife in time; reflect; repent; and avert the "thunder of our vengeance, which is yet fufpended over thy head. "Thou art no more than a pifmire; why wilt thou feek to provoke "the elephants? Alas, they will trample thee under their feet." In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a foul which was deeply ftung by fuch unufual contempt. After retorting the bafeft reproaches on the thief and rebel of the defert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boafted victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and labours to prove, that Timour had never triumphed unlefs by

[28] We have three copies of thefe hoftile epiftles in the Inftitutions (p. 147.), in Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 14.), and in Arabfhah (tom. ii. c. 19, p. 183—201.); which agree with each other in the fpirit and fubftance rather than in the ftyle. It is probable, that they have been tranflated, with various latitude, from the Turkifh original into the Arabic and Perfian tongues.

[29] The Mogul emir diftinguifhes himfelf and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and ftigmatifes the race and nation of Bajazet with the lefs honourable epithet of *Turkmans*. Yet I do not underftand how the Ottomans could be defcended from a Turkman failor; thofe inland fhepherds were fo remote from the fea, and all maritime affairs.

his

CHAP. LXV. his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. "Thy armies are innumerable: be they fo; but what are the arrows of the flying "Tartar againft the fcymetars and battle-axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries? I will guard the princes who have implored "my protection: feek them in my tents. The cities of Arzingan "and Erzeroum are mine, and unlefs the tribute be duly paid, I "will demand the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sultania." The ungovernable rage of the fultan at length betrayed him to an infult of a more domeftic kind. "If I fly from thy arms," faid he, "may *my* wives be thrice divorced from my bed: but if thou haft "not courage to meet me in the field, mayeft thou again receive *thy* "wives after they have thrice endured the embraces of a ftranger[30]." Any violation by word or deed of the fecrecy of the Haram is an unpardonable offence among the Turkifh nations[31]; and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and perfonal refentment. Yet in his firft expedition, Timour was fatisfied with the fiege and deftruction of Siwas or Sebafte, a ftrong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indifcretion of the Ottoman, on a garrifon of four thoufand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful difcharge of their duty. As a Mufulman he feemed to refpect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was ftill engaged in the blockade of Conftantinople: and after this falutary leffon, the Mogul conqueror checked his purfuit, and turned afide to the invafion of Syria and Egypt. In thefe tranfactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is ftyled

Timour invades Syria, A. D. 1400.

30 According to the Koran (c. 2. p. 27. and Sale's Difcourfes, p. 134.), a Mufulman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce), could not take her again, till after fhe had been married *to*, and repudiated *by*, another hufband: an ignominious tranfaction, which it is needlefs to aggravate by fuppofing, that the firft hufband muft fee her enjoyed by a fecond before his face (Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, l. ii. c. 21.).

31 The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never fpeaking of their women, is afcribed in a much higher degree by Arabfhah to the Turkifh nations; and it is remarkable enough, that Chalcondyles (l. ii. p. 55.) had fome knowledge of the prejudice, and the infult.

the

the *Kaiſſar of Roum*, the Cæſar of the Romans: a title which, by a ſmall anticipation, might be given to a monarch who poſſeſſed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine[32].

The military republic of the Mamalukes ſtill reigned in Egypt and Syria: but the dynaſty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circaſſians[33]; and their favourite Barkok, from a ſlave and a priſoner, was raiſed and reſtored to the throne. In the midſt of rebellion and diſcord, he braved the menaces, correſponded with the enemies, and detained the ambaſſadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his deceaſe, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his ſon Farage. The Syrian emirs[34] were aſſembled at Aleppo to repel the invaſion: they confided in the fame and diſcipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their ſwords and lances of the pureſt ſteel of Damaſcus, in the ſtrength of their walled cities, and in the populouſneſs of ſixty thouſand villages: and inſtead of ſuſtaining a ſiege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But theſe forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and ſome powerful emirs had been ſeduced to deſert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whoſe turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire: the rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the diſmay and diſorder; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other; many thouſands were ſtifled or ſlaughtered in the entrance of the great ſtreet; the Moguls entered with the fugitives; and, after a ſhort

[32] For the ſtyle of the Moguls, ſee the Inſtitutions (p. 131. 147.), and for the Perſians, the Bibliotheque Orientale (p. 882.): but I do not find that the title of Cæſar has been applied by the Arabians, or aſſumed by the Ottomans themſelves.

[33] See the reigns of Barkok and Pharadge, in M. de Guignes (tom. iv. l. xxii.), who, from the Arabic texts of Aboulmahaſen, Ebn Schounah, and Aintabi, has added ſome facts to our common ſtock of materials.

[34] For theſe recent and domeſtic tranſactions, Arabſhah, though a partial, is a credible, witneſs (tom. i. c. 64—68. tom. ii. c. 1—14.). Timour muſt have been odious to a Syrian; but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in ſome meaſure, to reſpect his enemy and himſelf. His bitters may correct the luſcious ſweets of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 17—29.).

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Sacks Aleppo, A. D. 1400, Nov. 11,

ſhort defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was ſurrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the ſuppliants and captives, Timour diſtinguiſhed the doctors of the law, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a perſonal conference[35]. The Mogul prince was a zealous Muſulman; but his Perſian ſchools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hoſain; and he had imbibed a deep prejudice againſt the Syrians, as the enemies of the ſon of the daughter of the apoſtle of God. To theſe doctors he propoſed a captious queſtion, which the caſuiſts of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat, were incapable of reſolving. "Who are the true "martyrs, of thoſe who are ſlain on my ſide, or on that of my "enemies?" But he was ſilenced, or ſatisfied, by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied, in the words of Mahomet himſelf, that the motive, not the enſign, conſtitutes the martyr; and that the Moſlems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deſerve that ſacred appellation. The true ſucceſſion of the caliphs was a controverſy of a ſtill more delicate nature and the frankneſs of a doctor, too honeſt for his ſituation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as falſe as thoſe of Damaſcus: Moa-"wiyah was an uſurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the law-"ful ſucceſſor of the prophet." A prudent explanation reſtored his tranquillity; and he paſſed to a more familiar topic of converſation. "What is your age?" ſaid he to the cadhi. "Fifty years." —"It would be the age of my eldeſt ſon: you ſee me here (con-"tinued Timour) a poor, lame, decrepit mortal. Yet by my arm "has the Almighty been pleaſed to ſubdue the kingdoms of Iran, "Touran, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and God is "my witneſs, that in all my wars I have never been the aggreſſor, "and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own "calamity." During this peaceful converſation, the ſtreets of Aleppo

[35] Theſe intereſting converſations appear to have been copied by Arabſhah (tom. i. c. 68. p. 625—645.) from the cadhi and hiſtorian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive ſeventy-five years afterwards (d'Herbelot, p. 792.)?

ſtreamed

ſtreamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the ſhrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his ſoldiers might ſtimulate their avarice; but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his cuſtom, were curiouſly piled in columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated the feaſt of victory, while the ſurviving Moſlems paſſed the night in tears and in chains. I ſhall not dwell on the march of the deſtroyer from Aleppo to Damaſcus, where he was rudely encountered, and almoſt overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his diſtreſs and deſpair: one of his nephews deſerted to the enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the ſultan was driven by the revolt of the Mamalukes to eſcape with precipitation and ſhame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damaſcus ſtill defended their walls; and Timour conſented to raiſe the ſiege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ranſom; each article of nine pieces. But no ſooner had he introduced himſelf into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiouſly violated the treaty; impoſed a contribution of ten millions of gold; and animated his troops to chaſtiſe the poſterity of thoſe Syrians who had executed, or approved, the murder of the grandſon of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hoſein, and a colony of artificers whom he ſent to labour at Samarcand, were alone reſerved in the general maſſacre; and, after a period of ſeven centuries, Damaſcus was reduced to aſhes, becauſe a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The loſſes and fatigues of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conqueſt of Paleſtine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames; and juſtified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thouſand ſectaries of Ali, who were deſirous to viſit the tomb of his ſon. I have expatiated on the perſonal anecdotes which

Damaſcus, A. D. 1401, January 23.

 mark

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and Bagdad, A. D. 1401, July 23.

mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I shall briefly mention[36], that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thousand heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province: eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list[37]; but the splendid commands of five, and ten, thousand horse, may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs, than of the genuine number of effective soldiers[38]. In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immense riches: but the delivery of their pay and arrears for seven years, more firmly attached them to the Imperial standard.

Invades Anatolia, A. D. 1402.

During this diversion of the Mogul arms, Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. They consisted of four hundred thousand horse and foot[39], whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries who have been gradually raised to an establishment of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak,

36 The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are represented by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 29—43.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 15—18.).

37 This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabshah, or rather by Ebn Schounah, ex rationario Timuri, on the faith of a Carizmian officer (tom. i. c. 68. p. 617.); and it is remarkable enough, that a Greek historian (Phranza, l. i. c. 29.) adds no more than 20,000 men. Poggius reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chron. Tarvisianum, apud Muratori, tom. xix. p. 800.) 1,100,000; and the enormous sum of 1,600,000 is attested by a German soldier, who was present at the battle of Angora (Leunclav. ad Chalcondyl. l. iii. p. 82.). Timour, in his Institutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his subjects, or his revenues.

38 A wide latitude of non-effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horse; of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. p. 288, 289.).

39 Timour himself fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Institutions, p. 153.), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and swelled by the German soldier to 1,400,000. It is evident, that the Moguls were the more numerous.

Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had aſſigned a ſettlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearleſs confidence of the ſultan urged him to meet his antagoniſt; and, as if he had choſen that ſpot for revenge, he diſplayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the mean while, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia: his boldneſs was ſecured by the wiſeſt precautions; his ſpeed was guided by order and diſcipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying ſquadrons, who marked his road and preceded his ſtandard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp; dextrouſly inclined to the left; occupied Cæſarea; traverſed the ſalt deſert and the river Halys; and inveſted Angora: while the ſultan, immoveable and ignorant in his poſt, compared the Tartar ſwiftneſs to the crawling of a ſnail [40]: he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the ſcene of a memorable battle, which has immortaliſed the glory of Timour and the ſhame of Bajazet. For this ſignal victory, the Mogul emperor was indebted to himſelf, to the genius of the moment, and the diſcipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation [41], whoſe force ſtill conſiſted in the miſſile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous cavalry. From a ſingle troop to a great army, the mode of attack was the ſame: a foremoſt line firſt advanced to the charge, and was ſupported in a juſt order by the ſquadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings ſucceſſively moved forwards in their ſeveral diviſions, and

Battle of Angora, A.D. 1402, July 28.

[40] It may not be uſeleſs to mark the diſtances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journies of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles: to Smyrna xx. to Kiotahia x. to Bourſa x. to Cæſarea viii. to Sinope x. to Nicomedia ix. to Conſtantinople xii. or xiii. (ſee Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. lettre xxi.)

[41] See the Syſtems of Tactics in the Inſtitutions, which the Engliſh editors have illuſtrated with elaborate plans (p. 373—407.)

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in a direct or oblique line: the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, the occasion was worthy of the emperor himself, who gave the signal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person[42]. But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan ostentatiously shewed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments, of victory: the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans: but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in the hands of either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day[43]. In that day, Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief: but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant; and from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and even his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emissaries of Timour[44]; who reproached their ignoble servitude under the slaves of their fathers; and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient, country. In the right wing of Bajazet, the cuirassiers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irresistible arms; but these men of iron were soon broken by an artful flight and

[42] The sultan himself (says Timour) must then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is lost in the English, but preserved in the French, version of the Institutes (p. 156, 157.).

[43] The Greek fire, on Timour's side, is attested by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47.); but Voltaire's strange suspicion, that some cannon, inscribed with strange characters, must have been sent by that monarch to Dehli, is refuted by the universal silence of contemporaries.

[44] Timour has dissembled this secret and important negociation with the Tartars, which is indisputably proved by the joint evidence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. 47. p. 391.), Turkish (Annal. Leunclav. p. 321.), and Persian historians (Khondemir, apud d'Herbelot, p. 882.).

headlong

headlong purfuit: and the Janizaries, alone, without cavalry or miffile weapons, were encompaffed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppreffed by heat, thirft, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate fultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was tranfported from the field on the fleeteft of his horfes. He was purfued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; and, after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia fubmitted to the conqueror, who planted his ftandard at Kiotahia, and difperfed on all fides the minifters of rapine and deftruction. Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldeft and beft beloved of his grandfons, was difpatched to Bourfa with thirty thoufand horfe: and fuch was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thoufand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is ftill more rapid in its courfe: and Soliman, the fon of Bajazet, had already paffed over to Europe with the royal treafure. The fpoil, however, of the palace and city was immenfe: the inhabitants had efcaped; but the buildings, for the moft part of wood, were reduced to afhes. From Bourfa, the grandfon of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourifhing city; and the Mogul fquadrons were only ftopped by the waves of the Propontis. The fame fuccefs attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excurfions: and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deferved the prefence of the emperor himfelf. After an obftinate defence, the place was taken by ftorm; all that breathed was put to the fword; and the heads of the Chriftian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks, or great fhips of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moflems of Afia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domeftic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by obferving that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortrefs which had

Defeat and captivity of Bajazet.

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had sustained seven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet[45].

The story of his iron cage

The *iron cage* in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Tamerlane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity[46]. They appeal with confidence to the Persian history of Sherefeddin Ali, which has been given to our curiosity in a French version, and from which I shall collect and abridge a more specious narrative of this memorable transaction. No sooner was Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of his tent, than he graciously stept forwards to receive him, seated him by his side, and mingled with just reproaches a soothing pity for his rank and misfortune. "Alas!" said the emperor, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by your own fault: it is the web which you have woven, "the thorns of the tree which yourself have planted. I wished to "spare, and even to assist, the champion of the Moslems: you "braved our threats; you despised our friendship; you forced us "to enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold the "event. Had you vanquished, I am not ignorant of the fate which "you reserved for myself and my troops. But I disdain to retaliate: "your life and honour are secure; and I shall express my gratitude to God by my clemency to man." The royal captive shewed some signs of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his son Mousa, who, at his request, was sought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a splendid pavillion; and the

disproved by the Persian historian of Timour;

[45] For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add some hints in the Institutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 44—65.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 20—35.). On this part only of Timour's history, it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir, p. 53—55. Annal. Leunclav. p. 320—322.) and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29. Ducas, c. 15—17. Chalcondyles, l. iii.).

[46] The scepticism of Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, c. 88) is ready on this, as on every occasion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue; and on most occasions his incredulity is reasonable.

respect

respect of the guards could be surpassed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Boursa, Timour restored the queen Despina and her daughter to their father and husband; but he piously required, that the Servian princess, who had hitherto been indulged in the profession of Christianity, should embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promise was disappointed by the sultan's untimely death: amidst the care of the most skilful physicians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akshehr, the Antioch of Pisidia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave; his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the mausoleum which he had erected at Boursa; and his son Mousa, after receiving a rich present of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedicated to his son and grandson, nineteen years after his decease[47]; and, at a time when the truth was remembered by thousands, a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evidence, adopted by all the Persian histories[48]; yet flattery, more especially in the East, is base and audacious; and the harsh and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses, some of whom shall be produced in the order of their time and country. 1. The reader has not forgot the garrison of French, whom the marshal

attested, 1. by the French;

[47] See the history of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 49. 52, 53. 59, 60). This work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 1424, and dedicated to sultan Ibrahim, the son of Sharokh, the son of Timour, who reigned in Farsistan in his father's lifetime.

[48] After the perusal of Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, &c. the learned d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 882.) may affirm, that this fable is not mentioned in the most authentic histories: but his denial of the visible testimony of Arabshah, leaves some room to suspect his accuracy.

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marſhal Boucicault left behind him for the defence of Conſtantinople. They were on the ſpot to receive the earlieſt and moſt faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adverſary; and it is more than probable, that ſome of them accompanied the Greek embaſſy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the *hardſhips* of the priſon and death of Bajazet are affirmed by the marſhal's ſervant and hiſtorian, within the diſtance of ſeven years [49]. 2. The name of Poggius the Italian [50] is deſervedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His elegant dialogue on the viciſſitudes of fortune [51] was compoſed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight years after the Turkiſh victory of Tamerlane [52]; whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illuſtrious Barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and diſcipline Poggius was informed by ſeveral ocular witneſſes; nor does he forget an example ſo appoſite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the Scythian confined like a wild beaſt in an iron cage, and exhibited a ſpectacle to Aſia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at leaſt that the ſame ſtory, whether falſe or true, was imported into Europe with the firſt tidings of the revolution [53]. 3. At the time when Poggius flouriſhed at Rome, Ahmed Ebn Arabſhah

2. by the Italians;

3. by the Arabs;

[49] Et fut lui-meme *(Bajazet)* pris, et mené en priſon, en laquelle mourut de *dure mort!* Memoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 37. Theſe memoirs were compoſed while the marſhal was ſtill governor of Genoa, from whence he was expelled in the year 1409, by a popular inſurrection (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 473, 474.).

[50] The reader will find a ſatisfactory account of the life and writings of Poggius, in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Lenfant, and in the Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis of Fabricius (tom. v. p. 305—308.). Poggius was born in the year 1380, and died in 1459.

[51] The dialogue de Varietate Fortunæ (of which a complete and elegant edition has been publiſhed at Paris in 1723, in 4ᵗᵒ), was compoſed a ſhort time before the death of pope Martin V. (p. 5.), and conſequently about the end of the year 1430.

[52] See a ſplendid and eloquent encomium of Tamerlane, p. 36—39. ipſe enim novi (ſays Poggius) qui fuere in ejus caſtris..... Regem vivum cepit, caveâque in modum feræ incluſum per omnem Aſiam circumtulit egregium admirandumque ſpectaculum fortunæ.

[53] The Chronicon Tarviſianum (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 800.), and the Annales Eſtenſes (tom. xviii. p. 974.). The two authors, Andrea de Reduſiis de Queró, and James de Delayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevigi, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the moſt poſitive.

composed at Damascus the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journies over Turkey and Tartary [54]. Without any possible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewise relates another outrage, which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indiscreet mention of women and divorces was deeply resented by the jealous Tartar: in the feast of victory, the wine was served by female cupbearers, and the sultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the slaves, and exposed without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said, that his successors, except in a single instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the sixteenth century, is attested by the observing Busbequius [55], ambassador from the court of Vienna to the great Soliman. 4. Such is the separation of language, that the testimony of a Greek is not less independent than that of a Latin or an Arab. I suppress the names of Chalcondyles and Ducas, who flourished in a later period, and who speak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza [56], protovestiare of the last emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event, he was sent ambassador to Amurath the second; and the historian might converse with some veteran Janizaries, who had been made prisoners with the sultan, and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in every sense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have been consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius,

4. by the Greeks;

5. by the Turks.

[54] See Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 28. 34. He travelled in regiones Rumæas, A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435, July 27), tom. ii. c. 2. p. 13.

[55] Busbequius in Legatione Turcicâ, epist. i. p. 52. Yet his respectable authority is somewhat shaken by the subsequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Asiatic, princess (Cantemir, p. 83. 93.).

[56] See the testimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and his life in Hanckius de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.). Chalcondyles and Ducas speak in general terms of Bajazet's *chains*.

 Pocock,

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Pocock, and Cantemir [57]. They unanimoufly deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and fome credit may be allowed to national hiftorians, who cannot ftigmatize the Tartar without uncovering the fhame of their king and country.

Probable conclufion.

From thefe oppofite premifes, a fair and moderate conclufion may be deduced. I am fatisfied that Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully defcribed the firft oftentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whofe fpirits were harmonifed by fuccefs, affected the character of generofity. But his mind was infenfibly alienated by the unfeafonable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his enemies, the Anatolian princes, were juft and vehement; and Timour betrayed a defign of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his efcape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul emperor to impofe a harfher reftraint; and in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as a wanton infult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in fome fabulous hiftory a fimilar treatment of one of his predeceffors, a king of Perfia; and Bajazet was condemned to reprefent the perfon, and expiate the guilt, of the Roman Cæfar [58]. But the ftrength of his mind and body fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injuftice, be afcribed to the feverity of Timour. He warred not with the dead; a tear and a fepulchre were all that he could beftow on a captive who was delivered from his power; and if Moufa, the fon of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Bourfa, the greateft part of the province of Anatolia had been reftored by the conqueror to their lawful fovereigns.

Death of Bajazet, A. D. 1403, March 9.

[57] Annales Leunclav. p. 321. Pocock, Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag. Dynaft. Cantemir, p. 55.

[58] A Sapor, king of Perfia, had been made prifoner and inclofed in the figure of a cow's hide by Maximian or Galerius Cæfar. Such is the fable related by Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 421. verf. Pocock). The recollection of the true hiftory (Decline and Fall, &c. vol. i. p. 446—456.) will teach us to appreciate the knowledge of the Orientals of the ages which precede the Hegira.

From

From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour; his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land; but an insuperable, though narrow, sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia[59]; and the lord of so many *tomans*, or myriads, of horse, was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double streights were guarded with ships and fortifications; and they separately withheld the transports, which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time, they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and suppliant embassies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword; and reiterated his ardent wish, of casting himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek emperor[60] (either John or Manuel) submitted to pay the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience so soon as the Mogul arms had retired from

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Term of the conquests of Timour, A. D. 1403.

[59] Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 25.) describes, like a curious traveller, the streights of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events, I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spanish ambassador mentions this hostile union of the Christians and Ottomans (Vie de Timour, p. 96.).

[60] Since the name of Cæsar had been transferred to the sultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Constantinople (Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 54.) were confounded with the Christian *lords* of Gallipoli, Thessalonica, &c. under the title of *Tekkur*, which is derived by corruption from the genitive τȣ κυριȣ (Cantemir, p. 51.).

Anatolia.

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Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations aſcribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new deſign of vaſt and romantic compaſs; a deſign of ſubduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Streights of Gibraltar, and, after impoſing his yoke on the kingdoms of Chriſtendom, of returning home by the deſerts of Ruſſia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the ſubmiſſion of the ſultan of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin, atteſted at Cairo the ſupremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a *giraffe*, or camelopard, and nine oſtriches, repreſented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not leſs aſtoniſhed by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp before Smyrna, meditates and almoſt accompliſhes the invaſion of the Chineſe empire [61]. Timour was urged to this enterpriſe by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had ſhed of Muſulman blood could be expiated only by an equal deſtruction of the infidels; and as he now ſtood at the gates of paradiſe, he might beſt ſecure his glorious entrance by demoliſhing the idols of China, founding moſchs in every city, and eſtabliſhing the profeſſion of faith in one God, and his prophet Mahomet. The recent expulſion of the houſe of Zingis was an inſult on the Mogul name; and the diſorders of the empire afforded the faireſt opportunity for revenge. The illuſtrious Hongvou, founder of the dynaſty of *Ming*, died four years before the battle of Angora; and his grandſon, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chineſe had periſhed in the civil war [62]. Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour diſpatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new ſubjects, to open the road, to ſubdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the deſert;

[61] See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 4. who marks, in a juſt itinerary, the road to China, which Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 33.) paints in vague and rhetorical colours.

[62] Synopſis Hiſt. Sinicæ, p. 74—76 (in the iv[th] part of the Relations de Thevenot), Duhalde, Hiſt. de la Chine (tom. i. p. 507, 508. folio edition); and for the chronology of the Chineſe emperors, de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 71, 72.

desert; and, by the diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irtish to the wall of China. During these preparations, the emperor atchieved the final conquest of Georgia; passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes; appeased the troubles of Persia; and slowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

His triumph at Samarcand, A. D. 1404, July—A. D. 1405, January 8.

On the throne of Samarcand [63], he displayed in a short repose his magnificence and power; listened to the complaints of the people; distributed a just measure of rewards and punishments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. The marriage of six of the emperor's grandsons was esteemed an act of religion, as well as of paternal tenderness; and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was spread with pyramids of meat, and vases of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited: the orders of the state, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambassadors of Europe (says the haughty Persian) excluded from the feast; since even the *casses*, the smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean [64]. The public joy was testified

[63] For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, see Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 1—30.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 35—47.).

[64] Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 24.) mentions the ambassadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. king of Castile; and the curious relation of his two embassies is still extant (Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. xix. c. 11. tom. ii. p. 329, 330. Avertissement à l'Hist. de Timur Bec, p. 28—33.). There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mogul emperor, and the court of Charles VII. king of France (Histoire de France, par Velly et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336.).

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testified by illuminations and masquerades; the trades of Samarcand passed in review; and every trade was emulous to execute some quaint device, some marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage-contracts had been ratified by the cadhis, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers; nine times, according to the Asiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed; and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed: every law was relaxed, every pleasure was allowed; the people was free, the sovereign was idle; and the historian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war. The standard was unfurled for the invasion of China: the emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran soldiers of Iran and Touran: their baggage and provisions were transported by five hundred great waggons, and an immense train of horses and camels; and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than six months were employed for intranquil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Pekin. Neither age, nor the severity of the winter, could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched seventy-six parasangs, three hundred miles, from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indiscreet use of iced water, accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Asia expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai. His designs were lost; his armies were disbanded; China was saved; and fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent

His death on the road to China, A.D. 1405, April 1.

ſent an embaſſy of friendſhip and commerce to the court of Pekin[65].

Character and merits of Timour.

The fame of Timour haſt pervaded the Eaſt and Weſt; his poſterity is ſtill inveſted with the Imperial *title*; and the admiration of his ſubjects, who revered him almoſt as a deity, may be juſtified in ſome degree by the praiſe or confeſſion of his bittereſt enemies[66]. Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and ſtature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, ſo eſſential to himſelf and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exerciſe. In his familiar diſcourſe he was grave and modeſt, and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he ſpoke with fluency and elegance the Perſian and Turkiſh idioms. It was his delight to converſe with the learned on topics of hiſtory and ſcience; and the amuſement of his leiſure hours was the game of cheſs, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements[67]. In his religion, he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Muſulman[68]; but his ſound underſtanding may tempt us to believe, that a ſuperſtitious reverence for omens and prophecies, for ſaints and aſtrologers, was only affected as an inſtrument of policy. In the government of a vaſt empire, he ſtood alone and abſolute, without a rebel to oppoſe his power, a favourite to ſeduce his affections, or a miniſter to miſlead his judgment. It was his firmeſt maxim, that whatever might

[65] See the tranſlation of the Perſian account of their embaſſy, a curious and original piece (in the ivth part of the Relations de Thevenot). They preſented the emperor of China with an old horſe which Timour had formerly rode. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1422 from Pekin.

[66] From Arabſhah, tom. ii. c. 96. The bright or ſofter colours are borrowed from Sherefeddin, d'Herbelot, and the Inſtitutions.

[67] His new ſyſtem was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 ſquares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 ſquares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought ſufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleaſed than hurt, with the victory of a ſubject: a cheſs-player will feel the value of this encomium!

[68] See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 15. 25. Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 96. p. 801. 803.) reproves the impiety of Timour and the Moguls, who almoſt preferred to the Koran, the *Yacſa*, or Law of Zingis (cui Deus maledicat): nor will he believe that Sharokh had aboliſhed the uſe and authority of that Pagan code.

 be

CHAP. LXV. be the consequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled; but his foes have maliciously observed, that the commands of anger and destruction were more strictly executed than those of beneficence and favour. His sons and grandsons, of whom Timour left six-and-thirty at his decease, were his first and most submissive subjects; and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected, according to the laws of Zingis, with the bastonade, and afterwards restored to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the social virtues; perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies; but the rules of morality are founded on the public interest; and it may be sufficient to applaud the *wisdom* of a monarch, for the liberality by which he is not impoverished, and for the justice by which he is strengthened and enriched. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chastise the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deserving, to banish vice and idleness from his dominions, to secure the traveller and merchant, to restrain the depredations of the soldier, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate assessment, to encrease the revenue, without encreasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince; but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompense. Timour might boast, that at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories, and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude; and perhaps we shall conclude, that the Mogul emperor was rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind. 1. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. By

By their rapine, cruelty, and difcord, the petty tyrants of Perfia might afflict their fubjects; but whole nations were crufhed under the footfteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourifhing cities, was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Aftracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ifpahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damafcus, Bourfa, Smyrna, and a thoufand others, were facked, or burnt, or utterly deftroyed, in his prefence, and by his troops; and perhaps his confcience would have been ftartled, if a prieft or philofopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had facrificed to the eftablifhment of peace and order [69]. 2. His moft deftructive wars were rather inroads than conquefts. He invaded Turkeftan, Kipzak, Ruffia, Hindoftan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a defire of preferving thofe diftant provinces. From thence he departed, laden with fpoil; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magiftrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invafion had aggravated or caufed; nor were thefe evils compenfated by any prefent or poffible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Tranfoxiana and Perfia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn, as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and fometimes blafted, by the abfence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his fervants, and even his fons, forgot their mafter and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redreffed by the tardy rigour of enquiry and punifhment; and we muft be content to praife the *Inftitutions* of Timour, as the fpecious idea of

[69] Befides the bloody paffages of this narrative, I muft refer to an anticipation in the third volume of the Decline and Fall, which, in a fingle note (p. 368. Note 25.), accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7.). Yet I can excufe a generous enthufiafm in the reader, and ftill more in the editor, of the *Inftitutions*.

 a perfect

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a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren[70]; the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh his youngest son; but after *his* decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls[71]) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern ocean.

Civil wars of the sons of Bajazet, A.D. 1403—1421.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massy trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away, than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every sense, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was overspread with hords of shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin; the recent conquests of Bajazet were restored to the emirs, one of whom, in base revenge, demolished his sepulchre; and his five sons were eager, by civil discord, to consume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions[72]. 1. It is doubtful, whether I relate

1. Mustapha;

[70] Consult the last chapters of Sherefeddin and Arabshah, and M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. l. xx.). Fraser's History of Nadir Shah, p. 1—62. The story of Timour's descendants is imperfectly told: and the second and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

[71] Shah Allum, the present Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour by Miran Shah, his third son. See the iid volume of Dow's History of Hindostan.

[72] The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of Mustapha, are related, according

relate the ſtory of the true *Muſtapha*, or of an impoſtor, who perſonated that loſt prince. He fought by his father's ſide in the battle of Angora: but when the captive ſultan was permitted to enquire for his children, Mouſa alone could be found; and the Turkiſh hiſtorians, the ſlaves of the triumphant faction, are perſuaded that his brother was confounded among the ſlain. If Muſtapha eſcaped from that diſaſtrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies; till he emerged in Theſſaly, and was hailed by a numerous party, as the ſon and ſucceſſor of Bajazet. His firſt defeat would have been his laſt, had not the true, or falſe, Muſtapha been ſaved by the Greeks, and reſtored, after the deceaſe of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind ſeemed to argue his ſpurious birth; and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman ſultan; his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impoſtor to popular contempt. A ſimilar character and claim was aſſerted by ſeveral rival pretenders; thirty perſons are ſaid to have ſuffered under the name of Muſtapha; and theſe frequent executions may perhaps inſinuate, that the Turkiſh court was not perfectly ſecure of the death of the lawful prince.

2. After his father's captivity, Iſa[73] reigned for ſome time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea; and his ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed from the preſence of Timour with fair promiſes and honourable gifts. But their maſter was ſoon deprived of his province and life, by a jealous brother, the ſovereign of Amaſia; and the final event ſuggeſted a pious alluſion, that the law of Moſes and Jeſus, of *Iſa* and *Mouſa*, had been abrogated by the greater *Mahomet*.

2. Iſa;

3. *Soliman* is not numbered in the liſt of the Turkiſh emperors: yet he checked the victorious progreſs of the Moguls; and after their departure, united for a while the thrones of Adrianople

3. Soliman, A. D. 1403—1410.

cording to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir (p. 58—82.). Of the Greeks, Chalcondyles (l. iv and v.), Phranza (l. i. c. 30—32.), and Ducas (c. 18—27.), the laſt is the moſt copious and beſt informed.

[73] Arabſhah, tom. ii. c. 26. whoſe teſtimony on this occaſion is weighty and valuable. The exiſtence of Iſa (unknown to the Turks) is likewiſe confirmed by Shereeddin (l. v. c. 57.).

and

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and Bourſa. In war he was brave, active, and fortunate: his courage was ſoftened by clemency; but it was likewiſe inflamed by preſumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleneſs. He relaxed the nerves of diſcipline, in a government where either the ſubject or the ſovereign muſt continually tremble: his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law; and his daily drunkenneſs, ſo contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a diſciple of the prophet. In the ſlumber of intoxication, he was ſurpriſed by his brother Mouſa; and as he fled from Adrianople towards the Byzantine capital, Soliman was overtaken and ſlain in a bath, after a reign of ſeven years and ten months. 4. The inveſtiture of Mouſa degraded him as the ſlave of the Moguls: his tributary kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treaſury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the ſovereign of Romania. Mouſa fled in diſguiſe from the palace of Bourſa; traverſed the Propontis in an open boat; wandered over the Walachian and Servian hills; and after ſome vain attempts, aſcended the throne of Adrianople, ſo recently ſtained with the blood of Soliman. In a reign of three years and an half, his troops were victorious againſt the Chriſtians of Hungary and the Morea; but Mouſa was ruined by his timorous diſpoſition and unſeaſonable clemency. After reſigning the ſovereignty of Anatolia, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his miniſters, and the ſuperior aſcendant of his brother Mahomet. 5. The final victory of Mahomet was the juſt recompenſe of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been entruſted with the government of Amaſia, thirty days journey from Conſtantinople, and the Turkiſh frontier againſt the Chriſtians of Trebizond and Georgia. The caſtle, in Aſiatic warfare, was eſteemed impregnable; and the city of Amaſia[74], which is equally divided by the river Iris,

4. Mouſa, A.D. 1410.

5. Mahomet I. A.D. 1413—1421.

[74] Arabſhah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302. Buſbequius, epiſt. i. p. 96, 97. in Itinere C. P. et Amaſiano.

riſes

rises on either side in the form of an amphitheatre, and represents on a smaller scale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and contumacious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his silent independence, and chased from the province the last stragglers of the Tartar host. He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isa; but in the contests of their more powerful brethren, his firm neutrality was respected; till, after the triumph of Mousa, he stood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty and Romania by arms; and the soldier who presented him with the head of Mousa was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his sole and peaceful reign were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim[75], who might guide the youth of his son Amurath; and such was their union and prudence, that they concealed above forty days the emperor's death, till the arrival of his successor in the palace of Boursa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

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Reign of Amurath II. A.D. 1421—1451, February 9.

In these conflicts, the wisest Turks, and indeed the body of the nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire; and Romania and Anatolia, so often torn asunder by private ambition, were animated by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers; and had they

Re-union of the Ottoman empire, A.D. 1421.

75 The virtues of Ibrahim are praised by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25.). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey: they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the sultan (Cantemir, p. 76.).

occupied

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occupied with a confederate fleet, the ſtreights of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at leaſt in Europe, muſt have been ſpeedily annihilated. But the ſchiſm of the Weſt, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterpriſe: they enjoyed the preſent reſpite, without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary intereſt, to ſerve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoeſe[76], which had been planted at Phocæa[77] on the Ionian coaſt, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum[78]; and their tranquillity, under the Turkiſh empire, was ſecured by the annual payment of tribute. In the laſt civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoeſe governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath; and undertook with ſeven ſtout gallies to tranſport him from Aſia to Europe. The ſultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ſhip; which was manned by eight hundred of the braveſt Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midſt of the paſſage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a diſcharge of his arrears of tribute. They landed in ſight of Muſtapha and Gallipoli; two thouſand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conqueſt of Adrianople; and this venal ſervice was ſoon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

[76] See Pachymer (l. v. 29.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.), Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57.), and Ducas (c. 25.). The laſt of theſe, a curious and careful obſerver, is entitled, from his birth and ſtation, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the iſlands. Among the nations that reſorted to New Phocæa, he mentions the Engliſh (Ιγγληνοι); an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

[77] For the ſpirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocæa, or rather of the Phocæans, conſult the 1st book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his laſt and learned French tranſlator, M. Larcher (tom. vii. p. 299.).

[78] Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. xxxv. 52.) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the firſt, and for the ſecond the iſle of Melos, whoſe alum mines are deſcribed by Tournefort (tom. i. lettre iv.), a traveller and a naturaliſt. After the loſs of Phocæa, the Genoeſe, in 1459, found that uſeful mineral in the iſle of Iſchia (Iſmael. Bouillaud, ad Ducam, c. 25.).

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State of the Greek empire, A.D. 1402—1425.

If Timour had generously marched at the request, and to the relief, of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians[79]. But a Musulman, who carried into Georgia the sword of persecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not disposed to pity or succour the *idolaters* of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition; and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days; and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the sad catastrophe. On a sudden he was astonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel[80] immediately sailed from Modon in the Morea; ascended the throne of Constantinople; and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the son of Bajazet were soon introduced to his presence; but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest; they were awed by the just apprehension, lest the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman saluted the emperor by the name of father; solicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania; and promised to deserve his favour by inviolable friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Mousa: the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople; but they were repulsed by sea and land;

[79] The writer who has the most abused this fabulous generosity, is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 349, 350. octavo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conquest of Russia, &c. and the passage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, visits, admires, and refuses the city of Constantine. His flattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of history: yet his pleasing fictions are more excusable than the gross errors of Cantemir.

[80] For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. see the Othman history of Cantemir (p. 70—95.), and the three Greeks, Chalcondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is still superior to his rivals.

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land; and unlefs the city was guarded by fome foreign mercenaries, the Greeks muft have wondered at their own triumph. But, inftead of prolonging the divifion of the Ottoman powers, the policy or paffion of Manuel was tempted to affift the moft formidable of the fons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whofe progrefs was checked by the infuperable barrier of Gallipoli: the fultan and his troops were tranfported over the Bofphorus; he was hofpitably entertained in the capital; and his fuccefsful fally was the firft ftep to the conqueft of Romania. The ruin was fufpended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror: he faithfully difcharged his own obligations and thofe of Soliman, refpected the laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two younger fons, in the vain hope of faving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his laft teftament would have offended the national honour and religion: and the divan unanimoufly pronounced, that the royal youths fhould never be abandoned to the cuftody and education of a Chriftian dog. On this refufal, the Byzantine councils were divided: but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the prefumption of his fon John; and they unfheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by difmiffing the true or falfe Muftapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hoftage, and for whofe maintenance they received an annual penfion of three hundred thoufand afpers [81]. At the door of his prifon, Muftapha fubfcribed to every propofal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were ftipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no fooner was he feated on the throne of Romania, than he difmiffed the Greek ambaffadors with a fmile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather anfwer for the violation of an oath, than for the furrender of a Mufulman

[81] The Turkifh afper (from the Greek ασπρο) is, or was, a piece of *white* or filver money, at prefent much debafed, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at leaft, of a Venetian ducat or fequin; and the 300,000 afpers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at 2500l. fterling (Leunclav. Pandect. Turc. p. 406—408.).

city

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city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals; from whom he had fustained, and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the enfuing fpring, by the fiege of Conftantinople [82].

Siege of Conftantinople by Amurath II. A.D. 1422, June 10—Auguft 24.

The religious merit of fubduing the city of the Cæfars, attracted from Afia a crowd of volunteers, who afpired to the crown of martyrdom: their military ardour was inflamed by the promife of rich fpoils and beautiful females; and the fultan's ambition was confecrated by the prefence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a defcendant of the prophet [83], who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred difciples. But he might blufh, if a fanatic could blufh, at the failure of his affurances. The ftrength of the walls refifted an army of two hundred thoufand Turks: their affaults were repelled by the fallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old refources of defence were oppofed to the new engines of attack; and the enthufiafm of the dervifh, who was fnatched to heaven in vifionary converfe with Mahomet, was anfwered by the credulity of the Chriftians, who *beheld* the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage [84]. After a fiege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Bourfa by a domeftic revolt, which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and was foon extinguifhed by the death of a guiltlefs brother. While he led his Janizaries to new conquefts in Europe and Afia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a fervile and precarious refpite of thirty years. Manuel funk into the grave; and John Palæologus was permitted to reign, for an annual tribute of three hundred thoufand afpers, and the dereliction of almoft all that he held beyond the fuburbs of Conftantinople.

The emperor John Palæologus II. A.D. 1425, July 21—A.D. 1448, October 31.

[82] For the fiege of Conftantinople in 1422, fee the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, publifhed by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolita (p. 188—199.).

[83] Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who defcribes Seid Bechar without naming him, fuppofes that the friend of Mahomet affumed in his amours the privilege of a prophet, and that the faireft of the Greek nuns were promifed to the faint and his difciples.

[84] For this miraculous apparition, Cananus appeals to the Mufulman faint; but who will bear teftimony for Seid Bechar?

In

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Hereditary succession and merit of the Ottomans.

In the establishment and restoration of the Turkish empire, the first merit must doubtless be assigned to the personal qualities of the sultans; since, in human life, the most important scenes will depend on the character of a single actor. By some shades of wisdom and virtue, they may be discriminated from each other; but, except in a single instance, a period of nine reigns, and two hundred and sixty-five years, is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Instead of the slothful luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field: from early youth they were entrusted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly institution, which was often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The Ottomans cannot style themselves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants or successors of the apostle of God; and the kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis, appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth[85]. Their origin is obscure; but their sacred and indefeasible right, which no time can erase and no violence can infringe, was soon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their subjects. A weak or vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an ideot: nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign[86]. While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by

[85] See Rycaut (l. i. c. 13.). The Turkish sultans assume the title of khan. Yet Abulghazi is ignorant of his Ottoman cousins.

[86] The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was slain at the battle of Salankanen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 382.), presumed to say, that all the successors of Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to abolish the race (Marsigli Stato Militare, &c. p. 28.). This political heretic was a good whig, and justified against the French ambassador the revolution of England (Mignot, Hist. Ottomans, tom. iii. p. 434.). His presumption condemns the singular exception of continuing offices in the same family.

the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

Education and discipline of the Turks.

To the spirit and constitution of that nation, a strong and singular influence may however be ascribed. The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmans, who had followed his ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are still covered with the white and black tents of their rustic brethren. But this original drop was dissolved in the mass of voluntary and vanquished subjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Moslems, the first and most honourable inhabitants; but they have abandoned, at least in Romania, the villages, and the cultivation of the land, to the Christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honours; and a servile class, an artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command [87]. From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the sultans were persuaded that a government of the sword must be renewed in each generation with new soldiers; and that such soldiers must be sought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia, became the perpetual seminary of the Turkish army; and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the Christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years, the most robust youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment

[87] Chalcondyles (l. v.) and Ducas (c. 23.) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish soldiers.

CHAP. LXV. ment they were clothed, taught, and maintained, for the public ſervice. According to the promiſe of their appearance, they were ſelected for the royal ſchools of Bourſa, Pera, and Adrianople, entruſted to the care of the baſhaws, or diſperſed in the houſes of the Anatolian peaſantry. It was the firſt care of their maſters to inſtruct them in the Turkiſh language: their bodies were exerciſed by every labour that could fortify their ſtrength; they learned to wreſtle, to leap to run, to ſhoot with the bow, and afterwards with the muſket; till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the Janizaries, and ſeverely trained in the military or monaſtic diſcipline of the order. The youths moſt conſpicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior claſs of *Agiamoglans*, or the more liberal rank of *Ichoglans*, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the perſon of the prince. In four ſucceſſive ſchools, under the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horſemanſhip and of darting the javelin were their daily exerciſe, while thoſe of a more ſtudious caſt applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Perſian tongues. As they advanced in ſeniority and merit, they were gradually diſmiſſed to military, civil, and even eccleſiaſtical employments: the longer their ſtay, the higher was their expectation; till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the forty agas, who ſtood before the ſultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the firſt honours of the empire [88]. Such a mode of inſtitution was admirably adapted to the form and ſpirit of a deſpotic monarchy. The miniſters and generals were, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, the ſlaves of the emperor, to whoſe bounty they were indebted for their inſtruction and

[88] This ſketch of the Turkiſh education and diſcipline, is chiefly borrowed from Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, the Stato Militare del' Imperio Ottomanno of Count Marſigli (in Haya, 1732, in folio), and a Deſcription of the Seraglio, approved by Mr. Greaves himſelf, a curious traveller, and inſerted in the ſecond volume of his works.

ſupport.

ſupport. When they left the ſeraglio, and ſuffered their beards to grow as the ſymbol of enfranchiſement, they found themſelves in an important office, without faction or friendſhip, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raiſed them from the duſt, and which, on the ſlighteſt diſpleaſure, could break in pieces theſe ſtatues of glaſs, as they are aptly termed by the Turkiſh proverb [89]. In the ſlow and painful ſteps of education, their characters and talents were unfolded to a diſcerning eye: the *man*, naked and alone, was reduced to the ſtandard of his perſonal merit; and, if the ſovereign had wiſdom to chuſe, he poſſeſſed a pure and boundleſs liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were trained by the virtues of abſtinence to thoſe of action; by the habits of ſubmiſſion to thoſe of command. A ſimilar ſpirit was diffuſed among the troops; and their ſilence and ſobriety, their patience and modeſty, have extorted the reluctant praiſe of their Chriſtian enemies [90]. Nor can the victory appear doubtful, if we compare the diſcipline and exerciſe of the Janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the new levies, the mutinous temper of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and diſorder, which ſo long contaminated the armies of Europe.

Invention and uſe of gunpowder.

The only hope of ſalvation for the Greek empire and the adjacent kingdoms, would have been ſome more powerful weapon, ſome diſcovery in the art of war, that ſhould give them a deciſive ſuperiority over their Turkiſh foes. Such a weapon was in their hands; ſuch a diſcovery had been made in the critical moment of their fate. The chymiſts of China or Europe had found, by caſual or elaborate experiments, that a mixture of ſaltpetre, ſulphur, and charcoal, produces, with a ſpark of fire, a tremendous exploſion. It was ſoon obſerved, that if the expanſive force were compreſſed in a ſtrong

[89] From the ſeries of cxv vizirs till the ſiege of Vienna (Marſigli, p. 13.), their place may be valued at three years and a half purchaſe.

[90] See the entertaining and judicious letters of Buſbequius.

tube,

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tube, a ball of ftone or iron might be expelled with irrefiftible and deftructive velocity. The precife æra of the invention and application of gunpowder [91] is involved in doubtful traditions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly difcern, that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century; and that before the end of the fame, the ufe of artillery in battles and fieges, by fea and land, was familiar to the ftates of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England [92]. The priority of nations is of fmall account; none could derive any exclufive benefit from their previous or fuperior knowledge; and in the common improvement they ftood on the fame level of relative power and military fcience. Nor was it poffible to circumfcribe the fecret within the pale of the church; it was difclofed to the Turks by the treachery of apoftates and the felfifh policy of rivals; and the fultans had fenfe to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Chriftian engineer. The Genoefe, who tranfported Amurath into Europe, muft be accufed as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was caft and directed at the fiege of Conftantinople [93]. The firft attempt was indeed unfuccefsful; but in the general warfare of the age, the advantage was on *their* fide, who were moft commonly the affailants; for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was fufpended; and this thundering artillery was pointed againft the walls and towers

[91] The I[st] and II[d] volumes of Dr. Watfon's Chemical Effays, contain two valuable difcourfes on the difcovery and compofition of gunpowder.

[92] On this fubject, modern teftimonies cannot be trufted. The original paffages are collected by Ducange (Gloff. Latin. tom. i. p. 675. *Bombarda*). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, found, fire, and effect, that feem to exprefs *our* artillery, may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek fire. For the Englifh cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (Chron. l. xii. c. 65.), muft be weighed againft the filence of Froiffard. Yet Muratori (Antiquit. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. ii. Differt. xxvi. p. 514, 515.) has produced a decifive paffage from Petrarch (de Remediis utriufque Fortunæ Dialog.), who, before the year 1344, execrates this terreftrial thunder, *nuper* rara, *nunc* communis.

[93] The Turkifh cannon, which Ducas (c. 30.) firft introduces before Belgrade (A.D. 1436), is mentioned by Chalcondyles (l. v. p. 123.) in 1422, at the fiege of Conftantinople.

which

which had been erected only to resist the less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the sultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power; the secret was soon propagated to the extremities of Asia; and the advantage of the European was confined to his easy victories over the savages of the new world. If we contrast the rapid progress of this mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind. C H A P. LXV.

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Applications of the Eaſtern Emperors to the Popes.—Viſits to the Weſt, of John the Firſt, Manuel, and John the Second, Palæologus.—Union of the Greek and Latin Churches, promoted by the Council of Baſil, and concluded at Ferrara and Florence.—State of Literature at Conſtantinople.—Its Revival in Italy by the Greek Fugitives.—Curioſity and Emulation of the Latins.

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Embaſſy of the younger Andronicus to pope Benedict XII. A.D. 1339.

IN the four laſt centuries of the Greek emperors, their friendly or hoſtile aſpect towards the pope and the Latins, may be obſerved as the thermometer of their proſperity or diſtreſs; as the ſcale of the riſe and fall of the Barbarian dynaſties. When the Turks of the houſe of Seljuk pervaded Aſia and threatened Conſtantinople, we have ſeen at the council of Placentia, the ſuppliant ambaſſadors of Alexius, imploring the protection of the common father of the Chriſtians. No ſooner had the arms of the French pilgrims removed the ſultan from Nice to Iconium, than the Greek princes reſumed, or avowed, their genuine hatred and contempt for the ſchiſmatics of the Weſt, which precipitated the firſt downfal of their empire. The date of the Mogul invaſion is marked in the ſoft and charitable language of John Vataces. After the recovery of Conſtantinople, the throne of the firſt Palæologus was encompaſſed by foreign and domeſtic enemies: as long as the ſword of Charles was ſuſpended over his head, he baſely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff; and ſacrificed

ſacrificed to the preſent danger, his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his ſubjects. On the deceaſe of Michael, the prince and people aſſerted the independence of their church and the purity of their creed: the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins; in his laſt diſtreſs, pride was the ſafeguard of ſuperſtition, nor could he decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandſon, the younger Andronicus, was leſs a ſlave in his temper and ſituation; and the conqueſt of Bithynia by the Turks, admoniſhed him to ſeek a temporal and ſpiritual alliance with the weſtern princes. After a ſeparation and ſilence of fifty years, a ſecret agent, the monk Barlaam, was diſpatched to pope Benedict the twelfth; and his artful inſtructions appear to have been drawn by the maſter-hand of the great domeſtic [1]. "Moſt "holy father," was he commiſſioned to ſay, "the emperor is not "leſs deſirous than yourſelf of an union between the two churches: "but in this delicate tranſaction, he is obliged to reſpect his own "dignity and the prejudices of his ſubjects. The ways of union are "two-fold; force, and perſuaſion. Of force, the inefficacy has been "already tried; ſince the Latins have ſubdued the empire, without "ſubduing the minds, of the Greeks. The method of perſuaſion, "though ſlow, is ſure and permanent. A deputation of thirty or "forty of our doctors would probably agree with thoſe of the "Vatican, in the love of truth and the unity of belief: but on their "return, what would be the uſe, the recompenſe of ſuch agree-"ment? the ſcorn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a blind "and obſtinate nation. Yet that nation is accuſtomed to reverence "the general councils, which have fixed the articles of our faith; "and if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is becauſe the Eaſtern "churches were neither heard nor repreſented in that arbitrary

The arguments for a cruſade and union.

[1] This curious inſtruction was tranſcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Odoricus Raynaldus, in his continuation of the Annals of Baronius (Romæ, 1646—1677, in x volumes in folio). I have contented myſelf with the abbé Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique, tom. xx. p. 1—8.), whoſe abſtracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

"meeting.

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" meeting. For this falutary end, it will be expedient, and even " neceffary, that a well-chofen legate fhould be fent into Greece, " to convene the patriarchs of Conftantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, " and Jerufalem; and, with their aid, to prepare a free and uni- " verfal fynod. But at this moment," continued the fubtle agent, " the empire is affaulted and endangered by the Turks, who have " occupied four of the greateft cities of Anatolia. The Chriftian " inhabitants have expreffed a wifh of returning to their allegiance " and religion; but the forces and revenues of the emperor are in- " fufficient for their deliverance: and the Roman legate muft be " accompanied, or preceded, by an army of Franks, to expel the " infidels, and open a way to the holy fepulchre." If the fufpicious Latins fhould require fome pledge, fome previous effect of the fin-cerity of the Greeks, the anfwers of Barlaam were perfpicuous and rational. " 1. A general fynod can alone confummate the union " of the churches; nor can fuch a fynod be held till the three Orien- " tal patriarchs, and a great number of bifhops, are enfranchifed " from the Mahometan yoke. 2. The Greeks are alienated by a " long feries of oppreffion and injury: they muft be reconciled by " fome act of brotherly love, fome effectual fuccour, which may " fortify the authority and arguments, of the emperor, and the " friends of the union. 3. If fome difference of faith or ceremonies " fhould be found incurable, the Greeks however are the difciples " of Chrift; and the Turks are the common enemies of the Chrif- " tian name. The Armenians, Cyprians, and Rhodians, are equally " attacked; and it will become the piety of the French princes to " draw their fwords in the general defence of religion. 4. Should " the fubjects of Andronicus be treated as the worft of fchifmatics, " of heretics, of pagans, a judicious policy may yet inftruct the " powers of the Weft to embrace an ufeful ally, to uphold a finking " empire, to guard the confines of Europe; and rather to join the " Greeks againft the Turks, than to expect the union of the Turkifh

" arms

" arms with the troops and treafures of captive Greece." The reafons, the offers, and the demands, of Andronicus, were eluded with cold and ftately indifference. The kings of France and Naples declined the dangers and glory of a crufade: the pope refufed to call a new fynod to determine old articles of faith: and his regard for the obfolete claims of the Latin emperor and clergy, engaged him to ufe an offenfive fuperfcription: " To the *moderator*[2] of the Greeks, " and the perfons who ftyle themfelves the patriarchs of the Eaftern " churches." For fuch an embaffy, a time and character lefs propitious could not eafily have been found. Benedict the twelfth[3] was a dull peafant, perplexed with fcruples, and immerfed in floth and wine: his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and the paftoral office.

Negociation of Cantacuzene with Clement VI. A. D. 1348.

After the deceafe of Andronicus, while the Greeks were diftracted by inteftine war, they could not prefume to agitate a general union of the Chriftians. But as foon as Cantacuzene had fubdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to juftify, or at leaft to extenuate, the introduction of the Turks into Europe, and the nuptials of his daughter with a Mufulman prince. Two officers of ftate, with a Latin interpreter, were fent in his name to the Roman court, which was tranfplanted to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhône, during a period of feventy years; they reprefented the hard neceffity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the mifcreants, and pronounced by his command the fpecious and edifying

[2] The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and *moderator*, as fynonymous to *rector*, *gubernator*, is a word of claffical, and even Ciceronian, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Gloffary of Ducange, but in the Thefaurus of Robert Stephens.

[3] The firft Epiftle (fine titulo) of Petrarch, expofes the danger of the *bark*, and the incapacity of the *pilot*. Hæc inter, vino madidus, ævo gravis ac foporifero rore perfufus, jamjam nutitat, dormitat, jam fomno præceps, atque (utinam folus) ruit.... Heu quanto felicius patrio terram fulcaffet aratro, quam fcalmum pifcatorium afcendiffet. This fatire engages his biographer to weigh the virtues and vices of Benedict XII. which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Ghibelines, by Papifts and Proteftants (fee Memoires fur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 259. ii. not. xv. p. 13—16.). He gave occafion to the faying, Bibamus papaliter.

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founds of union and crufade. Pope Clement the fixth [4], the fucceffor of Benedict, received them with hofpitality and honour, acknowledged the innocence of their fovereign, excufed his diftrefs, applauded his magnanimity, and difplayed a clear knowledge of the ftate and revolutions of the Greek empire, which he had imbibed from the honeft accounts of a Savoyard lady, an attendant of the emprefs Anne [5]. If Clement was ill-endowed with the virtues of a prieft, he poffeffed however the fpirit and magnificence of a prince, whofe liberal hand diftributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign, Avignon was the feat of pomp and pleafure: in his youth he had furpaffed the licentioufnefs of a baron; and the palace, nay, the bed-chamber of the pope, was adorned, or polluted, by the vifits of his female favourites. The wars of France and England were adverfe to the holy enterprife; but his vanity was amufed by the fplendid idea; and the Greek ambaffadors returned with two Latin bifhops, the minifters of the pontiff. On their arrival at Conftantinople, the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence: and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual praifes and promifes, by which both parties were amufed, and neither could be deceived. "I am delighted," faid the devout Cantacuzene, "with the project of our holy war, which muft re-"dound to my perfonal glory, as well as to the public benefit of "Chriftendom. My dominions will give a free paffage to the "armies of France: my troops, my gallies, my treafures, fhall be "confecrated to the common caufe; and happy would be my fate, "could I deferve and obtain the crown of martyrdom. Words are

[4] See the original lives of Clement VI. in Muratori (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 550—589.). Matteo Villani (Chron. l. iii. c. 43. in Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 186.), who ftyles him, molto cavallarefco, poco religiofo; Fleury (Hift. Ecclef. tom. xx. p. 126.), and the Vie de Petrarque (tom. ii. p. 42—45.). The abbé de Sade treats him with the moft indulgence; but *he* is a gentleman as well as a prieft.

[5] Her name (moft probably corrupted) was Zampea. She had accompanied, and alone remained with her miftrefs at Conftantinople, where her prudence, erudition, and politenefs, deferved the praifes of the Greeks themfelves (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 42.).

"infuffi-

"insufficient to expreſs the ardour with which I ſigh for the reunion "of the ſcattered members of Chriſt. If my death could avail, I "would gladly preſent my ſword and my neck: if the ſpiritual "phœnix could ariſe from my aſhes, I would erect the pile and "kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor preſumed to obſerve, that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he diſclaimed the ſervile and arbitrary ſteps of the firſt Palæologus; and firmly declared, that he would never ſubmit his conſcience unleſs to the decrees of a free and univerſal ſynod. "The ſituation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the "pope and myſelf to meet either at Rome or Conſtantinople; but "ſome maritime city may be choſen on the verge of the two em-"pires, to unite the biſhops, and to inſtruct the faithful, of the "Eaſt and Weſt." The nuncios ſeemed content with the propoſition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were ſoon overthrown by the death of Clement and the different temper of his ſucceſſor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloiſter; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counſels of his pupil or the ſtate[6].

Treaty of John Palæologus I. with Innocent VI. A.D. 1355.

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the beſt diſpoſed to embrace, to believe, and to obey, the ſhepherd of the Weſt. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the boſom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus impoſed a change of name, of apparel, and of worſhip; but her heart was ſtill faithful to her country and religion; ſhe had formed the infancy of her ſon, and ſhe governed the emperor, after his mind, or at leaſt his ſtature, was enlarged to the ſize of man. In the firſt year of his deliverance and reſtoration, the Turks were ſtill maſters

[6] See this whole negociation in Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 9.), who, amidſt the praiſes and virtues which he beſtows on himſelf, reveals the uneaſineſs of a guilty conſcience.

CHAP. LXVI. of the Hellespont; the son of Cantacuzene was in arms at Adrianople; and Palæologus could depend neither on himself nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery[7], subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the *golden* bull, was privately intrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the sixth and his successors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promises to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to assign a palace for their residence and a temple for their worship; and to deliver his second son Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these condescensions, he requires a prompt succour of fifteen gallies, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Musulman enemies. Palæologus engages to impose on his clergy and people the same spiritual yoke; but as the resistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was empowered to distribute the vacant benefices among the ecclesiastics who should subscribe the creed of the Vatican: three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Constantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first student. Should he fail in the measures of persuasion or force, Palæologus declares himself unworthy to reign; transferred to the pope all regal and paternal authority; and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage, of his son and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published: the Roman gallies were as vain and imaginary as the submission of the Greeks; and it was only by the secrecy, that their sovereign escaped the dishonour, of this fruitless humiliation.

[7] See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hist. Ecclef. p. 151—154.), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

The

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Visit of John Palæologus to Urban V. at Rome, A. D. 1369, October 13, &c.

The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and, after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, he was enclosed in his capital, the vassal of the haughty Amurath, with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state, Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the pope; he was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could seek consolation or relief; and with less violation of his dignity he might appear in the sacred college than at the Ottoman *Porte*. After a long absence, the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tyber; Urban the fifth[8], of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince; and, within the same year, enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the two Imperial shadows, who represented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this suppliant visit, the emperor of Constantinople, whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty sounds and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed; and in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true Catholic, the supremacy of the pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification, he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter; Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kissed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honourable; yet some difference was observed between the emperors of the

[8] See the two first original lives of Urban V. (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 623. 635.), and the Ecclesiastical Annals of Spondanus (tom. i. p. 573. A. D. 1369, N° 7.) and Raynaldus (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 223, 224.). Yet, from some variations, I suspect the papal writers of slightly magnifying the genuflexions of Palæologus.

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East and West[9]; nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chaunting the gospel in the rank of a deacon[10]. In favour of his proselyte, Urban strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king, and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood[11], or Acuto, who with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; sold his services to the hostile states; and incurred a just excommunication by shooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special licence was granted to negociate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise; and it was for the advantage perhaps of Palæologus to be disappointed of a succour, that must have been costly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous[12]. The disconsolate Greek[13] prepared for his return, but even his return was impeded by a most ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed

9 Paullo minus quam si fuisset Imperator Romanorum. Yet his title of Imperator Græcorum was no longer disputed (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.).

10 It was confined to the successors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas day. On all other festivals, these Imperial deacons were content to serve the pope, as he said mass, with the book and the *corporal*. Yet the abbé de Sade generously thinks, that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A. D. 1368, November 1.), to the whole privilege. He seems to affix a just value on the privilege and the man (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 735.).

11 Through some Italian corruptions, the etymology of *Falcone in bosco* (Matteo Villani, l. xi. c. 79. in Muratori, tom. xv. p. 746.), suggests the English word *Hawkwood*, the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Anglican. inter Scriptores Cambdeni, p. 184.). After two-and-twenty victories, and one defeat, he died, in 1394, General of the Florentines, and was buried with such honours as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 212—371.).

12 This torrent of English (by birth or service) overflowed from France into Italy after the peace of Bretigny in 1360. Yet the exclamation of Muratori (Annali, tom. xii. p. 197) is rather true than civil. "Ci mancava ancor questo, che dopo essere calpestrata l'Italia da tanti masnadieri Tedeschi ed Ungheri, venissero fin dall' Inghliterra nuovi *cani* a finire di divorarla."

13 Chalcondyles, l. i. p. 25, 26. The Greek supposes his journey to the king of France, which is sufficiently refuted by the silence of the national historians. Nor am I much more inclined to believe, that Palæologus departed from Italy, valde bene consolatus et contentus (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.).

large

large ſums at exorbitant uſury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his perſon was detained as the beſt ſecurity for the payment. His eldeſt ſon Andronicus, the regent of Conſtantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhauſt every reſource; and, even by ſtripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and diſgrace. But the unnatural youth was inſenſible of the diſgrace, and ſecretly pleaſed with the captivity of the emperor; the ſtate was poor, the clergy was obſtinate; nor could ſome religious ſcruple be wanting to excuſe the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was ſeverely reproved by the piety of his brother Manuel, who inſtantly ſold or mortgaged all that he poſſeſſed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be reſponſible for the debt. On his return to Conſtantinople, the parent and king diſtinguiſhed his two ſons with ſuitable rewards; but the faith and manners of the ſlothful Palæologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apoſtacy or converſion, devoid of any ſpiritual or temporal effects, was ſpeedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins [14].

His return to Conſtantinople, A.D. 1370.

Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his ſon and ſucceſſor, Manuel, from a ſimilar motive, but on a larger ſcale, again viſited the countries of the Weſt. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the ſiege or blockade of Conſtantinople, and the French ſuccour under the command of the gallant Boucicault [15]. By his ambaſſadors, Manuel had ſolicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the preſence of a diſtreſſed monarch would draw tears and ſupplies from the hardeſt Barbarians [16]; and the marſhal who adviſed the journey, prepared the reception, of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by

Viſit of the emperor Manuel

[14] His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1373 (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 241.), leaves ſome intermediate æra for the conſpiracy and puniſhment of Andronicus.

[15] Memoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 35, 36.

[16] His journey into the weſt of Europe, is ſlightly, and I believe reluctantly, noticed by Chalcondyles (l. ii. c. 44—50.) and Ducas (c. 14.).

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the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was safe and open: Italy received him as the first, or, at least, as the second of the Christian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith; and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from sinking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia; and even the duke of Milan, a secret ally of Bajazet, gave him safe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions [17]. On the confines of France [18], the royal officers undertook the care of his person, journey, and expences; and two thousand of the richest citizens, in arms and on horseback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was saluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. The successor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white silk, and mounted on a milk-white steed; a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of singular importance: the white colour is considered as the symbol of sovereignty; and, in a late visit, the German emperor, after an haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courser. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chace, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence and amuse his grief: he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance on the state of the kingdom, must teach him to despair of any effectual assistance.

to the court of France, A. D. 1400, June 3;

[17] Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 406. John Galeazzo was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attested by Froissard; and he contributed to save and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

[18] For the reception of Manuel at Paris, see Spondanus (Annal. Eccles. tom. i. p. 676, 677. A. D. 1400, N° 5.), who quotes Juvenal des Ursins, and the monk of St. Denys; and Villaret (Hist. de France, tom. xii. p. 331—334.), who quotes nobody, according to the last fashion of the French writers.

The

The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed ſome lucid intervals, continually relapſed into furious or ſtupid inſanity: the reins of government were alternately ſeized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whoſe factious competition prepared the miſeries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, diſſolved in luxury and love: the latter was the father of John count of Nevers, who had ſo lately been ranſomed from Turkiſh captivity; and, if the fearleſs ſon was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the coſt and peril of the firſt experiment. When Manuel had ſatiated the curioſity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he reſolved on a viſit to the adjacent iſland. In his progreſs from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Auſtin; and, on Blackheath, king Henry the fourth, with the Engliſh court, ſaluted the Greek hero (I copy our old hiſtorian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the Eaſt [19]. But the ſtate of England was ſtill more adverſe to the deſign of the holy war. In the ſame year, the hereditary ſovereign had been depoſed and murdered; the reigning prince was a ſucceſsful uſurper, whoſe ambition was puniſhed by jealouſy and remorſe: nor could Henry of Lancaſter withdraw his perſon or forces from the defence of a throne inceſſantly ſhaken by conſpiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praiſed, he feaſted, the emperor of Conſtantinople; but if the Engliſh monarch aſſumed the croſs, it was only to appeaſe his people, and perhaps his conſcience, by the merit or ſemblance of this pious intention [20]. Satisfied, however,

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of England, A. D. 1400, December.

[19] A ſhort note of Manuel in England, is extracted by Dr. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (de Græcis illuſtribus, p. 14.), C. P. Imperator, diu variiſque et horrendis Paganorum inſultibus coartatus, ut pro eiſdem reſiſtentiam triumphalem perquireret Anglorum Regem viſitare decrevit, &c. Rex (ſays Walſingham, p. 364.) nobili apparatû .... ſuſcepit (ut decuit) tantum Heroa, duxitque Londonias, et per multos dies exhibuit glorioſe, pro expenſis hoſpitii ſui ſolvens, et eum reſpiciens tanto faſtigio donativis. He repeats the ſame in his Upodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 556.).

[20] Shakeſpeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a cruſade, and his belief that he ſhould die in Jeruſalem.

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with gifts and honours, Manuel returned to Paris; and, after a residence of two years in the Weſt, ſhaped his courſe through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had eſcaped the ignominious neceſſity of offering his religion to public or private ſale. The Latin church was diſtracted by the great ſchiſm: the kings, the nations, the univerſities, of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendſhip of both parties, abſtained from any correſpondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he paſſed through Italy without deſiring, or deſerving, the plenary indulgence which aboliſhed the guilt or penance of the ſins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by this neglect; accuſed him of irreverence to an image of Chriſt; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obſtinate ſchiſmatic [21].

His return to Greece, A. D. 1402.

Greek knowledge and deſcriptions

During the period of the cruſades, the Greeks beheld with aſtoniſhment and terror the perpetual ſtream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the Weſt. The viſits of their laſt emperors removed the veil of ſeparation, and they diſcloſed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer preſumed to brand with the name of Barbarians. The obſervations of Manuel, and his more inquiſitive followers, have been preſerved by a Byzantine hiſtorian of the times [22]: his ſcattered

[21] This fact is preſerved in the Hiſtoria Politica, A. D. 1391–1478, publiſhed by Martin Cruſius (Turco Græcia, p. 1–43.). The image of Chriſt, which the Greek emperor refuſed to worſhip, was probably a work of ſculpture.

[22] The Greek and Turkiſh hiſtory of Laonicus Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt concluſion ſeems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the ſame year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that ſome contemporaries of the ſame name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digreſſions, the modeſt hiſtorian has never introduced himſelf; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 474.), ſeems ignorant of his life and character. For his deſcriptions of Germany, France, and England, ſee l. ii. p. 36, 37. 44–50.

ideas

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ideas I ſhall collect and abridge; and it may be amuſing enough, perhaps inſtructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whoſe ancient and modern ſtate are ſo familiar to *our* minds. I. GERMANY (ſays the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the Ocean; and it ſtretches (a ſtrange geography) from Prague in Bohemia to the river Tarteſſus, and the Pyrenæan mountains[23]. The ſoil, except in figs and olives, is ſufficiently fruitful; the air is ſalubrious; the bodies of the natives are robuſt and healthy; and theſe cold regions are ſeldom viſited with the calamities of peſtilence, or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the moſt numerous of nations; they are brave and patient, and were they united under a ſingle head, their force would be irreſiſtible. By the gift of the pope, they have acquired the privilege of chuſing the Roman emperor[24]; nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greateſt part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Straſburgh, Cologne, Hamburgh, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed by ſage and equal laws, according to the will, and for the advantage, of the whole community. The uſe of duels, or ſingle combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war; their induſtry excels in all the mechanic arts, and the Germans may boaſt of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffuſed over the greateſt part of the world. II. The kingdom of FRANCE is ſpread above fifteen or twenty days journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to

of Germany;

of France;

[23] I ſhall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcondyles. In this inſtance, he perhaps followed, and miſtook, Herodotus (l. ii. c. 33.), whoſe text may be explained (Herodote de Larcher, tom. ii. p. 219, 220.), or whoſe ignorance may be excuſed. Had theſe modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their leſſer geographers?

[24] A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome ſurvived, would have ſcorned to dignify the German Ρηξ with the titles of Βασιλευς, or Αὐτοκρατωρ Ρωμαιων: but all pride was extinct in the boſom of Chalcondyles; and he deſcribes the Byzantine prince, and his ſubject, by the proper, though humble names of Ἕλληνες, and Βασιλευς Ἑλληνων.

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the Britiſh Ocean; containing many flouriſhing cities, and among theſe Paris, the ſeat of the king, which ſurpaſſes the reſt in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his palace, and acknowledge him as their ſovereign; the moſt powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter poſſeſſes the wealthy province of Flanders, whoſe harbours are frequented by the ſhips and merchants of our own and the more remote ſeas. The French are an ancient and opulent people: and their language and manners, though ſomewhat different, are not diſſimilar from thoſe of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland [25]; they eſteem themſelves the firſt of the weſtern nations: but this fooliſh arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars againſt the Engliſh, the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſland. III. BRITAIN, in the ocean, and oppoſite to the ſhores of Flanders, may be conſidered either as one, or as three iſlands; but the whole is united by a common intereſt, by the ſame manners, and by a ſimilar government. The meaſure of its circumference is five thouſand ſtadia: the land is overſpread with towns and villages: though deſtitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley; in honey and wool; and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populouſneſs and power, in riches and luxury, London [26], the metropolis of the iſle, may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the Weſt. It is ſituate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which at the diſtance of thirty miles falls into the Gallic Sea; and the daily

of England.

[25] Moſt of the old romances were tranſlated in the xiv[th] century into French proſe, and ſoon became the favourite amuſement of the knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may ſurely be excuſed, ſince the monks of St. Denys, the national hiſtorians, have inſerted the fables of archbiſhop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

[26] Λονδινη .... δε τε πολις δυναμει τε προεχουσα των εν τη νησω ταυτη πασων πολεων, ολβω τε και τη αλλη ευδαιμονια ουδεμιας των προς εσπεραν λειπομενη. Even ſince the time of Fitzſtephen (the xii[th] century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increaſe has, at leaſt, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

flow

flow and ebb of the tide, affords a safe entrance and departure to the vessels of commerce. The king is the head of a powerful and turbulent aristocracy; his principal vassals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure; and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic sedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their swords from the Greeks; the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decisive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent; in the habits of domestic life, they are not easily distinguished from their neighbours of France: but the most singular circumstance of their manners is their disregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame; nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce, and its inevitable consequences[27]. Informed as we are of the customs of old England, and assured of the virtue of our mothers, we may smile at the credulity, or resent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest salute[28] with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injustice may teach an important lesson; to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man[29].

[27] If the double sense of the verb Κυω (osculor, and in utero gero) be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and mistake (p. 49.).

[28] Erasmus (Epist. Fausto Andrelino) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous inferences.

[29] Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Cæsar and Dion (Dion Cassius, l. lxii. tom. ii. p. 1007.), with Reimar's judicious annotation. The *Arreoy* of Otaheite, so certain at first, is become less visible and scandalous, in proportion as we have studied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

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Indifference of Manuel towards the Latins, A. D. 1402—1417.

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship and spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion; and his leisure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance[30] announces the restoration of the Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church; the conquest of the sultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the siege of Constantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost. When Martin the fifth ascended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one side, and distress on the other, dictated the same decent language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his six sons to Italian princesses; and the Roman, not less artful, dispatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to soften by their charms the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of danger and repose, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed and disavowed his ministers; and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of enquiry, the obligation of collecting the sense of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public transactions it will appear, that the Greeks insisted on three successive measures, a succour, a council, and a final re-union, while the Latins eluded the second, and only promised the first, as a consequential and voluntary reward of the third. But we have an

His negociations, A. D. 1417—1425.

[30] See Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 576.; and for the ecclesiastical history of the times, the Annals of Spondanus, the Bibliotheque of Dupin, tom. xii. and xxi[st] and xxii[d] volumes of the History, or rather the Continuation, of Fleury.

His private motives.

an opportunity of unfolding the moſt ſecret intentions of Manuel, as he explained them in a private converſation without artifice or diſguiſe. In his declining age, the emperor had aſſociated John Palæologus, the ſecond of the name, and the eldeſt of his ſons, on whom he devolved the greateſt part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the preſence only of the hiſtorian Phranza [31], his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and ſucceſſor the true principle of his negociations with the pope [32]. " Our laſt reſource," ſaid Manuel, " againſt the Turks is " their fear of our union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of " the Weſt, who may arm for our relief and for their deſtruction. " As often as you are threatened by the miſcreants, preſent this " danger before their eyes. Propoſe a council ; conſult on the " means ; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an aſſembly, " which cannot tend either to our ſpiritual or temporal emolument. " The Latins are proud ; the Greeks are obſtinate ; neither party " will recede or retract ; and the attempt of a perfect union will " confirm the ſchiſm, alienate the churches, and leave us, without " hope or defence, at the mercy of the Barbarians." Impatient of this ſalutary leſſon, the royal youth aroſe from his ſeat, and departed in ſilence ; and the wiſe monarch (continues Phranza), caſting his eyes on me, thus reſumed his diſcourſe : " My ſon deems " himſelf a great and heroic prince ; but, alas ! our miſerable age

[31] From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the ſervice of the ſtate and palace ; and Hanckius (de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to his ſucceſſor : Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, qui miniſtravit mihi fideliter et diligenter (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1.). Yet the emperor John was cold, and he preferred the ſervice of the deſpots of Peloponneſus.

[32] See Phranzes, l. ii. c. 13. While ſo many manuſcripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Eſcurial, &c. it is a matter of ſhame and reproach, that we ſhould be reduced to the Latin verſion, or abſtract, of James Pontanus (ad calcem Theophylact Simocattæ ; Ingolſtadt, 1604), ſo deficient in accuracy and elegance (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 615—620.).

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"does not afford ſcope for heroiſm or greatneſs. His daring ſpirit "might have ſuited the happier times of our anceſtors; but the "preſent ſtate requires not an emperor, but a cautious ſteward of "the laſt relics of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty ex-"pectations which he built on our alliance with Muſtapha; and "much do I fear, that his raſh courage will urge the ruin of our "houſe, and that even religion may precipitate our downfal." Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preſerved the peace and eluded the council; till, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious moveables among his children and the poor, his phyſicians and his favourite ſervants. Of his ſix ſons [33], Andronicus the ſecond was inveſted with the principality of Theſſalonica, and died of a leproſy ſoon after the ſale of that city to the Venetians and its final conqueſt by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents had reſtored Peloponneſus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more proſperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow iſthmus of ſix miles [34] with a ſtone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the firſt blaſt of the Ottomans: the fertile peninſula might have been ſufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Conſtantine, Demetrius and Thomas; but they waſted in domeſtic conteſts the remains of their ſtrength; and the leaſt ſucceſsful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

His death.

Zeal of John Palæologus II. A. D. 1425—1437.

The eldeſt of the ſons of Manuel, John Palæologus the ſecond, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the ſole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and

[33] See Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 243—248.

[34] The exact meaſure of the Hexamilion, from ſea to ſea, was 3800 orgygiæ, or *toiſes*, of ſix Greek feet (Phranzes, l. i. c. 38.), which would produce a Greek mile, ſtill ſmaller than that of 660 French *toiſes*, which is aſſigned by d'Anville as ſtill in uſe in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the Iſthmus. See the Travels of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler.

[library stamp]

to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond: beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm assurance, that unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloister, and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only, victory of Palæologus was over a Jew[35], whom, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to the Christian faith; and this momentous conquest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he soon resumed the design of uniting the East and West; and, regardless of his father's advice, listened, as it should seem with sincerity, to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the fifth, and coldly entertained by his successor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negociation, the emperor received a summons from a Latin assembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church.

Corruption of the Latin church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom; but the victorious clergy were soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his sacred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trusts or commendams, disappointed by reversionary grants, and superseded by previous and arbitrary reservations[36]. A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome: the cardinals and favourites were enriched with the

[35] The first objection of the Jews, is on the death of Christ: if it were voluntary, Christ was a suicide; which the emperor parries with a mystery. They then dispute on the conception of the virgin, the sense of the prophecies, &c. (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 12. a whole chapter).

[36] In the treatise delle Materie Beneficiarie of Fra-Paolo (in the ivth volume of the last and best edition of his works), the papal system is deeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophical history, and a salutary warning.

spoils

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ſpoils of nations; and every country might complain that the moſt important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the heads of aliens and abſentees. During their reſidence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes ſubſided in the meaner paſſions of avarice [37] and luxury: they rigorouſly impoſed on the clergy the tributes of firſt-fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, diſorder, and corruption. Theſe manifold ſcandals were aggravated by the great ſchiſm of the Weſt, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually expoſed; and their precarious ſituation degraded their authority, relaxed their diſcipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and reſtore the monarchy, of the church, the ſynods of Piſa and Conſtance [38] were ſucceſſively convened; but theſe great aſſemblies, conſcious of their ſtrength, reſolved to vindicate the privileges of the Chriſtian ariſtocracy. From a perſonal ſentence againſt two pontiffs, whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged ſovereign, whom they depoſed, the fathers of Conſtance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman ſupremacy; nor did they ſeparate till they had eſtabliſhed the authority, above the pope, of a general council. It was enacted, that, for the government and reformation of the church, ſuch aſſemblies ſhould be held at regular intervals; and that each ſynod, before its diſſolution, ſhould appoint the time and place of the ſubſequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was eaſily eluded;

Schiſm, A.D. 1377—1429.

Council of Piſa, A.D. 1409. of Conſtance, A.D. 1414—1418.

[37] Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of ſeven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20. in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765.), whoſe brother received the account from the papal treaſurers. A treaſure of ſix or eight millions ſterling in the xivth century is enormous, and almoſt incredible.

[38] A learned and liberal proteſtant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair hiſtory of the councils of Piſa, Conſtance, and Baſil, in ſix volumes in quarto: but the laſt part is the moſt haſty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Basil[39] had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius the fourth. A just suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to hasten the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the church-militant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the pope; and that a general council could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure, the contumacious successor of St. Peter. After many delays, to allow time for repentance, they finally declared, that, unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom: the emperor Sigismond declared himself the servant and protector of the synod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius; and he was driven from the Vatican by an insurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the same time by his temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his only choice: by a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and *seemed* to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the

CHAP. LXVI. of Basil, A. D. 1431—1443.

Their opposition to Eugenius IV.

[39] The original acts or minutes of the council of Basil, are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basil was a free city, conveniently situate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swiss. In 1459, the university was founded by pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), who had been secretary to the council. But what is a council, or an university, to the presses of Froben and the studies of Erasmus?

countries

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countries of the Eaſt; and it was in their preſence that Sigiſmond received the ambaſſadors of the Turkiſh ſultan [40], who laid at his feet twelve large vaſes, filled with robes of ſilk and pieces of gold.

Negociations with the Greeks, A. D. 1434—1437.

The fathers of Baſil aſpired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Conſtantinople to unite with an aſſembly which poſſeſſed the confidence of the Weſtern nations. Palæologus was not averſe to the propoſal; and his ambaſſadors were introduced with due honours into the Catholic ſenate. But the choice of the place appeared to be an inſuperable obſtacle, ſince he refuſed to paſs the Alps, or the ſea of Sicily, and poſitively required that the ſynod ſhould be adjourned to ſome convenient city in Italy, or at leaſt on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily ſtipulated: it was agreed to defray the travelling expences of the emperor, with a train of ſeven hundred perſons [41], to remit an immediate ſum of eight thouſand ducats [42] for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his abſence to grant a ſupply of ten thouſand ducats, with three hundred archers and ſome gallies, for the protection of Conſtantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expences; and the embarkation was prepared at Marſeilles with ſome difficulty and delay.

John Palæologus embarks in the pope's gallies,

In his diſtreſs, the friendſhip of Palæologus was diſputed by the eccleſiaſtical powers of the Weſt; but the dextrous activity of a monarch prevailed over the ſlow debates and inflexible temper of

[40] This Turkiſh embaſſy, atteſted only by Crantzius, is related with ſome doubt by the annaliſt Spondanus, A. D. 1433, N° 25. tom. i. p. 824.

[41] Syropulus, p. 19. In this liſt, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly ſpecified by the great eccleſiarch. The 75,000 florins which they aſked in this negociation of the pope (p. 9.), were more than they could hope or want.

[42] I uſe indifferently the words, *ducat* and *florin*, which derive their names, the former from the *dukes* of Milan, the latter from the republic of *Florence*. Theſe gold pieces, the firſt that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared in weight and value to one-third of the Engliſh guinea.

a re-

A. D. 1437, Nov. 24.

a republic. The decrees of Baſil continually tended to circumſcribe the deſpotiſm of the pope, and to erect a ſupreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for tranſlating a rebellious ſynod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was loſt if they paſſed the Alps: Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were deſcribed at Conſtantinople as ſituate far beyond the pillars of Hercules[43]; the emperor and his clergy were apprehenſive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by an haughty declaration, that after ſuppreſſing the *new* hereſy of the Bohemians, the council would ſoon eradicate the *old* hereſy of the Greeks[44]. On the ſide of Eugenius, all was ſmooth, and yielding, and reſpectful: and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his preſence the ſchiſm of the Latin, as well as of the Eaſtern, church. Ferrara, near the coaſt of the Adriatic, was propoſed for their amicable interview; and with ſome indulgence of forgery and theft, a ſurreptitious decree was procured, which transferred the ſynod, with its own conſent, to that Italian city. Nine gallies were equipped for this ſervice at Venice, and in the iſle of Candia; their diligence anticipated the ſlower veſſels of Baſil: the Roman admiral was commiſſioned to burn, ſink, and deſtroy[45]; and theſe prieſtly ſquadrons might have encountered each other in the ſame ſeas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the pre-eminence of glory. Aſſaulted

[43] At the end of the Latin verſion of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epiſtle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who adviſes the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the ſchiſmatic aſſembly of Baſil, the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conſpired to tranſport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps: οἱ αθλιοι (ſays he) σε και την μετα σου συνοδον εξω των Ηρακλειων ϛηλων και περα Γαδηρων εξαξουσι. Was Conſtantinople unprovided with a map?

[44] Syropulus (p. 26—31.) atteſts his own indignation, and that of his countrymen: and the Baſil deputies, who excuſed the raſh declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

[45] Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expreſsly declared, ὁτι ὁρισμον εχει παρα του Παπα ἱνα πολεμηση ὁπου αν ευρη τα κατεργα της Συνοδου, και ει δυνηθη καταδυση και αφανισῃ. The naval orders of the ſynod were leſs peremptory, and, till the hoſtile ſquadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

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by the importunity of the factions, who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palæologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice still dwelt on his memory: and reason must suggest, that since the Latins were divided among themselves, they could never unite in a foreign cause. Sigismond dissuaded the unseasonable adventure; his advice was impartial, since he adhered to the council; and it was enforced by the strange belief, that the German Cæsar would nominate a Greek his heir and successor in the empire of the West [46]. Even the Turkish sultan was a counsellor whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union, of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared with seeming magnanimity, that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate, in the absence of her sovereign [47]. The resolution of Palæologus was decided by the most splendid gifts and the most specious promises: he wished to escape for a while from a scene of danger and distress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman gallies. The age of the patriarch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the sea, and expressed his apprehension, that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin synod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering assurance, that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the secret wish of learning from his brother of the West, to deliver the church

[46] Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36.), and the last advice of Sigismond (p. 57.). At Corfu, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it sooner, he would have returned home (p. 79.).

[47] Phranzes himself, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13.). Utinam ne synodus ista unquam fuisset, si tantas offensiones et detrimenta paritura erat. This Turkish embassy is likewise mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58.); and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 125. 219.), but he never attacked the city.

from

from the yoke of kings [48]. The five *cross-bearers* or dignitaries of St. Sophia, were bound to attend his person; and one of these, the great ecclesiarch or preacher, Sylvester Syropulus [49], has composed [50] a free and curious history of the *false* union [51]. Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the summons of the emperor and the patriarch, submission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list of twenty bishops, we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice and Nicomedia, Ephesus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Bessarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church: and the service of the choir was performed by a select band of singers and musicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primate of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming splendour; whatever gold the emperor could procure, was expended in the massy orna-

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[48] The reader will smile at the simplicity with which he imparted these hopes to his favourites: τοιαυτην πληροφοριαν σχησειν ηλπιζε και δια του Παπα εθαρρει ελευθερωσαι την εκκλησιαν απο της αποτεθεισης αυτου δουλειας παρα του βασιλεως· (p. 92.). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practised the lessons of Gregory VII.

[49] The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, πουλος, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words: nor can any reasoning of Creyghton, the editor, excuse his changing into *Sguro*pulus (Sguros, fuscus) the Syropulus of his own manuscript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

[50] From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the year 1444, four years after the synod, when the great ecclesiarch had abdicated his office (sectio xii. p. 330—350.). His passions were cooled by time and retirement, and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

[51] *Vera historia unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos (Hagæ Comitis*, 1660, in folio), was first published with a loose and florid version, by Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the best of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style: but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

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ments of his bed and chariot[52]: and while they affected to maintain the profperity of their ancient fortune; they quarrelled for the divifion of fifteen thoufand ducats, the firft alms of the Roman pontiff. After the neceffary preparations, John Palæologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the moft refpectable perfons of the church and ftate, embarked in eight veffels with fails and oars, which fteered through the Turkifh ftreights of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf[53].

His triumphal entry at Venice, A. D. 1438, February 9;

After a tedious and troublefome navigation of feventy-feven days, this religious fquadron caft anchor before Venice; and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the world, the modeft Auguftus had never claimed fuch honours from his fubjects as were paid to his feeble fucceffor by an independent ftate. Seated on the poop, on a lofty throne, he received the vifit, or, in the Greek ftyle, the *adoration*, of the doge and fenators[54]. They failed in the Bucentaur, which was accompanied by twelve ftately gallies: the fea was overfpread with innumerable gondolas of pomp and pleafure; the air refounded with mufic and acclamations; the mariners, and even the veffels, were dreffed in filk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants, the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal proceffion, afcending the great canal, paffed under the bridge of the Rialto; and the eaftern ftrangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populoufnefs of a city

[52] Syropulus (p. 63.) fimply expreffes his intention: ἱν' ὅτω πομπάων εν Ιταλοις μεγας βασιλευς παρ' εκεινων νομιζοιτο; and the Latin of Creyghton may afford a fpecimen of his florid paraphrafe. Ut pompâ circumductus nofter Imperator Italiæ populis aliquis deauratus Jupiter crederetur, aut Crœfus ex opulenta Lydia.

[53] Although I cannot ftop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will obferve, that the navigation of the Greeks from Conftantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the ivth fection (p. 67—100.), and that the hiftorian has the uncommon talent of placing each fcene before the reader's eye.

[54] At the time of the fynod, Phranzes was in Peloponnefus; but he received from the defpot Demetrius, a faithful account of the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (Dux.... fedentem Imperatorem *adorat)*, which are more flightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16.).

that feems to float on the bofom of the waves[55]. They fighed to behold the fpoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the fack of Conftantinople. After an hofpitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus purfued his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara: and on this occafion, the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient dignity of the emperor of the Eaft. He made his entry on a *black* horfe; but a milk-white fteed, whofe trappings were embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Efte, the fons or kinfmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a fovereign more powerful than himfelf[56]. Palæologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the ftair-cafe: the pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refufed his proffered genuflexion; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the emperor to a feat on his left-hand. Nor would the patriarch defcend from his galley, till a ceremony, almoft equal, had been ftipulated between the bifhops of Rome and Conftantinople. The latter was faluted by his brother with a kifs of union and charity: nor would any of the Greek ecclefiaftics fubmit to kifs the feet of the Weftern primate. On the opening of the fynod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and ecclefiaftical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predeceffors had not affifted in perfon at Nice or Chalcedon, that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Conftantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left fides of the church fhould be occupied by the two nations: that the folitary chair of St. Peter fhould be raifed the firft of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy,

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into Ferrara, February 28.

[55] The aftonifhment of a Greek prince and a French ambaffador (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l. vii. c. 18.) at the fight of Venice, abundantly prove, that in the xv[th] century it was the firft and moft fplendid of the Chriftian cities. For the fpoils of Conftantinople at Venice, fee Syropulus (p. 87.).

[56] Nicholas III. of Efte, reigned forty-eight years (A. D. 1393—1441), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Commachio. See his life in Muratori (Antichità Eftenfe, tom. ii. p. 159—201.).

fhould

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should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the emperor of the West [57].

Council of the Greeks and Latins at Ferrara and Florence, A. D. 1438, October 8— A. D. 1439, July 6.

But as soon as festivity and form had given place to a more serious treaty, the Greeks were dissatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emissaries had painted him in a prosperous state; at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient, at his voice, to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal synod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; and the Latins opened the first session with only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greatest part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the West condescended to appear in person, or by their ambassadors; nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned above six months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favourites and *Janizaries*, fixed his summer residence at a pleasant spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleasures of the chace, the distress of the church and state; and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis or the husbandman [58]. In the mean while, his unfortunate Greeks were ex-

[57] The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their beards; nor was the emperor distinguished, except by the purple colour, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (Hody de Græcis Illustribus, p. 31.). Yet another spectator confesses, that the Greek fashion was piu grave e piu degna than the Italian (Vespasiano, in Vit. Eugen. IV. in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 261.).

[58] For the emperor's hunting, see Syropulus (p. 143, 144. 191.). The pope had sent him eleven miserable hacks: but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of *Janizaries* may surprise: but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottoman, to the Byzantine, court; and is often used in the last age of the empire.

posed to all the miseries of exile and poverty; for the support of each stranger, a monthly allowance was assigned of three or four gold florins; and although the entire sum did not amount to seven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court[59]. They sighed for a speedy deliverance, but their escape was prevented by a triple chain: a passport from their superiors was required at the gates of Ferrara; the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and send back the fugitives; and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople; excommunication, fines, and a sentence, which did not respect the sacerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped naked and publicly whipped[60]. It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to open the first conference; and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the rear of a flying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity: the city was visited by the plague; the fidelity of the marquis might be suspected; the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates; and as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the bishops, explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apennine[61].

Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the

[59] The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins *per* month to the persons of honourable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince or despot Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 691 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 104, 105.). On the 20th October 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (p. 172. 225. 271.).

[60] Syropulus (p. 141, 142. 204. 221.) deplores the imprisonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

[61] The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xiiith volume of the Annals of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145.), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

cause

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cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the fifth, who was successively a duke of Savoy, an hermit, and a pope; and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a favourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with some respectable members, deserted to the Roman army, which insensibly rose in numbers and reputation: the council of Basil was reduced to thirty-nine bishops, and three hundred of the inferior clergy[62]; while the Latins of Florence could produce the subscriptions of the pope himself, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight archbishops, fifty-two bishops, and forty-five abbots, or chiefs of religious orders. After the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five sessions, they attained the advantage and glory of the re-union of the Greeks. Four principal questions had been agitated between the two churches: 1. The use of unleavened bread in the communion of Christ's body. 2. The nature of purgatory. 3. The supremacy of the pope. And, 4. The single or double procession of the Holy Ghost. The cause of either nation was managed by ten theological champions: the Latins were supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of cardinal Julian; and Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek forces. We may bestow some praise on the progress of human reason, by observing, that the first of these questions was *now* treated as an immaterial rite, which might innocently vary with the fashion of the age and country. With regard to the second, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate state of purgation for the venial sins of the faithful; and whether their souls were purified by elemental fire, was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently settled on the spot by

[62] Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. That extravagant number could not be supplied by *all* the ecclesiastics of every degree who were present at the council, nor by *all* the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

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the diſputants. The claims of ſupremacy appeared of a more weighty and ſubſtantial kind; yet by the Orientals the Roman biſhop had ever been reſpected as the firſt of the five patriarchs; nor did they ſcruple to admit, that his juriſdiction ſhould be exerciſed agreeable to the holy canons; a vague allowance, which might be defined or eluded by occaſional convenience. The proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had ſunk much deeper into the minds of men; and in the ſeſſions of Ferrara and Florence, the Latin addition of *filioque* was ſubdivided into two queſtions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be neceſſary to boaſt on this ſubject of my own impartial indifference; but I muſt think that the Greeks were ſtrongly ſupported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon, againſt adding any article whatſoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Conſtantinople [63]. In earthly affairs, it is not eaſy to conceive how an aſſembly of legiſlators can bind their ſucceſſors inveſted with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inſpiration muſt be true and unchangeable; nor ſhould a private biſhop, or a provincial ſynod, have preſumed to innovate againſt the judgment of the Catholic church. On the ſubſtance of the doctrine, the controverſy was equal and endleſs: reaſon is confounded by the proceſſion of a deity; the goſpel, which lay on the altar, was ſilent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by ſophiſtry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin ſaints [64]. Of this at leaſt we may be ſure, that neither ſide could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reaſon, and a ſuperficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view

[63] The Greeks, who diſliked the union, were unwilling to ſally from this ſtrong fortreſs (p. 178. 193. 195. 202. of Syropulus). The ſhame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the ſecond council of Nice, with *filioque* in the Nicene creed: a palpable forgery! (p. 173.)

[64] Ὡς εγω (ſaid an eminent Greek) οταν εις ναον εισελθω Λατινων ȣ προσκυνω τινα των εκεισε ἁγιων, επει ȣδε γνωριζω τινα (Syropulus, p. 109.). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 217, 218. 252, 253. 273.).

of

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of an object adapted to our faculties. But the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of mysterious words; their national and personal honour depended on the repetition of the same sounds; and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public dispute.

Negociations with the Greeks.

While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness, the pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negociation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and his vacant benefice might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Bessarion, in the first debates, had stood forth the most strenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek church; and if the apostate, the bastard, was reprobated by his country [65], he appears in ecclesiastical story a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court-favour by loud opposition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general situation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins: an episcopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, was soon exhausted [66]: the hopes of their return still depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome; and such

[65] See the polite altercation of Mark and Bessarion in Syropulus (p. 257.), who never dissembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

[66] For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31.). One had possessed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold florins; but of these, the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponnesus, and the remainder at Constantinople (Syropulus, p. 127.).

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was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe [67]. The danger and relief of Conſtantinople might excuſe ſome prudent and pious diſſimulation; and it was inſinuated, that the obſtinate heretics who ſhould reſiſt the conſent of the Eaſt and Weſt, would be abandoned in a hoſtile land to the revenge or juſtice of the Roman pontiff [68]. In the firſt private aſſembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members: but the five *croſs-bearers* of St. Sophia, who aſpired to repreſent the patriarch, were diſqualified by ancient diſcipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obſequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a falſe and ſervile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to ſpeak their own ſentiments and thoſe of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witneſs of the union; and Mark of Epheſus, miſtaking perhaps his pride for his conſcience, diſclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himſelf the champion and confeſſor of the orthodox creed [69]. In the treaty between the two nations, ſeveral forms of conſent were propoſed, ſuch as might ſatisfy the Latins, without diſhonouring the Greeks: and they weighed the ſcruples of words and ſyllables, till the theological balance trembled with a ſlight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. It was agreed (I muſt intreat the attention of the reader), that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one ſubſtance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the ſame nature and ſubſtance, and

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[67] Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had ſubſcribed the act of union (p. 283.): yet he relates ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances; and their bribery and corruption are poſitively affirmed by the hiſtorian Ducas.

[68] The Greeks moſt piteouſly expreſs their own fears of exile and perpetual ſlavery (Syropul. p. 196.): and they were ſtrongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 260.).

[69] I had forgot another popular and orthodox proteſter; a favourite hound, who uſually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne; but who barked moſt furiouſly while the act of union was reading, without being ſilenced by the ſoothing or the laſhes of the royal attendants (Syropul. p. 265, 266.).

that

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that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *ſpiration* and production. It is leſs difficult to underſtand the articles of the preliminary treaty; that the pope ſhould defray all the expences of the Greeks in their return home; that he ſhould annually maintain two gallies and three hundred ſoldiers for the defence of Conſtantinople; that all the ſhips which tranſported pilgrims to Jeruſalem, ſhould be obliged to touch at that port; that as often as they were required, the pope ſhould furniſh ten gallies for a year, or twenty for ſix months; and that he ſhould powerfully ſolicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occaſion for land-forces.

Eugenius depoſed at Baſil, A. D. 1438, June 25.

The ſame year, and almoſt the ſame day, were marked by the depoſition of Eugenius at Baſil; and, at Florence, by his re-union of the Greeks and Latins. In the former ſynod (which he ſtyled indeed an aſſembly of dæmons), the pope was branded with the guilt of ſimony, perjury, tyranny, hereſy, and ſchiſm [70]; and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical office. In the latter, he was revered as the true and holy vicar of Chriſt, who, after a ſeparation of ſix hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the Eaſt and Weſt, in one fold, and under one ſhepherd. The act of union was ſubſcribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by thoſe who, like Syropulus [71], had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have ſufficed for the Eaſt and Weſt; but Eugenius was not ſatisfied, unleſs four authentic and ſimilar tranſcripts were ſigned and atteſted as the monuments of his victory [72]. On a memorable day, the ſixth of July, the

Re-union of the Greeks at Florence, A. D. 1438, July 6.

[70] From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. P. ii. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His ſituation, expoſed to the world and to his enemies, was a reſtraint, and is a pledge.

[71] Syropulus, rather than ſubſcribe, would have aſſiſted, as the leaſt evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great eccleſiarch poorly excuſes his ſubmiſſion to the emperor (p. 290—292.).

[72] None of theſe original acts of union can at preſent be produced. Of the ten MSS. that are preſerved (five at Rome, and the remainder

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the ſucceſſors of St. Peter and Conſtantine aſcended their thrones; the two nations aſſembled in the cathedral of Florence; their repreſentatives, cardinal Julian and Beſſarion archbiſhop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their reſpective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced in the name and the preſence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his miniſters then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chaunted with the addition of *filioque;* the acquieſcence of the Greeks was poorly excuſed by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inarticulate, ſounds [73]; and the more ſcrupulous Latins refuſed any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their conſent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation ſhould be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they ſpared, and ſecretly reſpected, the generous firmneſs of Mark of Epheſus; and on the deceaſe of the patriarch, they refuſed to elect his ſucceſſor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the diſtribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promiſes: the Greeks, with leſs pomp and pride, returned by the ſame road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Conſtantinople was ſuch as will be deſcribed in the following chapter [74]. The ſucceſs of the firſt trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the ſame edifying ſcenes; and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Neſtorians and the Æthiopians, were ſucceſſively introduced, to kiſs the feet of the

Their return to Conſtantinople, A.D. 1440, February 1.

remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek ſignatures. Yet ſeveral of theſe may be eſteemed as authentic copies, which were ſubſcribed at Florence before (26th of Auguſt 1439) the final ſeparation of the pope and emperor (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xliii. p. 287—311.).

[73] Ἡμιν δε ὡς ασημοι εδοκουν φωναι (Syropul. p. 297.).

[74] In their return, the Greeks converſed at Bologna with the ambaſſadors of England; and after ſome queſtions and anſwers, theſe impartial ſtrangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307.).

Roman

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Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These Oriental embassies, unknown in the countries which they presumed to represent[75], diffused over the West the fame of Eugenius: and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition was succeeded by the lassitude of despair: the council of Basil was silently dissolved; and Fœlix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille[76]. A general peace was secured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity: all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election[77].

Final peace of the church, A. D. 1449.

State of the Greek language at Constantinople, A. D. 1300—1453.

The journies of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, salvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence; the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various

[75] So nugatory, or rather so fabulous, are these reunions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c. that I have turned over, without success, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemannus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.

[76] Ripaille is situate near Thonon in Savoy, on the southern side of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthusian abbey; and Mr. Addison (Travels into Italy, vol. ii. p. 147, 148. of Baskerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Æneas Sylvius, and the fathers of Basil, applaud the austere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

[77] In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the xvii[th] and xviii[th] tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the perspicuous, though partial, history of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the xv[th] century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (Bibliotheque Eccles. tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.); and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

Barbarians

Barbarians had doubtlefs corrupted the form and fubftance of the national dialect; and ample gloffaries have been compofed, to interpret a multitude of words, of Arabic, Turkifh, Sclavonian, Latin, or French origin[78]. But a purer idiom was fpoken in the court and taught in the college; and the flourifhing ftate of the language is defcribed, and perhaps embellifhed, by a learned Italian[79], who, by a long refidence and noble marriage[80], was naturalized at Conftantinople about thirty years before the Turkifh conqueft. "The vulgar fpeech," fays Philelphus[81], "has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of ftrangers and merchants, who every day flock to the city and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the difciples of fuch a fchool that the Latin language received the verfions of Ariftotle and Plato; fo obfcure in fenfe, and in fpirit fo poor. But the Greeks who have efcaped the contagion, are thofe whom *we* follow; and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar difcourfe, they ftill fpeak the tongue of Ariftophanes and Euripides, of the hiftorians and philofophers

[78] In the firft attempt, Meurfius collected 3600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a fecond edition, he fubjoined 1800 more; yet what plenteous gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducange, Fabrotti, the Bollandifts, &c. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, &c.) *Some* Perfic words may be found in Xenophon, and fome Latin ones in Plutarch; and fuch is the inevitable effect of war and commerce: but the form and fubftance of the language were not affected by this flight alloy.

[79] The life of Francis Philelphus, a fophift, proud, reftlefs, and rapacious, has been diligently compofed by Lancelot (Memoires de l'Academie des Infcriptions, tom. x. p. 691—751.) and Tirabofchi (Iftoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282—294.), for the moft part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and thofe of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epiftles ftill defcribe the men and the times.

[80] He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, and the granddaughter of Manuel Chryfoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was allied to the Dorias of Genoa and the emperors of Conftantinople.

[81] Græci quibus lingua depravata non fit ....ita loquuntur vulgo hâc etiam tempeftate ut Ariftophanes comicus, aut Euripides tragicus, ut oratores omnes ut hiftoriographi ut philofophi..... litterati autem homines et doctius et emendatius..... Nam viri aulici veterem fermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant in primifque ipfæ nobiles mulieres; quibus cum nullum effet omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille ac purus Græcorum fermo fervabatur intactus (Philelph. Epift. ad ann. 1451, apud Hodium, p. 188, 189.). He obferves in another paffage, uxor illa mea Theodora locutione erat admodum moderatâ et fuavi et maxime Atticâ.

"of

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"of Athens; and the ſtyle of their writings is ſtill more elaborate "and correct. The perſons who, by their birth and offices, are "attached to the Byzantine court, are thoſe who maintain, with "the leaſt alloy, the ancient ſtandard of elegance and purity; and "the native graces of language moſt conſpicuouſly ſhine among the "noble matrons, who are excluded from all intercourſe with fo-"reigners. With foreigners do I ſay? They live retired and ſe-"queſtered from the eyes of their fellow-citizens. Seldom are they "ſeen in the ſtreets; and when they leave their houſes, it is in the "duſk of evening, on viſits to the churches and their neareſt kin-"dred. On theſe occaſions, they are on horſeback, covered with a "veil, and encompaſſed by their parents, their huſbands, or their "ſervants [82]."

Comparison of the Greeks and Latins.

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the ſervice of religion: their monks and biſhops have ever been diſtinguiſhed by the gravity and auſterity of their manners; nor were they diverted, like the Latin prieſts, by the purſuits and pleaſures of a ſecular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were loſt in the devotion, the lazineſs, and the diſcord, of the church and cloyſter, the more inquiſitive and ambitious minds would explore the ſacred and profane erudition of their native language. The eccleſiaſtics preſided over the education of youth; the ſchools of philoſophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Conſtantinople than could be diſperſed over the extenſive countries of the Weſt [83]. But an important diſtinction has been already noticed: the Greeks were ſtationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progreſſive motion. The nations were excited by the

[82] Philelphus, abſurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealouſy from the manners of ancient Rome.

[83] See the ſtate of learning in the xiii[th] and xiv[th] centuries, in the learned and judicious Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 434—440. 490—494.).

ſpirit

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ſpirit of independence and emulation; and even the little world of the Italian ſtates contained more people and induſtry than the decreaſing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of ſociety were relieved from the yoke of feudal ſervitude; and freedom is the firſt ſtep to curioſity and knowledge. The uſe, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preſerved by ſuperſtition; the univerſities, from Bologna to Oxford [84], were peopled with thouſands of ſcholars; and their miſguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly ſtudies. In the reſurrection of ſcience, Italy was the firſt that caſt away her ſhroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his leſſons and his example, may juſtly be applauded as the firſt harbinger of day. A purer ſtyle of compoſition, a more generous and rational ſtrain of ſentiment, flowed from the ſtudy and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the diſciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the ſanctuary of their Grecian maſters. In the ſack of Conſtantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had deſpiſed and deſtroyed the works of Lyſippus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a ſingle blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and ſuch copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to poſſeſs and underſtand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly preſſed the flight of the muſes; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her ſchools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbariſm; that the ſeeds of ſcience might have been ſcattered by the winds, before the Italian ſoil was prepared for their cultivation.

Revival of the Greek learning in Italy.

The moſt learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confeſſed and applauded the reſtoration of Greek literature, after a long obli-

[84] At the end of the xv[th] century, there exiſted in Europe about fifty univerſities, and of theſe the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their ſcarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 ſtudents, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357 the number at Oxford had decreaſed from 30,000 to 6000 ſcholars (Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 478.). Yet even this decreaſe is much ſuperior to the preſent liſt of the members of the univerſity.

 vion

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vion of many hundred years [85]. Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, ſome names are quoted; ſome profound ſcholars, who in the darker ages were honourably diſtinguiſhed by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praiſe of ſuch rare examples of erudition. Without ſcrutinizing the merit of individuals, truth muſt obſerve that their ſcience is without a cauſe, and without an effect; that it was eaſy for them to ſatisfy themſelves and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had ſo marvellouſly acquired, was tranſcribed in few manuſcripts, and was not taught in any univerſity of the Weſt. In a corner of Italy, it faintly exiſted as the popular, or at leaſt as the eccleſiaſtical, dialect [86]. The firſt impreſſion of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erazed: the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Conſtantinople; and the monks of St. Baſil purſued their ſtudies in mount Athos and the ſchools of the Eaſt. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a ſectary and an ambaſſador; and Barlaam was the firſt who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at leaſt the writings, of Homer [87]. He is deſcribed, by Petrarch and Boccace [88], as a man of a diminutive ſtature, though truly great in the meaſure of learning and genius; of a piercing diſcernment, though of a ſlow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of

Leſſons of Barlaam, A.D. 1339.

[85] Of thoſe writers who profeſſedly treat of the reſtoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodius, Dr. Humphrey Hody (de Græcis Illuſtribus, Linguæ Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Inſtauratoribus; Londini, 1742, in large octavo), and Tiraboſchi (Iſtoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 364—377. tom. vii. p. 112—143.). The Oxford profeſſor is a laborious ſcholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the ſuperiority of a modern and national hiſtorian.

[86] In Calabria quæ olim magna Græcia dicebatur, coloniis Græcis repleta, remanſit quædam linguæ veteris cognitio (Hodius, p. 2.). If it were eradicated by the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Baſil, who poſſeſſed ſeven convents at Roſſano alone (Giannone, Iſtoria di Napoli, tom. i. p. 520.).

[87] Ii Barbari (ſays Petrarch, the French and Germans) vix, non dicam libros ſed nomen Homeri audiverunt. Perhaps, in that reſpect, the xiii[th] century was leſs happy than the age of Charlemagne.

[88] See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de Genealog. Deorum, l. xv. c. 6.

18 hiſtory,

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hiſtory, grammar, and philoſophy; and his merit was celebrated in the atteſtations of the princes and doctors of Conſtantinople. One of theſe atteſtations is ſtill extant; and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adverſaries, is forced to allow that Euclid, Ariſtotle, and Plato, were familiar to that profound and ſubtle logician [89]. In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch [90], the firſt of the Latin ſcholars; and the deſire of mutual inſtruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuſcan applied himſelf with eager curioſity and aſſiduous diligence to the ſtudy of the Greek language; and in a laborious ſtruggle with the dryneſs and difficulty of the firſt rudiments, he began to reach the ſenſe, and to feel the ſpirit, of poets and philoſophers, whoſe minds were congenial to his own. But he was ſoon deprived of the ſociety and leſſons of this uſeful aſſiſtant: Barlaam relinquiſhed his fruitleſs embaſſy; and, on his return to Greece, he raſhly provoked the ſwarms of fanatic monks, by attempting to ſubſtitute the light of reaſon to that of their navel. After a ſeparation of three years, the two friends again met in the court of Naples; but the generous pupil renounced the faireſt occaſion of improvement; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally ſettled in a ſmall biſhopric of his native Calabria [91]. The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendſhip, his various correſpondence and frequent journies, the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compoſitions in proſe and verſe, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wiſhes, rather than of his hopes. When he was about

Studies of Petrarch, A.D. 1339–1374.

[89] Cantacuzen l. ii c. 36.

[90] For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, ſee the excellent Memoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 406—410. tom. ii. p. 75—77.

[91] The biſhopric to which Barlaam retired, was the old Locri, in the middle ages S^cta Cyriaca, and by corruption Hieracium, Gerace (Diſſert. Chorographica Italiæ medii Ævi, p. 312.). The dives opum of the Norman times ſoon lapſed into poverty, ſince even the church was poor: yet the town ſtill contains 3000 inhabitants (Swinburne, p. 340.).

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fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambaſſador, his friend, and a maſter of both tongues, preſented him with a copy of Homer; and the anſwer of Petrarch is at once expreſſive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generoſity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his eſtimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds: "Your preſent of the genuine and original text "of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, is worthy of "yourſelf and of me: you have fulfilled your promiſe, and ſatisfied "my deſires. Yet your liberality is ſtill imperfect: with Homer "you ſhould have given me yourſelf; a guide, who could lead me "into the fields of light, and diſcloſe to my wondering eyes the "ſpecious miracles of the Iliad and Odyſſey. But, alas! Homer is "dumb, or I am deaf; nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty "which I poſſeſs. I have ſeated him by the ſide of Plato, the "prince of poets near the prince of philoſophers; and I glory in "the ſight of my illuſtrious gueſts. Of their immortal writings, "whatever had been tranſlated into the Latin idiom, I had already "acquired; but, if there be no profit, there is ſome pleaſure, in "beholding theſe venerable Greeks in their proper and national "habit. I am delighted with the aſpect of Homer; and as often "as I embrace the ſilent volume, I exclaim with a ſigh, illuſtrious "bard! with what pleaſure ſhould I liſten to thy ſong, if my ſenſe "of hearing were not obſtructed and loſt by the death of one "friend, and in the much-lamented abſence of another. Nor do I "yet deſpair; and the example of Cato ſuggeſts ſome comfort and "hope, ſince it was in the laſt period of age that he attained the "knowledge of the Greek letters [92]."

[92] I will tranſcribe a paſſage from this epiſtle of Petrarch (Famil. ix. 2.): Donaſti Homerum non in alienum ſermonem violento alveo derivatum, ſed ex ipſis Græci eloquii ſcatebris, et qualis divino illi profluxit ingenio.... Sine tuâ voce Homerus tuus apud me mutus, immo vero ego apud illum ſurdus ſum. Gaudeo tamen vel adſpectû ſolo, ac ſæpe illum amplexus atque ſuſpirans dico, O magne vir, &c.

The

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Of Boccace, A. D. 1360, &c.

The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch, was obtained by the fortune and induſtry of his friend Boccace[93], the father of the Tuſcan proſe. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, an hundred novels of pleaſantry and love, may aſpire to the more ſerious praiſe of reſtoring in Italy the ſtudy of the Greek language. In the year one thouſand three hundred and ſixty, a diſciple of Barlaam, whoſe name was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hoſpitality of Boccace, who lodged the ſtranger in his houſe, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual ſtipend, and devoted his leiſure to the firſt Greek profeſſor, who taught that language in the Weſtern countries of Europe. The appearance of Leo might diſguſt the moſt eager diſciple; he was clothed in the mantle of a philoſopher, or a mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was overſhadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment ruſtic; his temper gloomy and inconſtant; nor could he grace his diſcourſe with the ornaments, or even the perſpicuity, of Latin elocution. But his mind was ſtored with a treaſure of Greek learning: hiſtory and fable, philoſophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the poems of Homer in the ſchools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace compoſed and tranſcribed a literal proſe verſion of the Iliad and Odyſſey, which ſatisfied the thirſt of his friend Petrarch, and which perhaps, in the ſucceeding century, was clandeſtinely uſed by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the ſame Boccace collected the materials for his treatiſe on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of ſtupen-

Leo Pilatus, firſt Greek profeſſor at Florence, and in the Weſt, A. D. 1360—1363.

[93] For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 248, &c.) and Tiraboſchi (tom. v. p. 83. 439—451.) may be conſulted. The editions, verſions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was aſhamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps ſcandalous, work to Petrarch his reſpectable friend, in whoſe letters and memoirs he conſpicuouſly appears.

dous erudition, and which he oſtentatiouſly ſprinkled with Greek characters and paſſages, to excite the wonder and applauſe of his more ignorant readers [94]. The firſt ſteps of learning are ſlow and laborious; no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy; and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a ſingle name to this ſtudious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progreſs would have been accelerated, if the inconſtant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquiſhed an honourable and beneficial ſtation. In his paſſage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a ſhort time; he enjoyed the ſcholar, but was juſtly offended with the gloomy and unſocial temper of the man. Diſcontented with the world and with himſelf, Leo depreciated his preſent enjoyments, while abſent perſons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Theſſalian, in Greece a native of Calabria; in the company of the Latins he diſdained their language, religion, and manner; no ſooner was he landed at Conſtantinople, than he again ſighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity; he depended on their curioſity and indulgence, and embarked on a ſecond voyage; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ſhip was aſſailed by a tempeſt, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulyſſes had faſtened himſelf to the maſt, was ſtruck dead by a flaſh of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropt a tear on his diſaſter; but he was moſt anxious to learn whether ſome copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be ſaved from the hands of the mariners [95].

[94] Boccace indulges an honeſt vanity: Oſtentationis causâ Græca carmina adſcripſi ....jure utor meo; meum eſt hoc decus mea gloria ſcilicet inter Etruſcos Græcis uti carminibus. Nonne ego fui qui Leontium Pilatum, &c. (de Genealogia Deorum, l. xv. c. 7. a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions.)

[95] Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is ſufficiently made known by Hody (p. 2—11), and the Abbé de Sade (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 625—634. 670—673.), who has very happily caught the lively and dramatic manner of his original.

But

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Foundation of the Greek language in Italy by Manuel Chrysoloras, A. D. 1390—1415.

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence: nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century, that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy[96]. Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel dispatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chrysoloras[97], of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained some contributions and more promises, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek, but of the Latin, tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation, of the republic: his school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank and age; and one of these, in a general history, has described his motives and his success. "At that time," says Leonard Aretin[98], "I was a student "of the civil law; but my soul was inflamed with the love of "letters; and I bestowed some application on the sciences of logic "and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel, I hesitated whether I "should desert my legal studies, or relinquish this golden opportu-"nity;

[96] Dr. Hody (p. 54.) is angry with Leonard Aretin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius, &c. for affirming, that the Greek letters were restored in Italy *post septingentos annos*; as if, says he, they had flourished till the end of the vii[th] century. These writers most probably reckoned from the last period of the exarchate; and the presence of the Greek magistrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome, must have preserved, in some degree, the use of their native tongue.

[97] See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chrysoloras, in Hody (p. 12—54.) and Tiraboschi (tom. vii. p. 113—118.). The precise date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

[98] The name of *Aretinus* has been assumed by five or six natives of *Arezzo* in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the xvi[th] century. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras, was a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1444, at the age of seventy-five (Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 190, &c. Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 33—38.).

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"nity; and thus, in the ardour of youth, I communed with my "own mind—Wilt thou be wanting to thyſelf and thy fortune? "Wilt thou refuſe to be introduced to a familiar converſe with "Homer, Plato, and Demoſthenes? with thoſe poets, philoſophers, "and orators, of whom ſuch wonders are related, and who are "celebrated by every age as the great maſters of human ſcience? "Of profeſſors and ſcholars in civil law, a ſufficient ſupply will al- "ways be found in our univerſities; but a teacher, and ſuch a "teacher, of the Greek language, if he once be ſuffered to eſcape, "may never afterwards be retrieved. Convinced by theſe reaſons, "I gave myſelf to Chryſoloras; and ſo ſtrong was my paſſion, that "the leſſons which I had imbibed in the day were the conſtant ſub- "ject of my nightly dreams [99]." At the ſame time and place, the Latin claſſics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domeſtic pupil of Petrarch [100]: the Italians, who illuſtrated their age and country, were formed in this double ſchool; and Florence became the fruitful ſeminary of Greek and Roman erudition [101]. The preſence of the emperor recalled Chryſoloras from the college to the court; but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal induſtry and ap- plauſe. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Conſtantinople, between embaſſies and leſſons. In the noble office of enlightening a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more ſacred duty to his prince and country; and Emanuel Chryſoloras died at Conſtance on a public miſſion from the emperor to the council.

[99] See the paſſage in Aretin. Commentario Rerum ſuo Tempore in Italia geſtarum, apud Hodium, p. 28—30.

[100] In this domeſtic diſcipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curioſity, reſtleſs temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (Memoires ſur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 700—709.).

[101] Hinc Græcæ Latinæque ſcholæ exortæ ſunt, Guarino Philelpho, Leonardo Aretino, Caroloque, ac pleriſque aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodeuntibus, quorum emulatione multa ingenia deinceps at laudem excitata ſunt (Platina in Bonifacio IX.). Another Italian writer adds the names of Paulus Petrus Vergerius, Omnibonus Vincentius, Poggius, Franciſcus Barbarus, &c. But I queſtion whether a rigid chronology would allow Chryſoloras *all* theſe eminent ſcholars (Hodius, p. 25—27, &c.).

After

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The Greeks in Italy, A. D. 1400—1500.

After his example, the reſtoration of the Greek letters in Italy was proſecuted by a ſeries of emigrants, who were deſtitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at leaſt with language. From the terror or oppreſſion of the Turkiſh arms, the natives of Theſſalonica and Conſtantinople eſcaped to a land of freedom, curioſity, and wealth. The ſynod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philoſophy: and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Chriſtian, but for the Catholic, cauſe. A patriot, who ſacrifices his party and conſcience to the allurements of favour, may be poſſeſſed however of the private and ſocial virtues: he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of ſlave and apoſtate; and the conſideration which he acquires among his new aſſociates, will reſtore in his own eyes the dignity of his character.

Cardinal Beſſarion, &c.

The prudent conformity of Beſſarion was rewarded with the Roman purple: he fixed his reſidence in Italy; and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Conſtantinople, was reſpected as the chief and protector of his nation[102]: his abilities were exerciſed in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave[103]. His eccleſiaſtical honours diffuſed a ſplendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and ſervice: his palace was a ſchool; as often as the cardinal viſited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of both nations[104]; of men applauded by themſelves and the public; and whoſe writings, now overſpread with duſt, were popular and uſeful in their own times.

[102] See in Hody the article of Beſſarion (p. 136—177.): Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the reſt of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inſerted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewiſe Tiraboſchi, in the 1st and 2d parts of the vith tome.

[103] The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclaviſt refuſed to interrupt the ſtudies of Beſſarion; "Nicholas," ſaid he, "thy reſpect "has coſt thee an hat, and me the tiara."

[104] Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus Andronicus of Theſſalonica, Philelphus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, &c. Viri (ſays Hody, with the pious zeal of a ſcholar) nullo ævo perituri (p. 156.).

I ſhall

I ſhall not attempt to enumerate the reſtorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century: and it may be ſufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the ſchools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to thoſe of Beſſarion, whoſe purple they revered, and whoſe fortune was the ſecret object of their envy. But the lives of theſe grammarians was humble and obſcure: they had declined the lucrative paths of the church; their dreſs and manners ſecluded them from the commerce of the world; and ſince they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards, of learning. From this character, Janus Laſcaris[105] will deſerve an exception. His eloquence, politeneſs, and Imperial deſcent, recommended him to the French monarchs; and in the ſame cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negociate. Duty and intereſt prompted them to cultivate the ſtudy of the Latin language; and the moſt ſucceſsful attained the faculty of writing and ſpeaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country: their praiſe, or at leaſt their eſteem, was reſerved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and ſubſiſtence; and they ſometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticiſm or ſatire on Virgil's poetry and the oratory of Tully[106]. The ſuperiority of theſe maſters aroſe from the familiar uſe of a living language; and their firſt diſciples were

Their faults and merits.

[105] He was born before the taking of Conſtantinople, but his honourable life was ſtretched far into the xvi[th] century (A. D. 1535). Leo X. and Francis I. were his nobleſt patrons, under whoſe auſpices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, p. 247—275.). He left poſterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Laſcaris, from a doubtful marriage in the xiii[th] century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 224—230.).

[106] Two of his epigrams againſt Virgil, and three againſt Tully, are preſerved and refuted by Franciſcus Floridus, who can find no better names than Græculus ineptus et impudens (Hody, p. 274.). In our own times, an Engliſh critic has accuſed the Æneid of containing, multa languida, nugatoria, ſpiritû et majeſtate carminis heroici defecta; many ſuch verſes as he, the ſaid Jeremiah Markland, would have been aſhamed of owning (præfat. ad Statii Sylvas, p. 21, 22.).

incapable

incapable of difcerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their anceftors. A vicious pronunciation[107], which they introduced, was banifhed from the fchools by the reafon of the fucceeding age. Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant: and thofe mufical notes, which, from an Attic tongue, and to an Attic ear, muft have been the fecret foul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than mute and unmeaning marks; in profe fuperfluous, and troublefome in verfe. The art of grammar they truly poffeffed: the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodian were transfufed into their leffons; and their treatifes of fyntax and etymology, though devoid of philofophic fpirit, are ftill ufeful to the Greek ftudent. In the fhipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive feized a fragment of treafure, a copy of fome author, who, without his induftry, might have perifhed: the tranfcripts were multiplied by an affiduous, and fometimes an elegant, pen; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or thofe of the elder fcholiafts. The fenfe, though not the fpirit, of the Greek claffics, was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of ftyle evaporate in a verfion; but the judgment of Theodore Gaza felected the more folid works of Ariftotle and Theophraftus, and their natural hiftories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental fcience.

The Platonic philofophy.

Yet the fleeting fhadows of metaphyfics were purfued with more curiofity and ardour. After a long oblivion, Plato was revived in

[107] Emanuel Chryfoloras, and his colleagues, are accufed of ignorance, envy, or avarice (Sylloge, &c. tom. ii. p. 235.). The modern Greek pronounce the β as a V confonant, and confound three vowels (η ι υ), and feveral diphthongs. Such was the vulgar pronunciation which the ftern Gardiner maintained by penal ftatutes in the univerfity of Cambridge: but the monofyllable βη reprefented to an Attic ear the bleating of fheep; and a bell-wether is better evidence than a bifhop or a chancellor. The treatifes of thofe fcholars, particularly Erafmus, who afferted a more claffical pronunciation, are collected in the Sylloge of Havercamp (2 vols. in octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1736, 1740): but it is difficult to paint founds by words; and in their reference to modern ufe, they can be underftood only by their refpective countrymen. We may obferve, that our peculiar pronunciation of the θ, *th*, is approved by Erafmus (tom. ii. p. 130.).

 Italy

CHAP. LXVI. Italy by a venerable Greek[108], who taught in the houſe of Coſmo of Medicis. While the ſynod of Florence was involved in theological debate, ſome beneficial conſequences might flow from the ſtudy of his elegant philoſophy; his ſtyle is the pureſt ſtandard of the Attic dialect; and his ſublime thoughts are ſometimes adapted to familiar converſation, and ſometimes adorned with the richeſt colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a ſage; and, as often as he deſcends from the clouds, his moral ſyſtem inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modeſt doubt and liberal enquiry: and if the Platoniſts, with blind devotion, adored the viſions and errors of their divine maſter, their enthuſiaſm might correct the dry, dogmatic method of the Peripatetic ſchool. So equal, yet ſo oppoſite, are the merits of Plato and Ariſtotle, that they may be balanced in endleſs controverſy; but ſome ſpark of freedom may be produced by the colliſion of adverſe ſervitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two ſects: with more fury than ſkill they fought under the banner of their leaders; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Conſtantinople to Rome. But this philoſophical debate ſoon degenerated into an angry and perſonal quarrel of grammarians: and Beſſarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour, by interpoſing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned: but their philoſophic ſociety was quickly diſſolved; and if the writings of the Attic ſage were peruſed in the cloſet, the more powerful Stagyrite continued to reign, the oracle of the church and ſchool[109].

[108] George Gemiſtus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the maſter of Beſſarion, and all the Platoniſts of the times. He viſited Italy in his old age, and ſoon returned to end his days in Peloponneſus. See the curious Diatribe of Leo Allatius de Georgiis, in Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 739—756.).

[109] The ſtate of the Platonic philoſophy in Italy, is illuſtrated by Boivin (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. ii. p. 715—729.) and Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 259—288.).

I have

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Emulation and progrefs of the Latins.

I have fairly reprefented the literary merits of the Greeks; yet it muft be confeffed, that they were feconded and furpaffed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent ftates; and at that time, it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the fifth[110] has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin, he raifed himfelf by his virtue and learning: the character of the man prevailed over the intereft of the pope; and he fharpened thofe weapons which were foon pointed againft the Roman church[111]. He had been the friend of the moft eminent fcholars of the age: he became their patron; and fuch was the humility of his manners, that the change was fcarcely difcernible either to them or to himfelf. If he preffed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the meafure of defert, but as the proof of benevolence; and when modeft merit declined his bounty, "accept "it," would he fay with a confcioufnefs of his own worth; "you "will not always have a Nicholas among ye." The influence of the holy fee pervaded Chriftendom; and he exerted that influence in the fearch, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkeft monafteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dufty manufcripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was tranfcribed and tranfmitted for his ufe. The Vatican, the old repofitory for bulls and legends, for fuperftition and forgery, was daily replenifhed with more precious furniture; and fuch was the induftry of Nicholas, that in a reign of eight years, he formed

Nicholas V. A.D. 1447—1455.

[110] See the life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary authors, Janottus Manettus (tom. iii. P. ii. p. 905—962.) and Vefpafian of Florence (tom. xxv. p. 267—290.), in the collection of Muratori; and confult Tirabofchi (tom. vi. P. i. 46—52. 109.) and Hody in the articles of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, &c.

[111] Lord Bolingbroke obferves, with truth and fpirit, that the popes in this inftance were worfe politicians than the muftis, and that the charm which has bound mankind for fo many ages, was broken by the magicians themfelves (Letters on the Study of Hiftory, l. vi. p. 165, 166. octavo edition, 1779).

a library

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a library of five thouſand volumes. To his munificence, the Latin world was indebted for the verſions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's geography, of the Iliad, of the moſt valuable works of Plato and Ariſtotle, of Ptolemy and Theophraſtus, and of the fathers of the Greek church.

Coſmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, A. D. 1428—1492.

The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Coſmo of Medicis[112] was the father of a line of princes, whoſe name and age are almoſt ſynonymous with the reſtoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the ſervice of mankind; he correſponded at once with Cairo and London: and a cargo of Indian ſpices and Greek books was often imported in the ſame veſſel. The genius and education of his grandſon Lorenzo rendered him, not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, diſtreſs was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leiſure hours were delightfully ſpent in the Platonic academy: he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active miſſionary Janus Laſcaris returned from the Eaſt with a treaſure of two hundred manuſcripts, fourſcore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe[113]. The reſt of Italy was animated by a ſimilar ſpirit, and the progreſs of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the excluſive property of their own literature: and theſe diſciples of Greece were ſoon capable of tranſmitting and improving the leſſons which they had imbibed. After a ſhort ſucceſſion of fo-

[112] See the literary hiſtory of Coſmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. P. i. l. i. c. 2.), who beſtows a due meaſure of praiſe on Alphonſo of Arragon, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, &c. The republic of Venice has deſerved the leaſt from the gratitude of ſcholars.

[113] Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 104.), from the preface of Janus Laſcaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1494. Latebant (ſays Aldus in his preface to the Greek Orators, apud Hodium, p. 249.) in Atho Thraciæ monte. Eas Laſcaris....in Italiam reportavit. Miſerat enim ipſum Laurentius ille Medices in Græciam ad inquirendos ſimul, et quantovis emendos pretio bonos libros. It is remarkable enough, that the reſearch was facilitated by ſultan Bajazet II.

reign teachers, the tide of emigration ſubſided; but the language of Conſtantinople was ſpread beyond the Alps; and the natives of France, Germany, and England[114], imparted to their country the ſacred fire which they had kindled in the ſchools of Florence and Rome[115]. In the productions of the mind, as in thoſe of the ſoil, the gifts of nature are excelled by induſtry and ſkill: the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Iliſſus, have been illuſtrated on thoſe of the Elbe and the Thames: and Beſſarion or Gaza might have envied the ſuperior ſcience of the Barbarians; the accuracy of Budæus, the taſte of Eraſmus, the copiouſneſs of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the diſcernment of Reiſke, or of Bentley. On the ſide of the Latins, the diſcovery of printing was a caſual advantage: but this uſeful art has been applied by Aldus, and his innumerable ſucceſſors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity[116]. A ſingle manuſcript imported from Greece is revived in ten thouſand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form, Homer and Plato would peruſe with more ſatisfaction their own writings: and their ſcholiaſts muſt reſign the prize to the labours of our weſtern editors.

Uſe and abuſe of ancient learning.

Before the revival of claſſic literature, the Barbarians in Europe were immerſed in ignorance; and their vulgar tongues were marked

[114] The Greek language was introduced into the univerſity of Oxford in the laſt years of the xv[th] century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all ſtudied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Eraſmus. Although a ſtout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge, that Eraſmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

[115] The jealous Italians were deſirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publiſh the Greek ſcholiaſts on Sophocles and Euripides, Cave (ſaid they), cave hoc facias, ne *Barbari* iſtis adjuti domi maneant, et pauciores in Italiam ventitent (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Eraſmus, p. 365. from Beatus Rhenanus).

[116] The preſs of Aldus Manutus, a Roman, was eſtabliſhed at Venice about the year 1494: he printed above ſixty conſiderable works of Greek literature, almoſt all for the firſt time; ſeveral containing different treatiſes and authors, and of ſeveral authors two, three, or four editions (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 605, &c.). Yet his glory muſt not tempt us to forget, that the firſt Greek book, the Grammar of Conſtantine Laſcaris, was printed at Milan in 1476; and that the Florence Homer of 1488 diſplays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the Annales Typographici of Mattaire, and the Bibliographie Inſtructive of de Bure, a knowing bookſeller of Paris.

with

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with the rudeneſs and poverty of their manners. The ſtudents of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece, were introduced to a new world of light and ſcience; to the ſociety of the free and poliſhed nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converſe with thoſe immortal men who ſpoke the ſublime language of eloquence and reaſon. Such an intercourſe muſt tend to refine the taſte, and to elevate the genius, of the moderns: and yet, from the firſt experiment, it might appear that the ſtudy of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the ſpirit of imitation is of a ſervile caſt; and the firſt diſciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of ſtrangers in the midſt of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times, might have improved or adorned the preſent ſtate of ſociety: the critic and metaphyſician were the ſlaves of Ariſtotle; the poets, hiſtorians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Auguſtan age; the works of nature were obſerved with the eyes of Pliny and Theophraſtus; and ſome Pagan votaries profeſſed a ſecret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato [117]. The Italians were oppreſſed by the ſtrength and number of their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently repoſe on our ſhelves; but in that æra of learning, it will not be eaſy to diſcern a real diſcovery of ſcience, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country [118].

[117] I will ſelect three ſingular examples of this claſſic enthuſiaſm. 1. At the ſynod of Florence, Gemiſtus Pletho ſaid, in familiar converſation to George of Trebizond, that in a ſhort time mankind would unanimouſly renounce the Goſpel and the Koran for a religion ſimilar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allatius, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751.). 2. Paul II. perſecuted the Roman academy, which had been founded by Pomponius Lætus; and the principal members were accuſed of hereſy, impiety, and *paganiſm* (Tiraboſchi, tom. vi. P. i. p. 81, 82.). 3. In the next century, ſome ſcholars and poets in France celebrated the ſucceſs of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra, by a feſtival of Bacchus, and as it is ſaid, by the ſacrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionaire, JODELLE. Fontenelle, tom. iii. p. 56—61.). Yet the ſpirit of bigotry might often diſcern a ſerious impiety in the ſportive play of fancy and learning.

[118] The ſurvivor Boccace died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1480, the compoſition of the Morgante Maggiore of Pulci, and the Orlando Inamorato of Boyardo (Tiraboſchi, tom. vi. P. ii. p. 174—177.).

But

But as ſoon as it had been deeply ſaturated with the celeſtial dew, the ſoil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined: the claſſics of Athens and Rome inſpired a pure taſte and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleaſing reign of poetry and fiction was ſucceeded by the light of ſpeculative and experimental philoſophy. Genius may anticipate the ſeaſon of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory muſt be exerciſed, before the powers of reaſon and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artiſt hope to equal or ſurpaſs, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predeceſſors.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

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Schism of the Greeks and Latins.—Reign and Character of Amurath the Second.—Crusade of Ladislaus King of Hungary.—His Defeat and Death.—John Huniades.—Scanderbeg.—Constantine Palæologus last Emperor of the East.

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Comparison of Rome and Constantinople.

THE respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek the father of the Italian schools[1]. The view of the ancient capital, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old sophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods, and those men, had long since vanished; but, to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Cæsars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed, that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth. While Chrysoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native, country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates

[1] The epistle of Manuel Chrysoloras to the emperor John Palæologus, will not offend the eye or ear of a classical student (ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C. P. p. 107—126.). The superscription suggests a chronological remark, that John Palæologus II. was associated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chrysoloras's death. A still earlier date, at least 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngest sons, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both *Porphyrogeniti* (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 244. 247.).

with

with zeal and truth, on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the superior merit of their children. " Constantinople," says the orator, " is situate on a commanding point, between Europe and " Asia, between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By her interpo-" sition, the two seas, and the two continents, are united for the " common benefit of nations; and the gates of commerce may be " shut or opened at her command. The harbour, encompassed on " all sides by the sea and the continent, is the most secure and capa-" cious in the world. The walls and gates of Constantinople may " be compared with those of Babylon: the towers are many; each " tower is a solid and lofty structure; and the second wall, the " outer fortification, would be sufficient for the defence and dignity " of an ordinary capital. A broad and rapid stream may be intro-" duced into the ditches; and the artificial island may be encom-" passed, like Athens[1], by land or water." Two strong and natural causes are alleged for the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe; and in the accomplishment of his designs, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time; their beauties are mingled with disorder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to remove from their natal spot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors, and the original vices of situation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a single mind; and the primitive

[1] Somebody observed, that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated (τις ειπεν την πολιν των Αθηναιων δυνασθαι και παραπλειν και περιπλειν). But what may be true in a rhetorical sense of Constantinople, cannot be applied to the situation of Athens, five miles from the sea, and not intersected or surrounded by any navigable streams.

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model was improved by the obedient zeal of the ſubjects and ſucceſſors of the firſt monarch. The adjacent iſles were ſtored with an inexhauſtible ſupply of marble; but the various materials were tranſported from the moſt remote ſhores of Europe and Aſia; and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, ciſterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatneſs of the capital of the Eaſt. The ſuperfluity of wealth was ſpread along the ſhores of Europe and Aſia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Helleſpont, and the long wall, might be conſidered as a populous ſuburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the paſt and the preſent, the times of proſperity and decay, are artfully confounded; but a ſigh and a confeſſion eſcape from the orator, that his wretched country was the ſhadow and ſepulchre of its former ſelf. The works of ancient ſculpture had been defaced by Chriſtian zeal or Barbaric violence; the faireſt ſtructures were demoliſhed; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime, or applied to the meaneſt uſes. Of many a ſtatue, the place was marked by an empty pedeſtal; of many a column, the ſize was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were ſcattered on the ground; the ſtroke of time was accelerated by ſtorms and earthquakes; and the vacant ſpace was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and ſilver. From theſe wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he diſtinguiſhes however the porphyry pillar, the column and coloſſus of Juſtinian [3], and the church, more eſpecially the dome, of St. Sophia; the beſt concluſion, ſince it could not be deſcribed according to its merits, and after it no other object could deſerve to be mentioned. But he forgets, that a

[3] Nicephorus Gregoras has deſcribed the coloſſus of Juſtinian (l. vii. 12.): but his meaſures are falſe and inconſiſtent. The editor Boivin conſulted his friend Girardon; and the ſculptor gave him the true proportions of an equeſtrian ſtatue. That of Juſtinian was ſtill viſible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column, but in the outward court of the ſeraglio; and he was at Conſtantinople when it was melted down, and caſt into a braſs cannon (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 17).

century

century before, the trembling fabrics of the coloſſus and the church had been ſaved and ſupported by the timely care of Andronicus the elder. Thirty years after the emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttreſſes or pyramids, the eaſtern hemiſphere ſuddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the ſanctuary, were cruſhed by the falling ruin. The miſchief indeed was ſpeedily repaired; the rubbiſh was cleared by the inceſſant labour of every rank and age; and the poor remains of riches and induſtry were conſecrated by the Greeks to the moſt ſtately and venerable temple of the Eaſt[4].

The Greek ſchiſm after the council of Florence, A. D. 1440—1448.

The laſt hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderneſs of Rome, and the filial obedience of Conſtantinople. In the ſynod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and ſubſcribed, and promiſed; but theſe ſigns of friendſhip were perfidious or fruitleſs[5]; and the baſeleſs fabric of the union vaniſhed like a dream[6]. The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian gallies; but as they touched at the Morea and the iſles of Corfu and Leſbos, the ſubjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an inſtrument of oppreſſion. No ſooner did they land on the Byzantine ſhore than they were ſaluted, or rather aſſailed, with a general murmur of zeal and diſcontent. During their abſence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and eccleſiaſtical rulers: fanaticiſm fermented in

[4] See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 12. l. xv. 2.). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eaſtern hemiſphere fell in 1345. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holineſs of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himſelf, &c.

[5] The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 312—351.) opens the ſchiſm from the firſt *office* of the Greeks at Venice, to the general oppoſition at Conſtantinople of the clergy and people.

[6] On the ſchiſm of Conſtantinople, ſee Phranza (l. ii. c. 17.), Laonicus Chalcondyles (l. vi. p. 155, 156.), and Ducas (c. 31.); the laſt of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may diſtinguiſh the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 338, &c. 401. 420, &c.), and Spondanus (A. D. 1440—30.). The ſenſe of the latter is drowned in prejudice and paſſion, as ſoon as Rome and religion are concerned.

anarchy;

anarchy; the moſt furious monks reigned over the conſcience of women and bigots; and the hatred of the Latin name was the firſt principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the aſſurance of a prompt relief and a powerful ſuccour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and ſcience, had promiſed themſelves and their flocks an eaſy victory over the blind ſhepherds of the Weſt. The double diſappointment exaſperated the Greeks; the conſcience of the ſubſcribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was paſt; and they had more to dread from the public reſentment, than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Inſtead of juſtifying their conduct, they deplored their weakneſs, profeſſed their contrition, and caſt themſelves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful queſtion, what had been the event or the uſe of their Italian ſynod? they anſwered with ſighs and tears, "Alas! we have made a new faith; we have exchanged piety for "impiety; we have betrayed the immaculate ſacrifice; and we are "become *Azymites*." (The Azymites were thoſe who celebrated the communion with unleavened bread; and I muſt retract or qualify the praiſe which I have beſtowed on the growing philoſophy of the times.) "Alas! we have been ſeduced by diſtreſs, by fraud, and "by the hopes and fears of a tranſitory life. The hand that has "ſigned the union ſhould be cut off; and the tongue that has pro- "nounced the Latin creed deſerves to be torn from the root." The beſt proof of their repentance was an encreaſe of zeal for the moſt trivial rites and the moſt incomprehenſible doctrines; and an abſolute ſeparation from all, without excepting their prince, who preſerved ſome regard for honour and conſiſtency. After the deceaſe of the patriarch Joſeph, the archbiſhops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuſe the vacant office; and cardinal Beſſarion preferred the warm and comfortable ſhelter of the Vatican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes

phanes of Cyzicus: he was conſecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The croſs-bearers abdicated their ſervice; the infection ſpread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes diſcharged, without effect, ſome eccleſiaſtical thunders againſt a nation of ſchiſmatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Epheſus, the champion of his country; and the ſufferings of the holy confeſſor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applauſe. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious diſcord; age and infirmity ſoon removed him from the world; but the goſpel of Mark was not a law of forgiveneſs; and he requeſted with his dying breath, that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obſequies or pray for his ſoul.

Zeal of the Orientals and Ruſſians.

The ſchiſm was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. Secure under the Mamaluke ſceptre, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, aſſembled a numerous ſynod; diſowned their repreſentatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the emperor of Conſtantinople with the cenſures of the Eaſtern church. Of the ſectaries of the Greek communion, the Ruſſians were the moſt powerful, ignorant, and ſuperſtitious. Their primate, the cardinal Iſidore, haſtened from Florence to Moſcow[7], to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Ruſſian biſhops had been educated at mount Athos; and the prince and people embraced the theology of their prieſts. They were ſcandaliſed by the title, the pomp, the Latin croſs of the legate, the friend of thoſe impious men who ſhaved their beards, and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers: Iſidore was condemned by a ſynod; his perſon was impriſoned in a mo-

[7] Iſidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks ſubject to Poland have removed that ſee from the ruins of Kiow to Lemberg, or Leopold (Herbeſtein, in Ramuſio, tom. ii. p. 127.). On the other hand, the Ruſſians transferred their ſpiritual obedience to the archbiſhop, who became, in 1588, the patriarch, of Moſcow (Leveſque, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. iii. p. 188. 190. from a Greek MS. at Turin, Iter et labores Archiepiſcopi Arſenii).

 naſtery;

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naftery; and it was with extreme difficulty, that the cardinal could efcape from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people[8]. The Ruffians refufed a paffage to the miffionaries of Rome who afpired to convert the Pagans beyond the Tanais[9]; and their refufal was juftified by the maxim, that the guilt of idolatry is lefs damnable than that of fchifm. The errors of the Bohemians were excufed by their abhorrence for the pope; and a deputation of the Greek clergy folicited the friendfhip of thofe fanguinary enthufiafts[10]. While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Conftantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by intereft; it was foon cooled by oppofition: an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be deftitute of foreign and domeftic aid. The fword of his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular filence, was half unfheathed in the caufe of religion; and Amurath, the Turkifh fultan, was difpleafed and alarmed by the feeming friendfhip of the Greeks and Latins.

Reign and character of Amurath II. A.D. 1421—1451, February 9.

"Sultan Murad or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty "years, fix months, and eight days. He was a juft and valiant "prince, of a great foul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, reli- "gious, charitable; a lover and encourager of the ftudious, and of

[8] The curious narrative of Levefque (Hift. de Ruffie, tom. ii. p. 242—247.) is extracted from the patriarchal archives. The fcenes of Ferrara and Florence are defcribed by ignorance and paffion; but the Ruffians are credible in the account of their own prejudices.

[9] The Shamanifm, the ancient religion of the Samanæans and Gymnofophifts, has been driven by the more popular Bramins from India into the northern deferts; the naked philofophers were compelled to wrap themfelves in fur; but they infenfibly funk into wizards and phyficians. The Mordvans and Tcheremiffes in the European Ruffia adhere to this religion, which is formed on the earthly model of one king or God, his minifters or angels, and the rebellious fpirits who oppofe his government. As thefe tribes of the Volga have no images, they might more juftly retort on the Latin miffionaries the name of idolaters (Levefque, Hift. des Peuples foumis à la Domination des Ruffes, tom. i. p. 194—237. 423—460.).

[10] Spondanus, Annal. Eccles. tom. ii. A.D. 1451, N° 13. The Epiftle of the Greeks, with a Latin verfion, is extant in the college library at Prague.

" all who excelled in any art or ſcience; a good emperor, and a " great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than " Amurath: Belgrade alone withſtood his attacks. Under his reign, " the ſoldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and ſecure. If he " ſubdued any country, his firſt care was to build moſchs and ca- " ravanſeras, hoſpitals, and colleges. Every year he gave a thou- " ſand pieces of gold to the ſons of the prophet; and ſent two thou- " ſand five hundred to the religious perſons of Mecca, Medina, and " Jeruſalem [11]." This portrait is tranſcribed from the hiſtorian of the Othman empire: but the applauſe of a ſervile and ſuperſtitious people has been laviſhed on the worſt of tyrants; and the virtues of a ſultan are often the vices moſt uſeful to himſelf, or moſt agreeable to his ſubjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law, muſt be awed by the flaſhes of arbitrary power: the cruelty of a deſpot will aſſume the character of juſtice; his profuſion, of liberality; his obſtinacy, of firmneſs. If the moſt reaſonable excuſe be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impoſſible; and guilt muſt tremble, where innocence cannot always be ſecure. The tranquillity of the people, and the diſcipline of the troops, were beſt maintained by perpetual action in the field; war was the trade of the Janizaries: and thoſe who ſurvived the peril, and divided the ſpoil, applauded the generous ambition of their ſovereign. To propagate the true religion, was the duty of a faithful Muſulman: the unbelievers were *his* enemies, and thoſe of the prophet; and, in the hands of the Turks, the ſcymetar was the only inſtrument of converſion. Under theſe circumſtances, however, the juſtice and moderation of Amurath are atteſted by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Chriſtians themſelves; who conſider a proſperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his ſingular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power, he ſeldom engaged in war till he

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[11] See Cantemir, Hiſtory of the Othman Empire, p. 94. Murad, or Morad, may be more correct: but I have preferred the popular name, to that obſcure diligence which is rarely ſucceſsful in tranſlating an Oriental, into the Roman, alphabet.

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was juftified by a previous and adequate provocation: the victorious fultan was difarmed by fubmiffion; and in the obfervance of treaties, his word was inviolate and facred [12]. The Hungarians were commonly the aggreffors; he was provoked by the revolt of Scanderbeg; and the perfidious Caramanian was twice vanquifhed, and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been furprifed by the defpot: in the conqueft of Theffalonica, the grandfon of Bajazet might difpute the recent purchafe of the Venetians; and after the firft fiege of Conftantinople, the fultan was never tempted, by the diftrefs, the abfence, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguifh the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

His double abdication, A. D. 1442—1444.

But the moft ftriking feature in the life and character of Amurath, is the double abdication of the Turkifh throne; and, were not his motives debafed by an alloy of fuperftition, we muft praife the royal philofopher [13], who at the age of forty could difcern the vanity of human greatnefs. Refigning the fceptre to his fon, he retired to the pleafant refidence of Magnefia; but he retired to the fociety of faints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an inftitution fo adverfe to his genius; but in the age of the crufades, the various orders of Dervifhes were multiplied by the example of the Chriftian, and even the Latin, monks [14]. The lord of nations fubmitted to faft, and pray, and turn round in endlefs rotation with the fanatics, who miftook the giddinefs of the head for the illumination of the fpirit [15]. But he was foon awakened from this dream of

[12] See Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 186. 198.), Ducas (c. 33.), and Marinus Barletius (in Vit. Scanderbeg, p. 145, 146.). In his good faith towards the garrifon of Sfetigrade, he was a leffon and example to his fon Mahomet.

[13] Voltaire (Effai fur l'Hiftoire Generale, c. 89. p. 283, 284.) admires *le Philofophe Turc*; would he have beftowed the fame praife on a Chriftian prince for retiring to a monaftery? In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

[14] See the articles *Dervifche, Fakir, Naffer, Rohbaniat*, in d'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale. Yet the fubject is fuperficially treated from the Perfian and Arabian writers. It is among the Turks that thefe orders have principally flourifhed.

[15] Rycaut (in the prefent State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 242—268.) affords much information, which he drew from his perfonal converfation with the heads of the dervifhes, moft of whom afcribed their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the

of enthuſiaſm, by the Hungarian invaſion; and his obedient ſon was the foremoſt to urge the public danger and the wiſhes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to faſt, and to turn round with his Magneſian brethren. Theſe pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the ſtate. A victorious army diſdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler: the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and ſlaughter; and the unanimous divan implored his preſence to appeaſe the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their maſter, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant ſultan was compelled to ſupport his ſplendid ſervitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or diſeaſe, misfortune or caprice, have tempted ſeveral princes to deſcend from the throne; and they have had leiſure to repent of their irretrievable ſtep. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and ſolitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

Eugenius forms a league againſt the Turks, A. D. 1443.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal intereſt; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a juſt apprehenſion of the Turks, who approached, and might ſoon invade, the borders of Italy. But the ſpirit of the cruſades had expired; and the coldneſs of the Franks was not leſs unreaſonable than their headlong paſſion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Aſia for the recovery of the holy ſepulchre; but in the fifteenth, the moſt preſſing motives of religion and policy were inſufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Chriſtendom. Germany was an inexhauſtible ſtore-houſe of men and arms[16]: but that complex and languid body

the *Zichidæ* of Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 286.), among whom Amurath retired: the *Seids* of that author are the deſcendants of Mahomet.

[16] In the year 1431, Germany raiſed 40,000 horſe, men at arms, againſt the Huſſites of Bohemia (Lenfant, Hiſt. du Concile de

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body required the impulse of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the third was alike impotent in his personal character and his Imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity of France and England[17]: but Philip, duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed, without danger or expence, the adventurous piety of his subjects, who sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action; and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians, and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience: a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times[18]; by the union of the

de Basle, tom. i. p. 318.). At the siege of Nuys on the Rhine in 1474, the princes, prelates, and cities, sent their respective quotas: and the bishop of Munster (qui n'est pas des plus grands) furnished 1400 horse, 6000 foot, all in green, with 1200 waggons. The united armies of the king of England and the duke of Burgundy scarcely equalled one-third of this German host (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l. iv. c. 2.). At present, six or seven hundred thousand men are maintained in constant pay and admirable discipline, by the powers of Germany.

[17] It was not till the year 1444, that France and England could agree on a truce of some months (See Rymer's Fœdera, and the chronicles of both nations).

[18] In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1443, 1444.) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkish materials, the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the West. His narrative is perspicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

two crowns on the head of Ladislaus[19], a young and ambitious soldier; by the valour of an hero, whose name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies, both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor[20], with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to sally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania[21] announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the streights of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dissevered and destroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, instilled the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid, of the Son of God, and his divine Mother.

Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, marches against them.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal vic-

19 I have curtailed the harsh letter (Wladislaus) which most writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish pronunciation, or to distinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislaus of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is described by Callimachus (l. i, ii. p. 447—486.), Bonfinius (Decad. iii. l. iv.), Spondanus, and Lenfant.

20 The Greek historians, Phranza, Chalcondyles, and Ducas, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he seems to have promoted by his wishes, and injured by his fears.

21 Cantemir (p. 88.) ascribes to his policy the original plan, and transcribes his animating epistle to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are seldom informed of the state of Christendom; and the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Caramania.

tories,

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tories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot: he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle [22].

The Turkish peace.

The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharist, the real presence of the Catholic deity; but the

[22] In their letters to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians slay 30,000 Turks in one battle; but the modest Julian reduces the slaughter to 6000, or even 2000 infidels (Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5. and epist. 44. 81. apud Spondanum).

2

Christians,

Chriſtians refuſed to profane their holy myſteries; and a ſuperſtitious conſcience is leſs forcibly bound by the ſpiritual energy, than by the outward and viſible ſymbols, of an oath [23].

Violation of the peace, A. D. 1444.

During the whole tranſaction, the cardinal legate had obſerved a ſullen ſilence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppoſe, the conſent of the king and people. But the diet was not diſſolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were maſters of the Helleſpont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladiſlaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal [24], "that you will deſert their expectations and your own "fortune. It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Chriſtians, "that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation anni-"hilates a raſh and ſacrilegious oath to the enemies of Chriſt. His "vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whoſe ſanction you "can neither promiſe nor perform. In his name I abſolve your "perjury and ſanctify your arms: follow my footſteps in the paths "of glory and ſalvation; and if ſtill ye have ſcruples, devolve on "my head the puniſhment and the ſin." This miſchievous caſuiſtry was ſeconded by his reſpectable character, and the levity of popular aſſemblies: war was reſolved, on the ſame ſpot where peace had ſo lately been ſworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the

[23] See the origin of the Turkiſh war, and the firſt expedition of Ladiſlaus, in the vth and vi[th] books of the iii[d] Decad of Bonfinius, who, in his diviſion and ſtyle, copies Livy with tolerable ſucceſs. Callimachus (l. ii. p. 487—496.) is ſtill more pure and authentic.

[24] I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's ſpeech, which is variouſly worded by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 505—507.), Bonfinius (Dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458.), and other hiſtorians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they repreſent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controverſy are fiercely attacked by the Proteſtants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are diſcouraged by the misfortune of Warna.

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Turks were aſſaulted by the Chriſtians; to whom, with ſome reaſon, they might apply the epithet of infidels. The falſehood of Ladiſlaus to his word and oath, was palliated by the religion of the times: the moſt perfect, or at leaſt the moſt popular, excuſe would have been the ſucceſs of his arms and the deliverance of the Eaſtern church. But the ſame treaty which ſhould have bound his conſcience, had diminiſhed his ſtrength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhauſted by diſtant warfare, and perhaps diſguſted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the firſt licence, and haſtily retired to their provinces and caſtles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or reſtrained by a laudable ſcruple; and the relics of the cruſade that marched in the ſecond expedition, were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thouſand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal ſtandard with his vaſſals, preſumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that ſometimes attended the ſultan; and the gift of two horſes of matchleſs ſpeed, might admoniſh Ladiſlaus of his ſecret foreſight of the event. But the deſpot of Servia, after the reſtoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promiſe of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthuſiaſm of the legate, and the martial preſumption of Huniades himſelf, were perſuaded that every obſtacle muſt yield to the invincible virtue of the ſword and the croſs. After the paſſage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Conſtantinople and the Helleſpont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus; the other more tedious and ſecure, over a level country, and along the ſhores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according to the Scythian diſcipline, might always be covered by a moveable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciouſly preferred: the Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Chriſtian natives; and their laſt ſtation was at Warna, near the ſea-

fea-fhore; on which the defeat and death of Ladiflaus have beftowed a memorable name[25]. C H A P. LXVII.

Battle of Warna, A. D. 1444, Nov. 10.

It was on this fatal fpot, that, inftead of finding a confederate fleet to fecond their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himfelf, who had iffued from his Magnefian folitude, and tranfported the forces of Afia to the defence of Europe. According to fome writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or feduced, to grant the paffage of the Bofphorus; and an indelible ftain of corruption is fixed on the Genoefe, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whofe mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellefpont. From Adrianople, the fultan advanced by hafty marches, at the head of fixty thoufand men; and when the cardinal, and Huniades, had taken a nearer furvey of the numbers and order of the Turks, thefe ardent warriors propofed the tardy and impracticable meafure of a retreat. The king alone was refolved to conquer or die; and his refolution had almoft been crowned with a glorious and falutary victory. The princes were oppofite to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left againft the adverfe divifions of the defpot and Huniades. The Turkifh wings were broken on the firft onfet: but the advantage was fatal; and the rafh victors, in the heat of the purfuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy or the fupport of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his fquadrons, he defpaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary feized his horfe's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the foldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arreft the flight, of his fovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Chriftian perfidy, had been difplayed

[25] Warna, under the Grecian name of Odeffus, was a colony of the Milefians, which they denominated from the hero Ulyffes (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374. d'Anville, tom. i. p. 312.). According to Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine (p. 24, 25. in the i[st] volume of Hudfon's Geographers), it was fituate 1740 ftadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 360 to the north of a ridge or promontory of mount Hæmus, which advances into the fea.

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in the front of battle; and it is ſaid, that the ſultan in his diſtreſs, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jeſus himſelf to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion [26]. With inferior numbers and diſordered ranks, the king of Hungary ruſhed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was ſtopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horſe was pierced by the javelin of Amurath [27]; he fell among the ſpears of the infantry; and a Turkiſh ſoldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of your "king!" The death of Ladiſlaus was the ſignal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate purſuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loſs: he ſtrove to reſcue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquiſhed; and the laſt efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to ſave the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thouſand Chriſtians were ſlain in the diſaſtrous battle of Warna: the loſs of the Turks, more conſiderable in numbers, bore a ſmaller proportion to their total ſtrength; yet the philoſophic ſultan was not aſhamed to confeſs, that his ruin muſt be the conſequence of a ſecond and ſimilar victory. At his command a column was erected on the ſpot where Ladiſlaus had fallen; but the modeſt inſcription, inſtead of accuſing the raſhneſs, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune, of the Hungarian youth [28].

Death of Ladiſlaus.

Before

[26] Some Chriſtian writers affirm, that he drew from his boſom the hoſt or wafer on which the treaty had *not* been ſworn. The Moſlems ſuppoſe, with more ſimplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jeſus, which is likewiſe inſinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 516. Spondan. A. D. 1444, N° 8.).

[27] A critic will always diſtruſt theſe *ſpolia opima* of a victorious general, ſo difficult for valour to obtain, ſo eaſy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, p. 90, 91.). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517.) more ſimply and probably affirms, ſupervenientibus Janizaris, telorum multitudine, non tam confoſſus eſt, quam obrutus.

[28] Beſides ſome valuable hints from Æneas Sylvius, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our beſt authorities are three hiſtorians of the xv[th] century, Philippus Callimachus (de Rebus a Vladiſlao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege geſtis, libri iii. in Bel. Script. Rerum Hungaricarum, tom. i. p. 433—518.), Bonfinius (decad iii. l. v.

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The cardinal Julian.

Before I loſe ſight of the field of Warna, I am tempted to pauſe on the character and ſtory of two principal actors, the cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian [29] Cæſarini was born of a noble family of Rome: his ſtudies had embraced both the Latin and Greek learning, both the ſciences of divinity and law; and his verſatile genius was equally adapted to the ſchools, the camp, and the court. No ſooner had he been inveſted with the Roman purple, than he was ſent into Germany to arm the empire againſt the rebels and heretics of Bohemia. The ſpirit of perſecution is unworthy of a Chriſtian; the military profeſſion ill becomes a prieſt; but the former is excuſed by the times; and the latter was ennobled by the courage of Julian, who ſtood dauntleſs and alone in the diſgraceful flight of the German hoſt. As the pope's legate, he opened the council of Baſil; but the preſident ſoon appeared the moſt ſtrenuous champion of eccleſiaſtical freedom; and an oppoſition of ſeven years was conducted by his ability and zeal. After promoting the ſtrongeſt meaſures againſt the authority and perſon of Eugenius, ſome ſecret motive of intereſt or conſcience engaged him to deſert on a ſudden the popular party. The cardinal withdrew himſelf from Baſil to Ferrara; and, in the debates of the Greeks and Latins, the two nations admired the dexterity of his arguments and the depth of his theological erudition [30]. In his Hungarian embaſſy we have already ſeen the miſchievous effects of his ſophiſtry and eloquence, of which Julian himſelf was the firſt victim. The cardinal, who performed

l. v. p. 460—467), and Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 165—179.). The two firſt were Italians, but they paſſed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 324. Voſſius de Hiſt. Latin. l. iii. c. 8. 11. Bayle, Dictionnaire, BONFINIUS). A ſmall tract of Fælix Petancius, chancellor of Segnia (ad calcem Cuſpinian. de Cæſaribus, p. 716—722.), repreſents the theatre of the war in the xv[th] century.

[29] M. Lenfant has deſcribed the origin (Hiſt. du Concile de Baſle, tom. i. p. 247, &c.), and Bohemian campaign (p. 315, &c.), of cardinal Julian. His ſervices at Baſil and Ferrara, and his unfortunate end, are occaſionally related by Spondanus, and the continuator of Fleury.

[30] Syropulus honourably praiſes the talents of an enemy (p. 117.): τοιαυτα τινα ειπεν ὁ Ιουλιανος, πεπλατυσμενως αγαν και λογικως, και μετ' επιστημης και δεινοτητος Ῥητορικης.

 the

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the duties of a prieſt and a ſoldier, was loſt in the defeat of Warna. The circumſtances of his death are variouſly related; but it is believed, that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avarice of ſome Chriſtian fugitives.

John Corvinus Huniades.

From an humble, or at leaſt a doubtful origin, the merit of John Huniades promoted him to the command of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek; her unknown race might poſſibly aſcend to the emperors of Conſtantinople; and the claims of the Walachians, with the ſurname of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might ſuggeſt a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome [31]. In his youth he ſerved in the wars of Italy; and was retained, with twelve horſemen, by the biſhop of Zagrab: the valour of the *white knight* [32] was ſoon conſpicuous; he encreaſed his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders, he won in the ſame year three battles againſt the Turks. By his influence, Ladiſlaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important ſervice was rewarded by the title and office of Waivod of Tranſylvania. The firſt of Julian's cruſades added two Turkiſh laurels on his brow; and in the public diſtreſs the fatal errors of Warna were forgotten. During the abſence and minority of Ladiſlaus of Auſtria, the titular king, Huniades was elected ſupreme captain and governor of Hungary; and if envy at firſt was ſilenced by terror, a reign of twelve years ſuppoſes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a conſummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than

[31] See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian hiſtorian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a bluſh, the abſurd flattery, which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the caſual, though glorious, epithet of a ſingle branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

[32] Philip de Comines (Memoires, l. vi. c. 13.), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whimſical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valaigne (Valachia). The Greek Chalcocondyles, and the Turkiſh Annals of Leunclavius, preſume to accuſe his fidelity or valour.

the

the head, as the chief of desultory Barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominated *Jancus Lain*, or the Wicked: their hatred is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable, when they fondly believed the captain and his country irrecoverably lost. Instead of confining himself to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of Warna he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria; and in the plain of Cossova sustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of Walachia, the hero was surprised by two robbers; but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his sword, slew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, consoled by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the second in person. After a siege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Christendom [23]. About a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired; and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who sighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the single antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne, Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was

His defence of Belgrade, and death, A. D. 1456, July 22, Sept. 4.

[23] See Bonfinius (decad iii. l. viii. p. 492.) and Spondanus (A. D. 1456, N° 1—7.). Huniades shared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capistran, a Franciscan friar; and in their respective narratives, neither the saint nor the hero condescend to take notice of his rival's merit.

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prosperous and long: Matthias aspired to the glory of a conqueror and a saint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from Italy by the son, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character [34].

Birth and education of Scanderbeg, prince of Albania, A. D. 1404—1413, &c.

In the list of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated [35]: and they are both entitled to our notice, since their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg [36], was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic sea. Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute: he delivered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcision, were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy [37]. The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of slaves; and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed, cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the suspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and

[34] See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. viii.—decad iv. l. viii. The observations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus, are curious and critical (A. D. 1464, N° 1. 1475, N° 6. 1476, N° 14—16. 1490, N° 4, 5.). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum (p. 322—412.) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wise and facetious sayings are registered by Galestus Martius of Narni (528—568.): and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three tracts are all contained in the 1st vol. of Bel's Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum.

[35] They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleasing Essay on Heroic Virtue (works, vol. iii. p. 385.), among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing, a royal crown; Belisarius, Narses, Gonsalvo of Cordova, William first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Castriot, or Scanderbeg.

[36] I could wish for some simple, authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national history of Marinus Barletius, a priest of Scodra (de Vitâ, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Georgii Castrioti, &c. libri xiii. pp. 367. Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gawdy and cumbersome robes are stuck with many false jewels. See likewise Chalcocondyles, l. vii. p. 185. l. viii. p. 229.

[37] His circumcision, education, &c. are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (l. i. p. 6, 7.).

paternal treatment of George Caftriot, the fourth brother, who from his tender youth, difplayed the ftrength and fpirit of a foldier. The fucceffive overthrow of a Tartar and two Perfians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkifh court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkifh appellation of Scanderbeg (*Ifkender Beg*), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and fervitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province: but the lofs was compenfated by the rank and title of Sanjiak, a command of five thoufand horfe, and the profpect of the firft dignities of the empire. He ferved with honour in the wars of Europe and Afia; and we may fmile at the art or credulity of the hiftorian, who fuppofes, that in every encounter he fpared the Chriftians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Mufulman foes. The glory of Huniades is without reproach; he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of traitor and apoftate. In the eyes of the Chriftians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is juftified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the flavery of his country; and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal, with which he afferted the faith and independence of his anceftors. But he had imbibed from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran; he was ignorant of the Gofpel; the religion of a foldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it eafy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty [38] could be poured into his foul. His motives would be lefs expofed to the fufpicion of intereft or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was fenfible of its weight: but a long oblivion had furely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and

[38] Since Scanderbeg died A. D. 1466, in the lxiii[d] year of his age (Marinus, l. xiii. p. 370.), he was born in 1403; fince he was torn from his parents by the Turks, when he was *novennis* (Marinus, l. i. p. 1. 6.), that event muft have happened in 1412, nine years before the acceffion of Amurath II. who muft have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian flave. Spondanus has remarked this inconfiftency, A. D. 1431, N° 31. 1443, N° 14.

reward

CHAP. LXVII. reward had cemented the mutual bond of the ſultan and his ſubject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Chriſtianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind muſt condemn the baſe diſſimulation, that could ſerve only to betray, that could promiſe only to be foreſworn, that could actively join in the temporal and ſpiritual perdition of ſo many thouſands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praiſe a ſecret correſpondence with Huniades, while he commanded the vanguard of the Turkiſh army? ſhall we excuſe the deſertion of his ſtandard, a treacherous deſertion which abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confuſion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the Reis Effendi or principal ſecretary: with the dagger at his breaſt, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the guiltleſs ſcribe and his train, prevented the conſequences of an immediate diſcovery. With ſome bold companions, to whom he had revealed his deſign, he eſcaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate; and no ſooner did he command the fortreſs, than George Caſtriot dropt the maſk of diſſimulation; abjured the prophet and the ſultan, and proclaimed himſelf the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garriſons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptiſm. In the aſſembly of the ſtates of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkiſh war; and each of the allies engaged to furniſh his reſpective proportion of men and money. From theſe contributions, from his patrimonial eſtate, and from the valuable ſalt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thouſand ducats [39]; and the entire ſum, exempt from the demands of luxury, was ſtrictly appropriated to the public uſe. His manners were popular; but his

His revolt from the Turks, A.D. 1443, Nov. 28.

[39] His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. p. 44.).

discipline

discipline was ſevere; and every ſuperfluous vice was baniſhed from his camp: his example ſtrengthened his command; and under his conduct, the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their enemies. The braveſt adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his ſervice: his ſtanding militia conſiſted of eight thouſand horſe and ſeven thouſand foot; the horſes were ſmall, the men were active: but he viewed with a diſcerning eye the difficulties and reſources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was diſtributed in the ſtrongeſt poſts. With ſuch unequal arms, Scanderbeg reſiſted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the ſecond, and his greater ſon, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they purſued with ſeeming contempt and implacable reſentment. At the head of ſixty thouſand horſe and forty thouſand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceleſs towns, convert the churches into moſchs, circumciſe the Chriſtian youths, and puniſh with death his adult and obſtinate captives: but the conqueſts of the ſultan were confined to the petty fortreſs of Sfetigrade; and the garriſon, invincible to his arms, was oppreſſed by a paltry artifice and a ſuperſtitious ſcruple[40]. Amurath retired with ſhame and loſs from the walls of Croya, the caſtle and reſidence of the Caſtriots; the march, the ſiege, the retreat, were haraſſed by a vexatious, and almoſt inviſible, adverſary[41]; and the diſappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to ſhorten, the laſt days of the ſultan[42]. In the

His valour,

[40] There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17.), was contiguous to the fortreſs of Sfetigrade, whoſe inhabitants refuſed to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traiterouſly been caſt (l. v. p. 139, 140.). We want a good map of Epirus.

[41] Compare the Turkiſh narrative of Cantemir (p. 92.), with the pompous and prolix declamation in the iv^th, v^th, and vi^th books of the Albanian prieſt, who has been copied by the tribe of ſtrangers and moderns.

[42] In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. p. 188—192.) kills the ſultan, by diſeaſe indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is diſproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

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fulneſs of conqueſt, Mahomet the ſecond ſtill felt at his boſom this domeſtic thorn: his lieutenants were permitted to negociate a truce; and the Albanian prince may juſtly be praiſed as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthuſiaſm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they bluſh to acknowledge their intrepid countrymen: but his narrow dominion, and ſlender powers, muſt leave him at an humble diſtance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the Eaſt and the Roman legions. His ſplendid atchievements, the baſhas whom he encountered, the armies that he diſcomfited, and the three thouſand Turks who were ſlain by his ſingle hand, muſt be weighed in the ſcales of ſuſpicious criticiſm. Againſt an illiterate enemy, and in the dark ſolitude of Epirus, his partial biographers may ſafely indulge the latitude of romance: but their fictions are expoſed by the light of Italian hiſtory; and they afford a ſtrong preſumption againſt their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he paſſed the Adriatic with eight hundred horſe to the ſuccour of the king of Naples[43]. Without diſparagement to his fame, they might have owned that he was finally oppreſſed by the Ottoman powers: in his extreme danger, he applied to pope Pius the ſecond for a refuge in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and his reſources were almoſt exhauſted, ſince Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Liſſus on the Venetian territory[44]. His ſepulchre was ſoon violated by the Turkiſh conquerors; but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchaſed in a bracelet, declared by this ſuperſtitious

and death, A. D. 1467, January 17.

[43] See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ixth and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the teſtimony or ſilence of Muratori (Annali, d'Italia, tom. xiii. p. 291.), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetta de Rebus Franciſci Sfortiæ, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 728. et alios). The Albanian cavalry, under the name of *Stradiots*, ſoon became famous in the wars of Italy (Memoires de Comines, l. viii. c. 5.).

[44] Spondanus, from the beſt evidence and the moſt rational criticiſm, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human ſize (A. D. 1461, N° 20. 1463, N° 9. 1465, N° 12, 13. 1467, N° 1.). His own letter to the pope, and the teſtimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28.), a refugee in the neighbouring iſle of Corfu, demonſtrate his laſt diſtreſs, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.).

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amulet their involuntary reverence for his valour. The inftant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet, had he balanced the confequences of fubmiffion and refiftance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal conteft which muft depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be fupported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Chriftian people, who guarded the fea-coaft of the Adriatic, and the narrow paffage from Greece to Italy. His infant fon was faved from the national fhipwreck; the Caftriots[45] were invefted with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the nobleft families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a fettlement in Calabria, and they preferve at this day the language and manners of their anceftors[46].

Conftantine, the laft of the Roman or Greek emperors, A. D. 1448, Nov. 1— A. D. 1453, May 29.

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the laft reign of the princes of Conftantinople, who fo feebly fuftained the name and majefty of the Cæfars. On the deceafe of John Palæologus, who furvived about four years the Hungarian crufade[47], the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monaftic profeffion of Ifidore, was reduced to three princes, Conftantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the furviving fons of the emperor Manuel. Of thefe the firft and the laft were far diftant in the Morea; but Demetrius, who poffeffed the domain of Selybria, was in the fuburbs, at the head of a party: his ambition was not chilled by the public diftrefs; and his confpiracy with the Turks and the fchifmatics had already difturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with fingular and

[45] See the family of the Caftriots, in Ducange (Fam. Dalmaticæ, &c. xviii. p. 348—350.).

[46] This colony of Albanefe is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (Travels into the Two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 350—354.).

[47] The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic; but inftead of four years and feven months, Spondanus (A. D. 1445, N° 7.) affigns feven or eight years to the reign of the laft Conftantine, which he deduces from a fpurious epiftle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Æthiopia.

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even suspicious haste; the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimsy sophism, that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful successor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, asserted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately dispatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurath received him with honour and dismissed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfal of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exhausted by his donatives the treasure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately resigned to his brothers the possession of the Morea; and the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a consort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed; but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire[48].

Embassies of Phranza, A. D. 1450—1452.

The *protovestiare*, or great chamberlain, Phranza sailed from Constantinople as the minister of a bridegroom; and the relics of wealth

[48] Phranza (l. iii. c. 1—6.) deserves credit and esteem.

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and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks; he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and such was their simplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above an hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the Barbarians[49], and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India[50], from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown sea[51]. From this hospitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease, his Christian wife Maria[52], the daughter of the Servian despot, had been honourably restored to her parents: on the fame of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice; and Phranza recapitulates and refutes the specious ob-

[49] Suppose him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's first war in Georgia (Sherefeddin, l. iii. c. 50.); he might follow his Tartar master into Hindostan in 1398, and from thence sail to the spice islands.

[50] The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale; dragons seventy cubits, ants (the *formica Indica*) nine inches long, sheep like elephants, elephants like sheep. Quidlibet audendi, &c.

[51] He sailed in a country vessel from the spice island to one of the ports of the exterior India, invenitque navem grandem *Ibericam*, quâ in *Portugalliam* est delatus. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 30.), twenty years before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is sullied by the old and incompatible error which places the source of the Nile in India.

[52] Cantemir (p. 83.), who styles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not easily be believed, that in six-and-twenty years cohabitation, the sultan corpus ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 22.)

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jections that might be raised against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church; the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that sailed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter [53], he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand, ducats; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance, that, as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermillion crosses on the golden bull, and assured the Georgian envoy, that in the spring his gallies should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a sovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend. "Since the death of my "mother and of Cantacuzene, who alone advised me without in-"terest or passion [54], I am surrounded," said the emperor, "by men

State of the Byzantine court.

[53] The classical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (Iliad I. v. 144.), and the general practice of antiquity.

[54] Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was great domestic, a firm asserter of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador (Syropulus, p. 37, 38. 45.).

" whom I can neither love, nor truſt, nor eſteem. You are not a " ſtranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral; obſtinately attached " to his own ſentiments, he declares, both in private and public, that " his ſentiments are the abſolute meaſure of my thoughts and ac- " tions. The reſt of the courtiers are ſwayed by their perſonal or " factious views; and how can I conſult the monks on queſtions of " policy and marriage? I have yet much employment for your " diligence and fidelity. In the ſpring you ſhall engage one of my " brothers to ſolicit the ſuccour of the Weſtern powers; from the " Morea you ſhall ſail to Cyprus on a particular commiſſion; and " from thence proceed to Georgia to receive and conduct the future " empreſs." " Your commands," replied Phranza, " are irreſiſt- " ible; but deign, great ſir," he added, with a ſerious ſmile, " to " conſider, that if I am thus perpetually abſent from my family, " my wife may be tempted either to ſeek another huſband, or to " throw herſelf into a monaſtery." After laughing at his appre- henſions, the emperor more gravely conſoled him by the pleaſing aſſurance, that *this* ſhould be his laſt ſervice abroad, and that he deſtined for his ſon, a wealthy and noble heireſs; for himſelf, the important office of great logothete, or principal miniſter of ſtate. The marriage was immediately ſtipulated; but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been uſurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requiſite to negociate a conſent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared, and half ſuppreſſed, leſt it might be diſpleaſing to an inſolent and powerful favourite. The winter was ſpent in the preparations of his embaſſy; and Phranza had reſolved, that the youth his ſon ſhould embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public deſigns, which were interrupted by a Turkiſh war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire.

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Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second.—Siege, Assault, and final Conquest, of Constantinople by the Turks.—Death of Constantine Palæologus.—Servitude of the Greeks.—Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East.—Consternation of Europe.—Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second.

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Character of Mahomet II.

THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the second[1] was the son of the second Amurath; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the haram of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman; and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran[2]: his private indiscre-

[1] For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 33.), whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude; see likewise Spondanus (A. D. 1451, N°11.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552.), the *Elogia* of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164—166.), and the Dictionaire de Bayle (tom. iii. p. 272—279.).

[2] Cantemir (p. 115.), and the moschs which he founded, attest his public regard for

indiſcretion muſt have been ſacred from the vulgar ear; and we ſhould ſuſpect the credulity of ſtrangers and ſectaries, ſo prone to believe that a mind which is hardened againſt truth, muſt be armed with ſuperior contempt for abſurdity and error. Under the tuition of the moſt ſkilful maſters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progreſs in the paths of knowledge; and beſides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he ſpoke or underſtood five languages [3], the Arabic, the Perſian, the Chaldæan or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Perſian might indeed contribute to his amuſement, and the Arabic to his edification; and ſuch ſtudies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourſe of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wiſh to converſe with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praiſes in Latin poetry [4] or proſe [5] might find a paſſage to the royal ear; but what uſe or merit could recommend to the ſtateſman or the ſcholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew ſlaves? The hiſtory and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the Eaſt, perhaps of the Weſt [6], excited his emulation: his ſkill in aſtrology is excuſed by the folly of the times, and ſuppoſes ſome rudiments of mathematical ſcience; and a profane taſte for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation

for religion. Mahomet freely diſputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two religions (Spond. A.D. 1453, N° 22.).

[3] Quinque linguas præter ſuam noverat; Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Perſicam. The Latin tranſlator of Phranza has dropt the Arabic, which the Koran muſt recommend to every Muſulman.

[4] Philelphus, by a Latin ode, requeſted and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and ſiſters from the conqueror of Conſtantinople. It was delivered into the ſultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philelphus himſelf was ſuſpected of a deſign of retiring to Conſtantinople; yet the orator often ſounded the trumpet of holy war (ſee his Life by M. Lancelot, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 718. 724, &c.).

[5] Robert Valturio publiſhed at Verona, in 1483, his xii books de Re Militari, in which he firſt mentions the uſe of bombs. By his patron Sigiſmond Malateſta, prince of Rimini, it had been addreſſed with a Latin epiſtle to Mahomet II.

[6] According to Phranza, he aſſiduouſly ſtudied the lives and actions of Alexander, Auguſtus, Conſtantine, and Theodoſius. I have read ſomewhere, that Plutarch's Lives were tranſlated by his orders into the Turkiſh language. If the ſultan himſelf underſtood Greek, it muſt have been for the benefit of his ſubjects. Yet theſe lives are a ſchool of freedom as well as of valour.

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and reward of the painters of Italy [7]. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon; or of the beauteous slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love. His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness [8]. But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the atchievements, Mahomet the second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and by the Persian king.

His reign, A.D. 1451, February 9— A.D. 1481, July 2.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty, and twice descended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs

[7] The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was dismissed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purse of 3000 ducats. With Voltaire, I laugh at the foolish story of a slave purposely beheaded, to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles.

[8] These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I. Selim II. and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61.). The sophis of Persia can produce a more regular succession; and in the last age, our European travellers were the witnesses and companions of their revels.

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who had recommended that ſalutary meaſure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and, after a feſtival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride, to reſide in the government of Magneſia. Before the end of ſix weeks, he was recalled by a ſudden meſſage from the divan, which announced the deceaſe of Amurath, and the mutinous ſpirit of the Janizaries. His ſpeed and vigour commanded their obedience: he paſſed the Helleſpont with a choſen guard; and at the diſtance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the ſoldiers and the people, fell proſtrate before the new ſultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he aſcended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cauſe of ſedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers[9]. The ambaſſadors of Europe and Aſia ſoon appeared to congratulate his acceſſion and ſolicit his friendſhip; and to all he ſpoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the ſolemn oaths and fair aſſurances, with which he ſealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was aſſigned for the annual payment of three hundred thouſand aſpers, the penſion of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his requeſt in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the ſeverity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's houſehold: the expences of luxury were applied to thoſe of ambition, and an uſeleſs train of ſeven thouſand falconers was either diſmiſſed from his ſervice or enliſted in his troops. In the firſt ſummer of his reign, he viſited with an army the Aſiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the ſubmiſſion, of the Caramanian, that he

9 Calapin, one of theſe royal infants, was ſaved from his cruel brother, and baptiſed at Rome under the name of Calliſtus Othomannus. The emperor Frederic III. preſented him with an eſtate in Auſtria, where he ended his life; and Cuſpinian, who in his youth converſed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wiſdom (de Cæſaribus, p. 672, 673).

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might not be diverted by the ſmalleſt obſtacle from the execution of his great deſign[10].

Hoſtile intentions of Mahomet, A.D. 1451.

The Mahometan, and more eſpecially the Turkiſh caſuiſts, have pronounced that no promiſe can bind the faithful againſt the intereſt and duty of their religion; and that the ſultan may abrogate his own treaties and thoſe of his predeceſſors. The juſtice and magnanimity of Amurath had ſcorned this immoral privilege; but his ſon, though the proudeſt of men, could ſtoop from ambition to the baſeſt arts of diſſimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he inceſſantly ſighed for the poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiſcretion, afforded the firſt pretence of the fatal rupture[11]. Inſtead of labouring to be forgotten, their ambaſſadors purſued his camp, to demand the payment, and even the encreaſe, of their annual ſtipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a ſecret friend of the Chriſtians, was conſtrained to deliver the ſenſe of his brethren. "Ye "fooliſh and miſerable Romans," ſaid Calil, "we know your de-"vices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the ſcrupulous "Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young con-"queror, whom no laws can bind and no obſtacles can reſiſt: and "if you eſcape from his hands, give praiſe to the divine clemency,

[10] See the acceſſion of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33.), Phranza (l. i. c. 33. l. iii. c. 2.), Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 199.), and Cantemir (p. 96.).

[11] Before I enter on the ſiege of Conſtantinople I ſhall obſerve, that except the ſhort hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkiſh account of this conqueſt: ſuch an account as we poſſeſs of the ſiege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 723—769.). I muſt therefore depend on the Greeks, whoſe prejudices, in ſome degree, are ſubdued by their diſtreſs. Our ſtandard texts are thoſe of Ducas (c. 34—42.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7—20.), Chalcocondyles (l. viii. p. 201—214.), and Leonardus Chienſis (Hiſtoria C. P. a Turco expugnatæ. Norimberghæ, 1544, in 4to, 20 leaves). The laſt of theſe narratives is the earlieſt in date, ſince it was compoſed in the iſle of Chios, the 16th of Auguſt 1453, only ſeventy-nine days after the loſs of the city, and in the firſt confuſion of ideas and paſſions. Some hints may be added from an epiſtle of cardinal Iſidore (in Farragine Rerum Turcicarum, ad calcem Chalcocondyl. Clauſeri, Baſil, 1556) to pope Nicholas V. and a tract of Theodoſius Zygomala, which he addreſſed in the year 1581 to Martin Cruſius (Turco-Græcia, l. i. p. 74—98. Baſil, 1584). The various facts and materials are briefly, though critically, reviewed by Spondanus (A. D. 1453, N° 1—27.). The hearſay relations of Monſtrelet and the diſtant Latins, I ſhall take leave to diſregard.

"which

"which yet delays the chaſtiſement of your ſins. Why do ye ſeek "to affright us by vain and indirect menaces? Releaſe the fugitive "Orchan, crown him ſultan of Romania; call the Hungarians from "beyond the Danube; arm againſt us the nations of the Weſt: "and be aſſured, that you will only provoke and precipitate your "ruin." But, if the fears of the ambaſſadors were alarmed by the ſtern language of the vizir, they were ſoothed by the courteous audience and friendly ſpeeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet aſſured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redreſs the grievances, and conſult the true intereſt, of the Greeks. No ſooner had he repaſſed the Helleſpont than he iſſued a mandate to ſuppreſs their penſion, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this meaſure he betrayed an hoſtile mind; and the ſecond order announced, and in ſome degree commenced, the ſiege of Conſtantinople. In the narrow paſs of the Boſphorus, an Aſiatic fortreſs had formerly been raiſed by his grandfather: in the oppoſite ſituation, on the European ſide, he reſolved to erect a more formidable caſtle; and a thouſand maſons were commanded to aſſemble in the ſpring on a ſpot named Aſomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis [12]. Perſuaſion is the reſource of the feeble; and the feeble can ſeldom perſuade: the ambaſſadors of the emperor attempted, without ſucceſs, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his deſign. They repreſented, that his grandfather had ſolicited the permiſſion of Manuel to build a caſtle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the ſtreight, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the ſubſiſtence of the city. "I form no enterpriſe," replied the perfidious

[12] The ſituation of the fortreſs, and the topography of the Boſphorus, are beſt learned from Peter Gyllius (de Boſphoro Thracio, l. ii. c. 13.), Leunclavius (Pandect. p. 445.), and Tournefort (Voyage dans le Levant, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 443, 444.); but I muſt regret the map or plan which Tournefort ſent to the French miniſter of the marine. The reader may turn back to vol. ii. ch. 17. of this Hiſtory.

ſultan,

ſultan, "againſt the city; but the empire of Conſtantinople is meaſured by her walls. Have you forgot the diſtreſs to which my father was reduced, when you formed a league with the Hungarians; when they invaded our country by land, and the Helleſpont was occupied by the French gallies? Amurath was compelled to force the paſſage of the Boſphorus; and your ſtrength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople; the Moſlems trembled; and for a while the *Gabours*[13] inſulted our diſgrace. But when my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, he vowed to erect a fort on the weſtern ſhore, and that vow it is my duty to accompliſh. Have ye the right, have yet he power, to control my actions on my own ground? For that ground *is* my own: as far as the ſhores of the Boſphorus, Aſia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deſerted by the Romans. Return, and inform your king that the preſent Ottoman is far different from his predeceſſors; that *his* reſolutions ſurpaſs *their* wiſhes; and that *he* performs more than *they* could reſolve. Return in ſafety—but the next who delivers a ſimilar meſſage may expect to be flayed alive." After this declaration, Conſtantine, the firſt of the Greeks in ſpirit as in rank[14], had determined to unſheathe the ſword, and to reſiſt the approach and eſtabliſhment of the Turks on the Boſphorus. He was diſarmed by the advice of his civil and eccleſiaſtical miniſters, who recommended a ſyſtem leſs generous, and even leſs prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-ſuffering, to brand the Ottoman with

[13] The opprobrious name which the Turks beſtow on the Infidels, is expreſſed Καβουρ by Ducas, and *Giaour* by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloſſ. Græc. tom. i. p. 530.) from Καβουρον in vulgar Greek, a tortoiſe, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But, alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Gheber*, which was transferred from the Perſian to the Turkiſh language, from the worſhippers of fire to thoſe of the crucifix (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 375.).

[14] Phranza does juſtice to his maſter's ſenſe and courage. Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere conſtituit, and ſtigmatiſes the folly of the cum ſacri tum profani proceres, which he had heard, amentes ſpe vanâ paſci. Ducas was not a privy-counſellor.

the

the name and guilt of an aggreſſor, and to depend on chance and time for their own ſafety and the deſtruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidſt hope and fear, the fears of the wiſe and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper buſineſs of each man, and each hour, was poſtponed; and the Greeks ſhut their eyes againſt the impending danger, till the arrival of the ſpring and the ſultan decided the aſſurance of their ruin.

He builds a fortreſs on the Boſphorus, A. D. 1452, March.

Of a maſter who never forgives, the orders are ſeldom diſobeyed. On the twenty-ſixth of March, the appointed ſpot of Aſomaton was covered with an active ſwarm of Turkiſh artificers; and the materials by ſea and land, were diligently tranſported from Europe and Aſia[15]. The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia; and the ſtones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thouſand maſons was aſſiſted by two workmen; and a meaſure of two cubits was marked for their daily taſk. The fortreſs[16] was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a ſtrong and maſſy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the ſea-ſhore: a thickneſs of twenty-two feet was aſſigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a ſolid platform of lead. Mahomet himſelf preſſed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour: his three vizirs claimed the honour of finiſhing their reſpective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meaneſt labour was ennobled by the ſervice of God and the ſultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a deſpot, whoſe ſmile was the hope of fortune, and whoſe frown was the meſſenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with

[15] Inſtead of this clear and conſiſtent account, the Turkiſh Annals (Cantemir, p. 97.) revived the fooliſh tale of the ox's hide, and Dido's ſtratagem in the foundation of Carthage. Theſe annals (unleſs we are ſwayed by an antichriſtian prejudice) are far leſs valuable than the Greek hiſtorians.

[16] In the dimenſions of this fortreſs, the old caſtle of Europe, Phranza does not exactly agree with Chalcocondyles, whoſe deſcription has been verified on the ſpot by his editor Leunclavius.

terror

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terror the irreſiſtible progreſs of the work; and vainly ſtrove, by flattery and gifts, to aſſuage an implacable foe, who ſought, and ſecretly fomented, the ſlighteſt occaſion of a quarrel. Such occaſions muſt ſoon and inevitably be found. The ruins of ſtately churches, and even the marble columns which had been conſecrated to St. Michael the archangel, were employed without ſcruple by the profane and rapacious Moſlems; and ſome Chriſtians, who preſumed to oppoſe the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Conſtantine had ſolicited a Turkiſh guard to protect the fields and harveſts of his ſubjects: the guard was fixed; but their firſt order was to allow free paſture to the mules and horſes of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they ſhould be moleſted by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horſes to paſs the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the inſult was reſented; and ſeveral of both nations were ſlain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet liſtened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unſuſpecting reapers were maſſacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Conſtantinople had been open to the viſits of commerce and curioſity: on the firſt alarm, the gates were ſhut; but the emperor, ſtill anxious for peace, releaſed on the third day his Turkiſh captives [17]; and expreſſed, in a laſt meſſage, the firm reſignation of a Chriſtian and a ſoldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor ſubmiſſion, can ſecure peace, purſue," ſaid he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My truſt is in God alone: if it ſhould pleaſe him to mollify your heart, I ſhall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers the city into your hands, I ſubmit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth ſhall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people." The ſultan's anſwer was hoſtile and deciſive: his fortifications were com-

The Turkiſh war, June;

[17] Among theſe were ſome pages of Mahomet ſo conſcious of his inexorable rigour, that they begged to loſe their heads in the city unleſs they could return before ſun-ſet.

pleted;

pleted; and before his departure for Adrianople, he ſtationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute of the ſhips of every nation that ſhould paſs within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian veſſel, refuſing obedience to the new lords of the Boſphorus, was ſunk with a ſingle bullet. The maſter and thirty ſailors eſcaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the *porte*: the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded; and the hiſtorian Ducas[18] beheld, at Demotica, their bodies expoſed to the wild beaſts. The ſiege of Conſtantinople was deferred till the enſuing ſpring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Conſtantine. At this æra of calamity, one of theſe princes, the deſpot Thomas, was bleſſed or afflicted with the birth of a ſon; "the laſt heir," ſays the plaintive Phranza, "of the laſt ſpark of the Roman empire[19]."

September 1;

A. D. 1453, January 17.

Preparations for the ſiege of Conſtantinople, A. D. 1452, September— A. D. 1453, April.

The Greeks and the Turks paſſed an anxious and ſleepleſs winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the moſt to loſe or to gain, were the moſt deeply affected by the national ſentiment. In Mahomet, that ſentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amuſed his leiſure with building at Adrianople[20] the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his ſerious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conqueſt of the city of Cæſar. At the dead of night, about the ſecond watch, he ſtarted from his bed, and commanded the inſtant attendance of his prime vizir. The meſſage, the hour, the prince, and his own ſituation, alarmed the guilty conſcience of Calil Baſha; who had poſſeſſed the confidence, and ad-

[18] Ducas, c. 35. Phranza (l. iii. c. 3.), who had failed in his veſſel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

[19] Auctum eſt Palæologorum genus, et Imperii ſucceſſor, parvæque Romanorum ſcintillæ hæres natus, Andreas, &c. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 7.) The ſtrong expreſſion was inſpired by his feelings.

[20] Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The ſultan was either doubtful of his conqueſt, or ignorant of the ſuperior merits of Conſtantinople. A city or a kingdom may ſometimes be ruined by the Imperial fortune of their ſovereign.

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vised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the infidels [21]; and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude [22]. "It is not my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply "them on thy head. In my turn I ask a present far more valuable "and important;—Constantinople." As soon as the vizir had recovered from his surprise, "the same God," said he, "who has "already given thee so large a portion of the Roman empire, will "not deny the remnant, and the capital. His providence, and thy "power, assure thy success; and myself, with the rest of thy faithful "slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes." "Lala [23]," (or preceptor), continued the sultan, "do you see this pillow? all the night, "in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the other; I "have risen from my bed, again have I lain down; yet sleep has

[21] Συντροφος, by the president Cousin, is translated *pere* nourricier, most correctly indeed from the Latin version; but in his haste, he has overlooked the note by which Ismael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35.) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

[22] The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign or a superior, is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with the idea of sacrifice, still more ancient and universal. See the examples of such Persian gifts, Ælian, Hist. Var. l. i. c. 31, 32, 33.

[23] The *Lala* of the Turks (Cantemir, p. 34.), and the *Tata* of the Greeks (Ducas, c. 35.), are derived from the natural language of children; and it may be observed, that all such primitive words which denote their parents, are the simple repetition of one syllable, composed of a labial or dental consonant and an open vowel (des Brosses, Mechanisme des Langues, tom. i. p. 231—247.).

"not

"not viſited theſe weary eyes. Beware of the gold and ſilver of "the Romans: in arms we are ſuperior; and with the aid of God, "and the prayers of the prophet, we ſhall ſpeedily become maſters "of Conſtantinople." To ſound the diſpoſition of his ſoldiers, he often wandered through the ſtreets alone and in diſguiſe: and it was fatal to diſcover the ſultan, when he wiſhed to eſcape from the vulgar eye. His hours were ſpent in delineating the plan of the hoſtile city: in debating with his generals and engineers, on what ſpot he ſhould erect his batteries; on which ſide he ſhould aſſault the walls; where he ſhould ſpring his mines; to what place he ſhould apply his ſcaling-ladders: and the exerciſes of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

The great cannon of Mahomet.

Among the implements of deſtruction, he ſtudied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous diſcovery of the Latins; and his artillery ſurpaſſed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almoſt ſtarved in the Greek ſervice, deſerted to the Moſlems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkiſh ſultan. Mahomet was ſatisfied with the anſwer to his firſt queſtion, which he eagerly preſſed on the artiſt. "Am I able to caſt a cannon capable of throwing a ball or ſtone "of ſufficient ſize to batter the walls of Conſtantinople? I am not "ignorant of their ſtrength, but were they more ſolid than thoſe of "Babylon, I could oppoſe an engine of ſuperior power: the poſi-"tion and management of that engine muſt be left to your en-"gineers." On this aſſurance, a foundery was eſtabliſhed at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of braſs ordnance of ſtupendous, and almoſt incredible, magnitude; a meaſure of twelve palms is aſſigned to the bore; and the ſtone bullet weighed above ſix hundred pounds [24]. A vacant place before the new palace was choſen for the firſt

[24] The Attic talent weighed about ſixty minæ, or averdupois pounds (ſee Hooper on Ancient Weights, Meaſures, &c.): but among the modern Greeks, that claſſic appellation

first experiment; but, to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued, that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise and support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philosopher[25] derides on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates, that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the

pellation was extended to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, ταλαντον). Leonardus Chiensis measured the ball or stone of the *second* cannon: Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex meis ambibat in gyro.

[25] See Voltaire (Hist. Generale, c. xci. p. 294, 295.). He was ambitious of universal monarchy; and the poet frequently aspires to the name and style of an astronomer, a chymist, &c.

effect

effect was far from contemptible. A ftone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds weight was once difcharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the diftance of fix hundred yards it fhivered into three rocky fragments, traverfed the ftreight, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rofe and bounded againft the oppofite hill [26].

Mahomet II. forms the fiege of Conftantinople, A. D. 1453, April 6.

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the Eaft, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the affiftance of earth and heaven. But the invifible powers were deaf to his fupplications; and Chriftendom beheld with indifference the fall of Conftantinople, while fhe derived at leaft fome promife of fupply from the jealous and temporal policy of the fultan of Egypt. Some ftates were too weak, and others too remote; by fome the danger was confidered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Weftern princes were involved in their endlefs and domeftic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exafperated by the falfehood or obftinacy of the Greeks. Inftead of employing in their favour the arms and treafures of Italy, Nicholas the fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplifhment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was foftened by the laft extremity of their diftrefs; but his compaffion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Conftantinople had fallen, before the fquadrons of Genoa and Venice could fail from their harbours [27]. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek iflands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoefe colony of Galata negociated a private treaty; and the fultan indulged them in the delufive hope, that by his clemency they might furvive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and fome Byzantine nobles, bafely withdrew from the danger of their country; and

[26] The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 85—89.), who fortified the Dardanelles againft the Ruffians, defcribes in a lively, and even comic, ftrain his own prowefs, and the confternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not poffefs the art of gaining our confidence.

[27] Non audivit, indignum ducens, fays the honeft Antoninus; but as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and afhamed, we find the more courtly expreffion of Platina, in animo fuiffe pontifici juvare Græcos, and the pofitive affertion of Æneas Sylvius, ftructam claffem, &c. (Spond, A. D. 1453, N° 3.).

CHAP. LXVIII. the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries [28]. The indigent and solitary prince prepared however to sustain his formidable adversary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons; Selybria alone deserved the honours of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and, on the sixth day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

Forces of the Turks;

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour: the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army inclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to an handful of Barbarians.

[28] Antonin. in Proem.—Epist. Cardinal. Isidor. apud Spondanum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance:

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns,
The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;
That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,
Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates.

Such

Such indeed might be the regular eſtabliſhment of the *Capiculi*[29], the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treaſury. But the baſhaws, in their reſpective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of ſpoil; and the ſound of the holy trumpet invited a ſwarm of hungry and fearleſs fanatics, who might contribute at leaſt to multiply the terrors, and in a firſt attack to blunt the ſwords, of the Chriſtians. The whole maſs of the Turkiſh powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thouſand men; but Phranza was a leſs remote and more accurate judge; and his preciſe definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thouſand does not exceed the meaſure of experience and probability[30]. The navy of the beſiegers was leſs formidable: the Propontis was overſpread with three hundred and twenty ſail; but of theſe no more than eighteen could be rated as gallies of war; and the far greater part muſt be degraded to the condition of ſtoreſhips and tranſports, which poured into the camp freſh ſupplies of men, ammunition, and proviſions. In her laſt decay, Conſtantinople was ſtill peopled with more than an hundred thouſand inhabitants; but theſe numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they moſtly conſiſted of mechanics, of prieſts, of women, and of men devoid of that ſpirit which even women have ſometimes exerted for the common ſafety. I can ſuppoſe, I could almoſt excuſe, the reluctance of ſubjects to ſerve on a diſtant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expoſe his life in the defence of his children and his property has

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of the Greeks.

[29] The palatine troops are ſtyled *Capiculi*, the provincials, *Seratculi*: and moſt of the names and inſtitutions of the Turkiſh militia exiſted before the *Canon Nameh* of Soliman II. from which, and his own experience, count Marſigli has compoſed his military ſtate of the Ottoman empire.

[30] The obſervation of Philelphus is approved by Cuſpinian in the year 1508 (de Cæſaribus, in Epilog. de Militiâ Turcicâ, p. 697.). Marſigli proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much leſs numerou than they appear. In the army that beſieged Conſtantinople, Leonardus Chienſis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

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lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were entrusted to Phranza [31]; and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, crossbows, and muskets, was distributed from the arsenal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompense, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

False union of the two churches, A. D. 1452, Dec. 12.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of

[31] Ego, eidem (Imp.) tabellas extribui non absque dolore et mœstitia, mansitque apud nos duos aliis occultus numerus (Phranza, l. iii. c. 8.). With some indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot desire a more authentic witness, not only of public facts, but of private counsels.

animosity

animosity and discord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation [32]. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

Obstinacy and fanaticism of the Greeks.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar, were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush, that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity [33]. Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of

[32] In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The bishop of Pamiers died in 1642, and the history of Ducas, which represents these scenes (c. 36, 37.) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

[33] Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the measure was adopted only propter spem auxilii; he affirms with pleasure, that those who refused to perform their devotions in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace essent (l. iii. c. 20.).

CHAP. LXVIII. future revisal; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from "the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius[34], to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture: but he had exposed on the door of his cell, a speaking tablet; and they successively withdrew after reading these tremendous words: "O miserable Romans, why will ye abandon the truth; and why, "instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? "In losing your faith, you will lose your city. Have mercy on "me, O Lord! I protest in thy presence, that I am innocent of the "crime. O miserable Romans, consider, pause, and repent. At "the same moment that you renounce the religion of your fathers, "by embracing impiety, you submit to a foreign servitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels and as proud as dæmons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part of the clergy and people. From the monastery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the pope; emptied their glasses in honour of the

[34] His primitive and secular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the same union which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Diatrib. de Georgiis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 760—786.) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343—383.) has restored the identity of his person and the duplicity of his character.

image of the holy Virgin; and befought her to defend againft Mahomet, the city which fhe had formerly faved from Chofroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occafion have we for fuccour, or union, "or Latins? far from us be the worfhip of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkifh conqueft, the nation was diftracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the feafon of Lent, the approach of Eafter, inftead of breathing charity and love, ferved only to fortify the obftinacy and influence of the zealots. The confeffors fcrutinifed and alarmed the confcience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was impofed on thofe, who had received the communion from a prieft, who had given an exprefs or tacit confent to the union. His fervice at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and fimple fpectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure fpectacle, the virtue of the facerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of fudden death, to invoke the affiftance of their prayers or abfolution. No fooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin facrifice, than it was deferted as a Jewifh fynagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people: and a vaft and gloomy filence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had fo often fmoked with a cloud of incenfe, blazed with innumerable lights, and refounded with the voice of prayer and thankfgiving. The Latins were the moft odious of heretics and infidels; and the firft minifter of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Conftantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat[35]. A fentiment fo unworthy of Chriftians and patriots, was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and fupport of his fubjects; and their native cowardice was fanctified by refignation to the divine decree, or the vifionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

[35] Φακιόλιον, καλύπτρα, may be fairly tranflated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the fchifm.

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Siege of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II. A.D. 1453, April 6—May 29.

Of the triangle which compoſes the figure of Conſtantinople, the two ſides along the ſea were made inacceſſible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the baſis of the triangle, the land ſide was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Againſt this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witneſs, prolongs to the meaſure of ſix miles [36], the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after diſtributing the ſervice and command of the moſt perilous ſtations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the firſt days of the ſiege, the Greek ſoldiers deſcended into the ditch, or ſallied into the field; but they ſoon diſcovered, that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Chriſtian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after theſe bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their miſſile weapons. Nor ſhould this prudence be accuſed of puſillanimity. The nation was indeed puſillanimous and baſe; but the laſt Conſtantine deſerves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inſpired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries ſupported the honour of the Weſtern chivalry. The inceſſant vollies of lances and arrows were accompanied with the ſmoke, the ſound, and the fire, of their muſketry and cannon. Their ſmall arms diſcharged at the ſame time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the ſize of a walnut; and, according to the cloſeneſs of the ranks and the force of the powder, ſeveral breaſt-plates and bodies were tranſpierced by the ſame ſhot. But the Turkiſh approaches were ſoon ſunk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the ſcience of the Chriſtians; but their inadequate ſtock of gunpowder was waſted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in ſize or number; and if they

[36] We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the ſmalleſt meaſure which is preſerved in the werſts of Ruſſia, of 547 French *toiſes*, and of 104$\frac{2}{5}$ to a degree. The ſix miles of Phranza do not exceed four Engliſh miles (d'Anville, Meſures Itineraires, p. 61. 123, &c.).

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possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion[37]. The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; an important and visible object in the history of the times: but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude[38]: the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day[39]. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

Attack and defence.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks,

37 At indies doctiores nostri facti paravere contra hostes machinamenta, quæ tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat nitri modica exigua; tela modica; bombardæ, si aderant incommoditate loci primum hostes offendere maceriebus alveisque tectos non poterant. Nam siquæ magnæ erant, ne murus concuteretur noster, quiescebant. This passage of Leonardus Chiensis is curious and important.

38 According to Chalcocondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burst; an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artist's skill. It is evident that they do not speak of the same gun.

39 Near an hundred years after the siege of Constantinople, the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 shot in an engagement of two hours (Memoires de Martin du Bellay, l. x. in the Collection Generale, tom. xxi. p. 239.).

pushing

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pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault [40]. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch, was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish, was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air [41]. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople, is the re-union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls hides; incessant vollies were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a stair-case to the upper

[40] I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the bloody and obstinate eloquence of the abbé de Vertot, in his prolix descriptions of the sieges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to please the order, he has adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

[41] The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P. i. p. 324.). They were first practised at Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 93—97.).

platform; and, as high as the level of that platform, a ſcaling-ladder could be raiſed by pullies to form a bridge and grapple with the adverſe rampart. By theſe various arts of annoyance, ſome as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a ſevere ſtruggle, the Turks were repulſed from the breach and interrupted by darkneſs; but they truſted, that with the return of light they ſhould renew the attack with freſh vigour and deciſive ſucceſs. Of this pauſe of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Juſtiniani, who paſſed the night on the ſpot, and urged the labours which involved the ſafety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient ſultan perceived, with aſtoniſhment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to aſhes: the ditch was cleared and reſtored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again ſtrong and entire. He deplored the failure of his deſign; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-ſeven thouſand prophets ſhould not have compelled him to believe that ſuch a work, in ſo ſhort a time, could have been accompliſhed by the infidels.

Succour and victory of four ſhips.

The generoſity of the Chriſtian princes was cold and tardy; but in the firſt apprehenſion of a ſiege, Conſtantine had negociated, in the iſles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the moſt indiſpenſable ſupplies. As early as the beginning of April, five [42] great ſhips, equipped for merchandiſe and war, would have ſailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obſtinately from the north [43]. One of theſe ſhips bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoeſe; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with ſoldiers

[42] It is ſingular that the Greeks ſhould not agree in the number of theſe illuſtrious veſſels; the *five* of Ducas, the *four* of Phranza and Leonardus, and the *two* of Chalcocondyles, muſt be extended to the ſmaller, or confined to larger, ſize. Voltaire, in giving one of theſe ſhips to Frederic III. confounds the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt.

[43] In bold defiance, or rather in groſs ignorance, of language and geography, the preſident Couſin detains them at Chios with a ſouth, and wafts them to Conſtantinople with a north, wind.

and

CHAP. LXVIII. and mariners, for the ſervice of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the ſecond day, a ſtrong gale from the ſouth, carried them through the Helleſpont and the Propontis: but the city was already inveſted by ſea and land; and the Turkiſh fleet, at the entrance of the Boſphorus, was ſtretched from ſhore to ſhore, in the form of a creſcent, to intercept, or at leaſt to repel, theſe bold auxiliaries. The reader who has preſent to his mind the geographical picture of Conſtantinople, will conceive and admire the greatneſs of the ſpectacle. The five Chriſtian ſhips continued to advance with joyful ſhouts, and a full preſs, both of ſails and oars, againſt an hoſtile fleet of three hundred veſſels; and the rampart, the camp, the coaſts of Europe and Aſia, were lined with innumerable ſpectators, who anxiouſly awaited the event of this momentous ſuccour. At the firſt view that event could not appear doubtful; the ſuperiority of the Moſlems was beyond all meaſure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour muſt inevitably have prevailed. But their haſty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the ſultan: in the height of their proſperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the ſea to the infidels [44]; and a ſeries of defeats, a rapid progreſs of decay, has eſtabliſhed the truth of their modeſt confeſſion. Except eighteen gallies of ſome force, the reſt of their fleet conſiſted of open boats, rudely conſtructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and deſtitute of cannon; and, ſince courage ariſes in a great meaſure from the conſciouſneſs of ſtrength, the braveſt of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Chriſtian ſquadron, five ſtout and lofty ſhips were guided by ſkilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practiſed in the arts and perils

[44] The perpetual decay and weakneſs of the Turkiſh navy, may be obſerved in Rycaut (State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 372—378.), Thevenot (Voyages, P. i. p. 229—242.), and Tott (Memoires, tom. iii.); the laſt of whom is always ſolicitous to amuſe and amaze his reader.

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of the fea. Their weight was directed to fink or fcatter the weak obftacles that impeded their paffage: their artillery fwept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adverfaries, who, with the defign of boarding, prefumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the fide of the ableft navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial veffel, which had been almoft overpowered, was refcued by the Genoefe; but the Turks, in a diftant and a clofer attack, were twice repulfed with confiderable lofs. Mahomet himfelf fat on horfeback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and prefence, by the promife of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The paffions of his foul, and even the geftures of his body[45], feemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he fpurred his horfe with a fearlefs and impotent effort into the fea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I muft repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they loft above twelve thoufand men in the flaughter of the day. They fled in diforder to the fhores of Europe and Afia, while the Chriftian fquadron, triumphant and unhurt, fteered along the Bofphorus, and fecurely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boafted that the whole Turkifh power muft have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bafhaw, found fome confolation for a painful wound in his eye, by reprefenting that accident as the caufe of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the defpotifm of the prince or people, misfortune is a fufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and fervices were annihilated by the dif-

[45] I muft confefs, that I have before my eyes the living picture which Thucydides (l. vii. c. 71.) has drawn of the paffions and geftures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbour of Syracufe.

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pleaſure of Mahomet. In the royal preſence, the captain baſhaw was extended on the ground by four ſlaves, and received one hundred ſtrokes with a golden rod [46]: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the ſultan, who was ſatisfied with the milder puniſhment of confiſcation and exile. The introduction of this ſupply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accuſed the ſupineneſs of their weſtern allies. Amidſt the deſerts of Anatolia and the rocks of Paleſtine, the millions of the cruſades had buried themſelves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the ſituation of the Imperial city was ſtrong againſt her enemies, and acceſſible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime ſtates might have ſaved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Chriſtian fortreſs in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the ſole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Conſtantinople: the more diſtant powers were inſenſible of its danger; and the ambaſſador of Hungary, or at leaſt of Huniades, reſided in the Turkiſh camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the ſultan [47].

Mahomet tranſports his navy over land.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the ſecret of the divan; yet the Greeks are perſuaded, that a reſiſtance, ſo obſtinate and ſurpriſing, had fatigued the perſeverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the ſiege would have been ſpeedily raiſed if the ambition and jealouſy of the ſecond vizir had not oppoſed the perfidious advice of Calil Baſhaw, who ſtill maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeleſs, unleſs a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land; but the harbour was in-

[45] According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38.), this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libræ, or pounds. Bouillaud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is ſufficient to exerciſe the arm of Mahomet, and bruiſe the back of his admiral.

[47] Ducas, who confeſſes himſelf ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, aſſigns a motive of ſuperſtition, a fatal belief that Conſtantinople would be the term of the Turkiſh conqueſts. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20.) and Spondanus.

acceſſible;

acceſſible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ſhips, more than twenty of a ſmaller ſize, with ſeveral gallies and ſloops; and, inſtead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval ſally, and a ſecond encounter in the open ſea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous caſt, of tranſporting by land his lighter veſſels and military ſtores from the Boſphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The diſtance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overſpread with thickets; and, as the road muſt be opened behind the ſuburb of Galata, their free paſſage or total deſtruction muſt depend on the option of the Genoeſe. But theſe ſelfiſh merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the laſt devoured; and the deficiency of art was ſupplied by the ſtrength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of ſtrong and ſolid planks; and to render them more ſlippery and ſmooth, they were anointed with the fat of ſheep and oxen. Fourſcore light gallies and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were diſembarked on the Boſphorus ſhore; arranged ſucceſſively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and pullies. Two guides or pilots were ſtationed at the helm, and the prow, of each veſſel; the ſails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by ſong and acclamation. In the courſe of a ſingle night, this Turkiſh fleet painfully climbed the hill, ſteered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the ſhallow waters of the harbour, far above the moleſtation of the deeper veſſels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the conſternation and confidence which it inſpired: but the notorious, unqueſtionable, fact was diſplayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations[48]. A ſimilar ſtratagem had been repeatedly prac-

[48] The unanimous teſtimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96.) from the Turkiſh annals: but I could wiſh to contract the diſtance of *ten* miles, and to prolong the term of *one* night.

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tised by the ancients[49]; the Ottoman gallies (I muſt again repeat) ſhould be conſidered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the diſtance, the obſtacles and the means, the boaſted miracle[50] has perhaps been equalled by the induſtry of our own times[51]. As ſoon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army; he conſtructed, in the narroweſt part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length: it was formed of caſks and hogſheads; joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a ſolid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largeſt cannon, while the fourſcore gallies, with troops and ſcaling-ladders, approached the moſt acceſſible ſide, which had formerly been ſtormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Chriſtians has been accuſed for not deſtroying theſe unfiniſhed works; but their fire, by a ſuperior fire was controlled and ſilenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the veſſels as well as the bridge of the ſultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremoſt galliots were ſunk or taken; forty youths, the braveſt of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly maſſacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be aſſuaged by the juſt though cruel retaliation, of expoſing from the walls the heads of two hundred and ſixty Muſulman captives. After a ſiege of forty days, the fate of Conſtantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garriſon was exhauſted by a double attack: the fortifications, which had ſtood for ages againſt hoſtile violence, were diſmantled on all ſides by the Ottoman cannon: many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been

Diſtreſs of the city.

[49] Phranza relates two examples of a ſimilar tranſportation over the ſix miles of the Iſthmus of Corinth; the one fabulous, of Auguſtus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the xth century. To theſe he might have added a bold enterpriſe of Hannibal, to introduce his veſſels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 749 edit. Gronov.).

[50] A Greek of Candia, who had ſerved the Venetians in a ſimilar undertaking (Spond. A. D. 1438, N° 37.), might poſſibly be the adviſer and agent of Mahomet.

[51] I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1776 and 1777, ſo great in the labour, ſo fruitleſs in the event.

levelled

ſevelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Conſtantine was compelled to deſpoil the churches with the promiſe of a fourfold reſtitution; and his ſacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A ſpirit of diſcord impaired the remnant of the Chriſtian ſtrength: the Genoeſe and Venetian auxiliaries aſſerted the pre-eminence of their reſpective ſervice; and Juſtiniani and the great duke, whoſe ambition was not extinguiſhed by the common danger, accuſed each other of treachery and cowardice.

Preparations of the Turks for the general aſſault, May 26.

During the ſiege of Conſtantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been ſometimes pronounced; and ſeveral embaſſies had paſſed between the camp and the city[52]. The Greek emperor was humbled by adverſity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkiſh ſultan was deſirous of ſparing the blood of his ſoldiers; ſtill more deſirous of ſecuring for his own uſe the Byzantine treaſures; and he accompliſhed a ſacred duty in preſenting to the *Gabours*, the choice of circumciſion, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been ſatisfied with an annual ſum of one hundred thouſand ducats: but his ambition graſped the capital of the Eaſt: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a ſafe departure: but after ſome fruitleſs treaty, he declared his reſolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Conſtantinople. A ſenſe of honour, and the fear of univerſal reproach, forbade Palæologus to reſign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the laſt extremities of war. Several days were employed by the ſultan in the preparations of the aſſault; and a reſpite was granted by his favourite ſcience of aſtrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-ſeventh, he iſſued his final

[52] Chalcocondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumſtances of the negociation; and as it was neither glorious nor ſalutary, the faithful Phranza ſpares his prince even the thought of a ſurrender.

orders;

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orders; aſſembled in his preſence the military chiefs; and diſperſed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives, of the perilous enterpriſe. Fear is the firſt principle of a deſpotic government; and his menaces were expreſſed in the Oriental ſtyle, that the fugitives and deſerters, had they the wings of a bird [53], ſhould not eſcape from his inexorable juſtice. The greateſt part of his baſhaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Chriſtian parents; but the glories of the Turkiſh name were perpetuated by ſucceſſive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the ſpirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and diſcipline. In this holy warfare, the Moſlems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with ſeven ablutions; and to abſtain from food till the cloſe of the enſuing day. A crowd of derviſhes viſited the tents to inſtil the deſire of martyrdom, and the aſſurance of ſpending an immortal youth amidſt the rivers and gardens of paradiſe, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally truſted to the efficacy of temporal and viſible rewards. A double pay was promiſed to the victorious troops; "The city and the buildings," ſaid Mahomet, "are mine: but I "reſign to your valour the captives and the ſpoil, the treaſures of "gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces "of my empire: the intrepid ſoldier who firſt aſcends the walls of "Conſtantinople, ſhall be rewarded with the government of the

[53] Theſe wings (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 208.) are no more than an Oriental figure: but in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's paſſion ſoars above ſenſe and reaſon:

> Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings,
> Bear him aloft above the wondering clouds,
> And ſeat him in the Pleiads golden chariot—
> Thence ſhould my fury drag him down to tortures.

Beſides the extravagance of the rant, I muſt obſerve, 1. That the operation of the winds muſt be confined to the *lower* region of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (Scholiaſt ad Homer. Σ. 686. Eudocia in Ioniâ, p. 339. Apollodor. l. iii. c. 10. Heine, p. 229. Not. 682.), and had no affinity with the aſtronomy of the Eaſt (Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul. in Syntagma Differt. tom. i. p. 40. 42. Goguet, Origine des Arts, &c. tom. vi. p. 73—78. Gebelin, Hiſt. du Calendrier, p. 73.), which Mahomet had ſtudied. 3. The golden chariot does not exiſt either in ſcience or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnſon has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon, the zodiac with a northern conſtellation:

> Αρκτον θ' ἣν και ἁμαξαν επικλησιν καλεουσι.

"faireſt

" fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his " honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action: the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts of, " God is God, there is but one " God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God [54];" and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Last farewel of the emperor and the Greeks.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession; but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties; they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire [55]: he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families

[54] Phranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous.

[55] I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself: and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonardus assigns him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

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and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his ftation, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and fome faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mofch; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the facrament of the holy communion. He repofed fome moments in the palace, which refounded with cries and lamentations; folicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured [56]; and mounted on horfeback to vifit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The diftrefs and fall of the laft Conftantine are more glorious than the long profperity of the Byzantine Cæfars.

The general affault, May 29.

In the confufion of darknefs an affailant may fometimes fucceed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and aftrological knowledge of Mahomet advifed him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Chriftian æra. The preceding night had been ftrenuoufly employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fafcines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts prefented a fmooth and level paffage to the breach; and his fourfcore gallies almoft touched with the prows and their fcaling-ladders, the lefs defenfible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, filence was enjoined: but the phyfical laws of motion and found are not obedient to difcipline or fear; each individual might fupprefs his voice and meafure his footfteps; but the march and labour of thoufands muft inevitably produce a ftrange confufion of diffonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the cuftomary fignal of the morning gun, the Turks affaulted the city by fea and land; and the fimilitude of a twined or twifted thread has been applied to the clofenefs and con-

[56] This abafement, which devotion has fometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the gofpel doctrine of the forgivenefs of injuries: it is more eafy to forgive 490 times, than once to afk pardon of an inferior.

tinuity of their line of attack[57]. The foremoft ranks confifted, of the refufe of the hoft, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feeblenefs of age or childhood, of peafants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulfe drove them onwards to the wall: the moft audacious to climb were inftantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Chriftians, was idly wafted on the accumulated throng. But their ftrength and ammunition were exhaufted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the flain; they fupported the footfteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more ferviceable than the life. Under their refpective bafhaws and fanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were fucceffively led to the charge: their progrefs was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks ftill maintained, and improved, their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his foldiers to atchieve, by a laft effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arofe, frefh, vigorous, and invincible. The fultan himfelf on horfeback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the fpectator and judge of their valour: he was furrounded by ten thoufand of his domeftic troops, whom he referved for the decifive occafions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous minifters of juftice were pofted behind the line, to urge, to reftrain, and to punifh; and if danger was in the front, fhame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial mufic of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of founds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and fpirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of

[57] Befides the 10,000 guards, and the failors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general affault 250,000 Turks both horfe and foot.

 reafon

reaſon and honour. From the lines, the gallies, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all ſides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of ſmoke, which could only be diſpelled by the final deliverance or deſtruction of the Roman empire. The ſingle combats of the heroes of hiſtory or fable, amuſe our fancy and engage our affections: the ſkilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a neceſſary, though pernicious, ſcience. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general aſſault, all is blood, and horror, and confuſion; nor ſhall I ſtrive, at the diſtance of three centuries and a thouſand miles, to delineate a ſcene, of which there could be no ſpectators, and of which the actors themſelves were incapable of forming any juſt or adequate idea.

The immediate loſs of Conſtantinople may be aſcribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Juſtiniani. The ſight of his blood, and the exquiſite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whoſe arms and counſels were the firmeſt rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his ſtation in queſt of a ſurgeon, his flight was perceived and ſtopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is ſlight; the danger is "preſſing; your preſence is neceſſary; and whither will you re-"tire?" "I will retire," ſaid the trembling Genoeſe, "by the "ſame road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at theſe words he haſtily paſſed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this puſillanimous act, he ſtained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he ſurvived in Galata, or the iſle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach [58]. His example was imitated by the greateſt part of the

[58] In the ſevere cenſure of the flight of Juſtiniani, Phranza expreſſes his own feelings, and thoſe of the public. For ſome private reaſons, he is treated with more lenity and reſpect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chienſis expreſs his ſtrong and recent indignation, gloriæ ſalutis ſuique oblitus. In the whole ſeries of their Eaſtern policy, his countrymen, the Genoeſe, were always ſuſpected, and often guilty.

the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to ſlacken when the attack was preſſed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times ſuperior to that of the Chriſtians: the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins: in a circuit of ſeveral miles, ſome places muſt be found more eaſy of acceſs, or more feebly guarded; and if the beſiegers could penetrate in a ſingle point, the whole city was irrecoverably loſt. The firſt who deſerved the ſultan's reward was Haſſan the Janizary, of gigantic ſtature and ſtrength. With his ſcymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he aſcended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen periſhed in the bold adventure. Haſſan and his twelve companions had reached the ſummit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he roſe on one knee, and was again oppreſſed by a ſhower of darts and ſtones. But his ſucceſs had proved that the atchievement was poſſible: the walls and towers were inſtantly covered with a ſwarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by encreaſing multitudes. Amidſt theſe multitudes, the emperor[59], who accompliſhed all the duties of a general and a ſoldier, was long ſeen, and finally loſt. The nobles, who fought round his perſon, ſuſtained till their laſt breath the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there "be found a Chriſtian to cut off my head[60]?" and his laſt fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels[61]. The prudent

[59] Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkiſh ſoldiers; Chalcocondyles wounds him in the ſhoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza carrying him among the enemy, eſcapes from the preciſe image of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply theſe noble lines of Dryden:

> As to Sebaſtian, let them ſearch the field;
> And where they find a mountain of the ſlain,
> Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
> There they will find him at his manly length,
> With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
> Which his good ſword had digged.

[60] Spondanus (A.D. 1453, N° 10.), who has hopes of his ſalvation, wiſhes to abſolve this demand from the guilt of ſuicide.

[61] Leonardus Chienſis very properly obſerves, that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to ſave and ſecure a captive ſo acceptable to the ſultan.

 deſpair

Death of the emperor Constantine Palæologus.

despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour [62]. In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital.

Loss of the city and empire.

It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors [63].

The Turks enter and pillage Constantinople.

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong some moments the happy ignorance of their ruin [64]. But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tran-

[62] Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian ships in the mouth of the harbour, had flanked and retarded this naval attack.

[63] Chalcocondyles most absurdly supposes, that Constantinople was sacked by the Asiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xv[th] century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks, into the more classical name of *Teucri*.

[64] When Cyrus surprised Babylon during the celebration of a festival, so vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives (Herodotus, l. i. c. 191.), and Usher (Annal. p. 78.), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.

quil

quil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like an herd of timid animals; as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd, each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome, which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor; that one day the Turks would enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia: but that this would be the term of their calamities: that an angel would descend from heaven, with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. "Take this sword," would he say, "and "avenge the people of the Lord." At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion, that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. "Had that angel appeared," exclaims the historian, "had he offered "to exterminate your foes if you would consent to the union of "the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have re-"jected your safety or have deceived your God[65]."

[65] This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 39.); who two years afterwards was sent ambassador from the prince of Lesbos to the sultan (c. 44.). Till Lesbos was subdued in 1463 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 27.), that island must have been full of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their misery.

While

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Captivity of the Greeks.

While they expected the defcent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no refiftance, their bloodlefs hands were employed in felecting and fecuring the multitude of their prifoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themfelves by a prior feizure, by perfonal ftrength, and by the authority of command. In the fpace of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The fenators were linked with their flaves; the prelates, with the porters, of the church; and young men of a plebeian clafs, with noble maids, whofe faces had been invifible to the fun and their neareft kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of fociety were confounded; the ties of nature were cut afunder; and the inexorable foldier was carelefs of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudeft in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bofoms, outftretched hands, and difhevelled hair: and we fhould pioufly believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the haram to thofe of the monaftery. Of thefe unfortunate Greeks, of thefe domeftic animals, whole ftrings were rudely driven through the ftreets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the fame hour, a fimilar rapine was exercifed in all the churches and monafteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any place, however facred or fequeftered, protect the perfons or the property of the Greeks. Above fixty thoufand of this devoted people were tranfported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or fold according to the caprice or intereft of their mafters, and difperfed in remote fervitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among thefe we may notice fome remarkable characters. The hiftorian Phranza, firft chamberlain and principal fecretary, was involved with his family in the

common

common lot. After ſuffering four months the hardſhips of ſlavery, he recovered his freedom; in the enſuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ranſomed his wife from the *mir baſhi* or maſter of the horſe; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been ſeized for the uſe of Mahomet himſelf. The daughter of Phranza died in the ſeraglio, perhaps a virgin: his ſon, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was ſtabbed by the hand of the royal lover[66]. A deed thus inhuman, cannot ſurely be expiated by the taſte and liberality with which he releaſed a Grecian matron, and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had choſen a wife in that noble family[67]. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been moſt ſenſibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of cardinal Iſidore eluded the ſearch, and he eſcaped from Galata in a plebeian habit[68]. The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was ſtill occupied by the Italian ſhips of merchandiſe and war. They had ſignaliſed their valour in the ſiege; they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkiſh mariners were diſſipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoiſted ſail, the beach was covered with a ſuppliant and lamentable crowd: but the means of tranſportation were ſcanty: the Venetians and Genoeſe ſelected their countrymen; and, notwithſtanding the faireſt promiſes of the ſultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houſes, and embarked with their moſt precious effects.

[66] See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21. His expreſſions are poſitive: Ameras ſuâ manû jugulavit..... volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie abuti. Me miſerum et infelicem. Yet he could only learn from report, the bloody or impure ſcenes that were acted in the dark receſſes of the ſeraglio.

[67] See Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 290.) and Lancelot (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 718.). I ſhould be curious to learn how he could praiſe the public enemy, whom he ſo often reviles as the moſt corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

[68] The Commentaries of Pius II. ſuppoſe, that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpſe which was cut off and expoſed in triumph, while the legate himſelf was bought and delivered, as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his eſcape with new adventures, which he ſuppreſſed (ſays Spondanus, A. D. 1453, N° 15.) in his own letters, left he ſhould loſe the merit and reward of ſuffering for Chriſt.

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Amount of the ſpoil.

In the fall and the ſack of great cities, an hiſtorian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the ſame effects muſt be produced by the ſame paſſions; and when thoſe paſſions may be indulged without control, ſmall, alas! is the difference between civilized and ſavage man. Amidſt the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accuſed of a wanton or immoderate effuſion of Chriſtian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquiſhed were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the ſervice, the ſale, or the ranſom, of his captives of both ſexes[69]. The wealth of Conſtantinople had been granted by the ſultan to his victorious troops: and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the induſtry of years. But as no regular diviſion was attempted of the ſpoil, the reſpective ſhares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were ſtolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amuſement or inſtruction: the total amount, in the laſt poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats[70]; and of this ſum, a ſmall part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of theſe foreigners, the ſtock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were diſplayed in the idle oſtentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treaſures of ingots and old coin, leſt it ſhould be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monaſteries and churches, excited the moſt tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itſelf, the

[69] Buſbequius expatiates with pleaſure and applauſe on the rights of war, and the uſe of ſlavery, among the ancients and the Turks (de Legat. Turcicâ, epiſt. iii. p. 161.).

[70] This ſum is ſpecified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 211.), but in the diſtribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50, 20, 20, and 15,000 ducats, I ſuſpect that a figure has been dropt. Even with the reſtitution, the foreign property would ſcarcely exceed one-fourth.

earthly heaven, the ſecond firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God[71], was deſpoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and ſilver, the pearls and jewels, the vaſes and ſacerdotal ornaments, were moſt wickedly converted to the ſervice of mankind. After the divine images had been ſtripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvaſs, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the ſtables or the kitchen, to the vileſt uſes. The example of ſacrilege was imitated however from the Latin conquerors of Conſtantinople; and the treatment which Chriſt, the Virgin, and the ſaints, had ſuſtained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Muſulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, inſtead of joining the public clamour, a philoſopher will obſerve, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanſhip could not be more valuable than the work, and that a freſh ſupply of viſions and miracles would ſpeedily be renewed by the craft of the prieſt and the credulity of the people. He will more ſeriouſly deplore the loſs of the Byzantine libraries, which were deſtroyed or ſcattered in the general confuſion: one hundred and twenty thouſand manuſcripts are ſaid to have diſappeared[72]; ten volumes might be purchaſed for a ſingle ducat; and the ſame ignominious price, too high perhaps for a ſhelf of theology, included the whole works of Ariſtotle and Homer, the nobleſt productions of the ſcience and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleaſure, that an ineſtimable portion of our claſſic treaſures was ſafely depoſited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havock of time and barbariſm.

Mahomet II. viſits the city, St. Sophia, the palace, &c.

From the firſt hour[73] of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, diſorder and rapine prevailed in Conſtantinople, till the eighth hour of

[71] See the enthuſiaſtic praiſes and lamentations of Phranza (l. iii. c. 17.).

[72] See Ducas (c. 43.), and an epiſtle, July 15th, 1453, from Laurus Quirinus to pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Græcis, p. 192. from a MS. in the Cotton library).

[73] The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was uſed at Conſtantinople. But Ducas ſeems to underſtand the natural hours from ſun-riſe.

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[74] See the Turkish Annals, p. 329. and the Pandects of Leunclavius, p. 448.

[75] I have had occasion (vol. ii. p. 16, 17.) to mention this curious relic of Græcian antiquity.

[76] We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102.) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amusing enough to observe, in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Musulman and a Christian eye.

From

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From St. Sophia he proceeded to the auguſt, but deſolate, manſion of an hundred ſucceſſors of the great Conſtantine; but which in a few hours had been ſtripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the viciſſitudes of human greatneſs, forced itſelf on his mind; and he repeated an elegant diſtich of Perſian poetry: "The "ſpider has wove his web in the Imperial palace; and the owl hath "ſung her watch-ſong on the towers of Afraſiab[77]."

His behaviour to the Greeks.

Yet his mind was not ſatisfied, nor did the victory ſeem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Conſtantine; whether he had eſcaped, or been made priſoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under an heap of ſlain, was diſcovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his ſhoes: the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after expoſing the bloody trophy[78], Mahomet beſtowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his deceaſe, Lucas Notaras, great duke[79], and firſt miniſter of the empire, was the moſt important priſoner. When he offered his perſon and his treaſures at the foot of the throne, "And why," ſaid the indignant ſultan, "did you not employ theſe treaſures in "the defence of your prince and country?" "They were yours," anſwered the ſlave, "God had reſerved them for your hands." "If "he reſerved them for me," replied the deſpot, "how have you "preſumed to with-hold them ſo long by a fruitleſs and fatal re"ſiſtance?" The great duke alleged the obſtinacy of the ſtrangers, and ſome ſecret encouragement from the Turkiſh vizir; and from

[77] This diſtich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the ſack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The ſame generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the paſt or the future.

[78] I cannot believe with Ducas (ſee Spondanus, A.D. 1453, N° 13.), that Mahomet ſent round Perſia, Arabia, &c. the head of the Greek emperor: he would ſurely content himſelf with a trophy leſs inhuman.

[79] Phranza was the perſonal enemy of the Greek duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monaſtery, extort a feeling of ſympathy or forgiveneſs. Ducas is inclined to praiſe and pity the martyr; Chalcocondyles is neuter, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conſpiracy.

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this perilous interview, he was at length diſmiſſed with the aſſurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condeſcended to viſit his wife, a venerable princeſs oppreſſed with ſickneſs and grief; and his conſolation for her misfortunes was in the moſt tender ſtrain of humanity and filial reverence. A ſimilar clemency was extended to the principal officers of ſtate, of whom ſeveral were ranſomed at his expence; and during ſome days he declared himſelf the friend and father of the vanquiſhed people. But the ſcene was ſoon changed; and before his departure, the hippodrome ſtreamed with the blood of his nobleſt captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Chriſtians: they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two ſons; and his death is aſcribed to the generous refuſal of delivering his children to the tyrant's luſt. Yet a Byzantine hiſtorian has dropt an unguarded word of conſpiracy, deliverance, and Italian ſuccour: ſuch treaſon may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures, has juſtly forfeited, his life; nor ſhould we blame a conqueror for deſtroying the enemies whom he can no longer truſt. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious ſultan returned to Adrianople; and ſmiled at the baſe and hollow embaſſies of the Chriſtian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eaſtern empire.

He repeoples and adorns Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople had been left naked and deſolate, without a prince or a people. But ſhe could not be deſpoiled of the incomparable ſituation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bourſa and Adrianople, the ancient ſeats of the Ottomans, ſunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the ſecond eſtabliſhed his own reſidence, and that of his ſucceſſors, on the ſame commanding ſpot which had been choſen by Conſtantine [89]. The fortifi-

[89] For the reſtitution of Conſtantinople and the Turkiſh foundations, ſee Cantemir (p. 102—109.), Ducas (c. 42.), with Thevenot, Tournefort, and the reſt of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatneſs, population, &c. of Conſtantinople and

fortifications of Galata, which might afford a ſhelter to the Latins, were prudently deſtroyed; but the damage of the Turkiſh cannon was ſoon repaired; and before the month of Auguſt, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the reſtoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the ſoil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or ſacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he firſt ſeparated a ſpace of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the eſtabliſhment of his ſeraglio or palace. It is here, in the boſom of luxury, that the *grand ſignor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Aſia; but his perſon on the ſhores of the Boſphorus may not always be ſecure from the inſults of an hoſtile navy. In the new character of a moſch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and ſurrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreſhment of the Moſlems. The ſame model was imitated in the *jami* or royal moſchs; and the firſt of theſe was built, by Mahomet himſelf, on the ruins of the church of the holy apoſtles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conqueſt, the grave of Abu Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the firſt ſiege of the Arabs, was revealed in a viſion; and it is before the ſepulchre of the martyr, that the new ſultans are girded with the ſword of empire [81]. Conſtantinople no longer appertains to the Roman hiſtorian; nor ſhall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkiſh maſters: the population was ſpeedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thouſand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the num-

and the Ottoman empire (Abregé de l'Hiſtoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 16--21.), we may learn, that in the year 1586, the Moſlems were leſs numerous in the capital than the Chriſtians, or even the Jews.

[81] The *Turbé*, or ſepulchral monument of Abou Ayub, is deſcribed and engraved in the Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of leſs uſe, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. p. 305, 306.).

bers

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bers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects: but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in crowds, as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crosier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with an horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence [82]. The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks [83] enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice; not a concession, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire: but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir, than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times [84].

The

[82] Phranza (l. iii. c. 19.) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the History of the Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople, inserted in the Turco-Græcia of Crusius (l. v. p. 106—184.). But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sancta "Trinitas quæ mihi donavit imperium te in "patriarcham novæ Romæ deligit."

[83] From the Turco-Græcia of Crusius, &c. Spondanus (A.D. 1453, N°21. 1458, N°16.) describes the slavery and domestic quarrels of the Greek church. The patriarch who succeeded Gennadius, threw himself in despair into a well.

[84] Cantemir (p. 101—105.) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have violated the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force

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Extinction of the Imperial families of Comnenus and Palæologus.

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties [85] which have reigned in Constantinople, should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas [86], the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats; and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *hexamilion*, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks: they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rapine and murder: the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct.

force than by composition. But, 1. I doubt this consent, since he quotes no particular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople *per vim* (p. 329.). 2. The same argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and salutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, prefers the Turks to the Christians.

[85] For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, see Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 195.); for the last Palæologi, the same accurate antiquarian (p. 244. 247, 248.). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

[86] In the worthless story of the disputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phranza (l. iii. c. 21—30.) is too partial on the side of Thomas; Ducas (c. 44, 45.) is too brief, and Chalcocondyles (l. viii, ix, x.) too diffuse and digressive.

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conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the ſtronger preſſure of neceſſity, could reconcile or ſuſpend their domeſtic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and ſword: the alms and ſuccours of the Weſt were conſumed in civil hoſtility; and their power was only exerted in ſavage and arbitrary executions. The diſtreſs and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their ſupreme lord; and, in the ſeaſon of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himſelf the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irreſiſtible force. When he had taken poſſeſſion of Sparta, "You are too weak," ſaid the ſultan, "to control "this turbulent province: I will take your daughter to my bed; "and you ſhall paſs the remainder of your life in ſecurity and ho-"nour." Demetrius ſighed and obeyed; ſurrendered his daughter and his caſtles; followed to Adrianople his ſovereign and ſon; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent iſles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the laſt of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coaſt of the Black Sea[87]. In the progreſs of his Anatolian conqueſts, Mahomet inveſted with a fleet and army the capital of David, who preſumed to ſtyle himſelf emperor of Trebizond[88]; and the negociation was compriſed in a ſhort and peremptory queſtion, "Will "you ſecure your life and treaſures by reſigning your kingdom? or "had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treaſures, and your "life?"

Loſs of the Morea, A. D. 1460;

[87] See the loſs or conqueſt of Trebizond in Chalcocondyles (l. ix. p. 263—266.), Ducas (c. 45.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27.), and Cantemir (p. 107.).

[88] Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179.) ſpeaks of Trebizond as mal peuplée, Peyſſonel, the lateſt and moſt accurate obſerver, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 72. and for the province, p. 53—90.). Its proſperity and trade are perpetually diſturbed by the factious quarrels of two *odas* of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (Memoires de Tott, tom. iii. p. 16, 17.).

"life?" The feeble Comnenus was ſubdued by his own fears, and the example of a Muſulman neighbour, the prince of Sinope [89], who, on a ſimilar ſummons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thouſand ſoldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was tranſported to a caſtle in Romania: but on a ſlight ſuſpicion of correſponding with the Perſian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were ſacrificed to the jealouſy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiſcation; his abject ſubmiſſion moved the pity and contempt of the ſultan; his followers were tranſplanted to Conſtantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a penſion of fifty thouſand aſpers, till a monaſtic habit and a tardy death releaſed Palæologus from an earthly maſter. It is not eaſy to pronounce whether the ſervitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas [90], be the moſt inglorious. On the conqueſt of the Morea, the deſpot eſcaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with ſome naked adherents: his name, his ſufferings, and the head of the apoſtle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hoſpitality of the Vatican; and his miſery was prolonged by a penſion of ſix thouſand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two ſons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldeſt, contemptible to his enemies and burthenſome to his friends, was degraded by the baſeneſs of his life and marriage. A title was his ſole inheritance; and that inheritance he ſucceſſively ſold to the kings of France and Arragon [91]. During his tranſient proſperity, Charles the eighth was ambi-

of Trebizond, A. D. 1461.

[89] Iſmael Beg, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was poſſeſſed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcocond. l. ix. p. 258, 259.). Peyſſonel (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 100.) aſcribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account ſeems enormous: yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

[90] Spondanus (from Gobelin Comment. Pii II. l. v.) relates the arrival and reception of the deſpot Thomas at Rome (A. D. 1461, N° 3.).

[91] By an act dated A. D. 1494, Sept. 6. and

CHAP. LXVIII. ambitious of joining the empire of the Eaſt with the kingdom of Naples: in a public feſtival, he aſſumed the appellation and the purple of *Auguſtus:* the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry [92]. Manuel Palæologus, the ſecond ſon, was tempted to reviſit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte: he was maintained at Conſtantinople in ſafety and eaſe; and an honourable train of Chriſtians and Moſlems attended him to the grave. If there be ſome animals of ſo generous a nature that they refuſe to propagate in a domeſtic ſtate, the laſt of the Imperial race muſt be aſcribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the ſultan's liberality two beautiful females; and his ſurviving ſon was loſt in the habit and religion of a Turkiſh ſlave.

Grief and terror of Europe, A. D. 1453.

The importance of Conſtantinople was felt and magnified in its loſs: the pontificate of Nicholas the fifth, however peaceful and proſperous, was diſhonoured by the fall of the Eaſtern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or ſeemed to revive, the old enthuſiaſm of the cruſades. In one of the moſt diſtant countries of the Weſt, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Liſle in Flanders, an aſſembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feaſt were ſkilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings [93]. In the midſt of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a caſtle on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the ſymbol of religion, was ſeen to iſſue from the caſtle;

and lately tranſmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the deſpot Andrew Palæologus, reſerving the Morea, and ſtipulating ſome private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. king of France the empires of Conſtantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A. D. 1495, N° 2.). M. de Foncemagne (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539—578.) has beſtowed a diſſertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

[92] See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14.), who reckons with pleaſure the number of Greeks who were prepared to riſe, 60 miles of an eaſy navigation, eighteen days journey from Valona to Conſtantinople, &c. On this occaſion the Turkiſh empire was ſaved by the policy of Venice.

[93] See the original feaſt in Olivier de la Marche (Memoires, P. i. c. 29, 30.), with the abſtract and obſervations of M. de Ste Palaye (Memoires ſur la Chevalerie, tom. i. P. iii. p. 182—185.). The peacock and the pheaſant were diſtinguiſhed as royal birds.

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ſhe deplored her oppreſſion, and accuſed the ſlowneſs of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fiſt a live pheaſant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he preſented to the duke. At this extraordinary ſummons, Philip, a wiſe and aged prince, engaged his perſon and powers in the holy war againſt the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the aſſembly; they ſwore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the *pheaſant;* and their particular vows were not leſs extravagant than the general ſanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on ſome future and foreign contingency; and, during twelve years, till the laſt hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be ſcrupulouſly, and perhaps ſincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breaſt glowed with the ſame ardour; had the union of the Chriſtians correſponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden[94] to Naples, ſupplied a juſt proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Conſtantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chaſed beyond the Helleſpont or the Euphrates. But the ſecretary of the emperor, who compoſed every epiſtle, and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius[95], a ſtateſman and orator, deſcribes from his own experience the repugnant ſtate and ſpirit of Chriſtendom. "It is a body," ſays he, "without an "head; a republic without laws or magiſtrates. The pope and the "emperor may ſhine as lofty titles, as ſplendid images; but *they* are "unable to command, and none are willing to obey: every ſtate "has a ſeparate prince, and every prince has a ſeparate intereſt. "What eloquence could unite ſo many diſcordant and hoſtile powers

[94] It was found by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland, contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and conſequently were far more populous than at preſent.

[95] In the year 1454 Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, a view of the ſtate of Europe, enriched with his own obſervations. That valuable annaliſt, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the ſeries of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter.

"under the ſame ſtandard? Could they be aſſembled in arms, who "would dare to aſſume the office of general? What order could be "maintained?—what military diſcipline? Who would undertake to "feed ſuch an enormous multitude? Who would underſtand their "various languages, or direct their ſtranger and incompatible man-"ners? What mortal could reconcile the Engliſh with the French, "Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary "and Bohemia? If a ſmall number enliſted in the holy war, they "muſt be overthrown by the infidels; if many, by their own weight "and confuſion." Yet the ſame Æneas, when he was raiſed to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the ſecond, devoted his life to the proſecution of the Turkiſh war. In the council of Mantua he excited ſome ſparks of a falſe or feeble enthuſiaſm; but when the pontiff appeared at Ancona to embark in perſon with the troops, engagements vaniſhed in excuſes; a preciſe day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his effective army conſiſted of ſome German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to diſband with indulgences and alms. Regardleſs of futurity, his ſucceſſors and the powers of Italy were involved in the ſchemes of preſent and domeſtic ambition; and the diſtance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their intereſt would have taught them to maintain a defenſive and naval war againſt the common enemy; and the ſupport of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians, might have prevented the ſubſequent invaſion of the kingdom of Naples. The ſiege and ſack of Otranto by the Turks, diffuſed a general conſternation; and pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the ſtorm was inſtantly diſpelled by the death of Mahomet the ſecond, in the fifty-firſt year of his age [96]. His lofty genius aſpired to the conqueſt of Italy: he was poſſeſſed

Death of Mahomet II. A.D. 1481, May 3, or July 2.

[96] Beſides the two annaliſts, the reader may conſult Giannone (Iſtoria Civile, tom. iii. p. 449–455.) for the Turkiſh invaſion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conqueſts of Mahomet II. I have occaſionally uſed the Memorie Iſtoriche de Monarchi Ottomanni

possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the NEW and the ANCIENT ROME[97].

tomanni di Giovanni Sagredo (Venezia, 1677, in 4to). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her dispatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in sense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels; he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only seventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69—140.), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo.

97 As I am now taking an everlasting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians, were confined to the classics of a better age; and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine series (xxxvi volumes in folio) has gradually issued (A. D. 1648, &c.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic; but the Venetian edition (A. D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, &c. is enhanced by the historical notes of Charles du Fresne du Cange. His supplemental works, the Greek Glossary, the Constantinopolis Christiana, the Familiæ Byzantinæ, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.

SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. LXIX.

State of Rome from the Twelfth Century.—Temporal Dominion of the Popes.—Seditions of the City.—Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia.—Restoration of the Republic.—The Senators.—Pride of the Romans.—Their Wars.—They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Popes, who retire to Avignon.—The Jubilee.—Noble Families of Rome.—Feud of the Colonna and Ursini.

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State and revolutions of Rome, A.D. 1100—1500.

IN the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the Capitol to the provinces, they are considered as so many branches which have been successively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome, on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constantine; and our curiosity has been tempted to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquests of Justinian, we have been recalled to the banks of the Tyber, to the deliverance of the ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of servitude. Rome had been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæsars: nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the

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the eighth century of the Chriſtian æra, a religious quarrel, the worſhip of images, provoked the Romans to aſſert their independence: their biſhop became the temporal, as well as the ſpiritual, father of a free people; and of the Weſtern empire, which was reſtored by Charlemagne, the title and image ſtill decorate the ſingular conſtitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome muſt yet command our involuntary reſpect: the climate (whatſoever may be its influence) was no longer the ſame [1]: the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thouſand channels; but the venerable aſpect of her ruins, and the memory of paſt greatneſs, rekindled a ſpark of the national character. The darkneſs of the middle ages exhibits ſome ſcenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor ſhall I diſmiſs the preſent work till I have reviewed the ſtate and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquieſced under the abſolute dominion of the popes about the ſame time that Conſtantinople was enſlaved by the Turkiſh arms.

The French and German emperors of Rome, A. D. 800—1100.

In the beginning of the twelfth century [2], the æra of the firſt cruſade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exerciſe of temporal dominion. After ſo long an interruption, it may not be uſeleſs to repeat that the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne and the Othos were choſen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that theſe princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had paſſed the Alps and the Apennine, to ſeek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tyber [3]. At ſome diſtance

[1] The abbé Dubos, who, with leſs genius than his ſucceſſor Monteſquieu, has aſſerted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himſelf the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the firſt of theſe examples he replies, 1. That the change is leſs real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themſelves the virtues of their anceſtors. 2. That the air, the ſoil, and the climate of Rome have ſuffered a great and viſible alteration (Reflexions ſur la Poeſie et ſur la Peinture, part. ii. ſect. 16.).

[2] The reader has been ſo long abſent from Rome, that I would adviſe him to recollect or review the xlix[th] chapter, in the vth volume of this Hiſtory.

[3] The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more eſpecially in the xi[th] century, is

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diſtance from the city, their approach was ſaluted by a long proceſſion of the clergy and people with palms and croſſes; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, repreſented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the ſtairs of the Vatican; and the diſtribution of a cuſtomary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the firſt Cæſars. In the church of St. Peter, the coronation was performed by his ſucceſſor: the voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public conſent was declared in the acclamations of, "Long life and victory to "our lord the pope! Long life and victory to our lord the em-"peror! Long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic "armies[4]!" The names of Cæſar and Auguſtus, the laws of Conſtantine and Juſtinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, eſtabliſhed the ſupreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image was engraved on the papal coins[5]; and their juriſdiction was marked by the ſword of juſtice, which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a Barbarian lord. The Cæſars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal ariſtocracy; nor could they exerciſe the diſcipline of civil and military power, which alone ſecures the obedience of a diſtant people, impatient of ſervitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vaſſals,

is beſt repreſented from the original monuments by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. i. diſſertat. ii. p. 99, &c.), and Cenni (Monument. Domin. Pontif. tom. ii. diſſ. vi. p. 261.), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 255—266.).

[4] Exercitui Romano et Teutonico! The latter was both ſeen and felt; but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

[5] Muratori has given the ſeries of the papal coins (Antiquitat. tom. ii. diſſ. xxvii. p. 548—554.). He finds only two more early than the year 800: fifty are ſtill extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in thoſe of Paſchal II. he ſeems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

deſcended

descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was insulted and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Authority of the popes in Rome,

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries: and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Dominus* or Lord was inscribed on the coin of the bishops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, and with the free, or reluctant, consent of the German Cæsars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified

from affection;

right;

the

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the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties, of Rome; and a more critical enquiry would have revealed a ſtill nobler ſource of their power; the gratitude of a nation, whom they had reſcued from the hereſy and oppreſſion of the Greek tyrant. In an age of ſuperſtition, it ſhould ſeem that the union of the royal and ſacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of paradiſe would be the ſureſt pledge of earthly obedience. The ſanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the perſonal vices of the man. But the ſcandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the auſtere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the ſeventh and his ſucceſſors; and in the ambitious conteſts which they maintained for the rights of the church, their ſufferings or their ſucceſs muſt equally tend to encreaſe the popular veneration. They ſometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of perſecution; and the apoſtolic zeal with which they offered themſelves to martyrdom, muſt engage the favour and ſympathy of every Catholic breaſt. And ſometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and depoſed the kings of the world: nor could the proudeſt Roman be diſgraced by ſubmitting to a prieſt, whoſe feet were kiſſed, and whoſe ſtirrup was held, by the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne[6]. Even the temporal intereſt of the city ſhould have protected in peace and honour the reſidence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greateſt part of their ſubſiſtence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial eſtates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by ſacrilegious hands; nor could the loſs be compenſated by the claim, rather than the poſſeſſion, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his deſcendants. But the Vatican and Capitol

virtue;

benefits.

[6] See Ducange, Gloſſ. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat. tom. vi. p. 364, 365. STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to archbiſhops, and by vaſſals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262.); and it was the niceſt policy of Rome, to confound the marks of filial and of feudal ſubjection.

were nourifhed by the inceffant and encreafing fwarms of pilgrims and fuppliants: the pale of Chriftianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclefiaftical and fecular caufes. A new jurifprudence had eftablifhed in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals[7]; and, from the north and weft, the bifhops and abbots were invited or fummoned to folicit, to complain, to accufe, or to juftify, before the threfhold of the apoftles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horfes, belonging to the archbifhops of Mentz and Cologne, repaffed the Alps, yet laden with gold and filver[8]: but it was foon underftood, that the fuccefs, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much lefs on the juftice of their caufe than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of thefe ftrangers were oftentatioufly difplayed; and their expences, facred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Inconftancy of fuperftition.

Such powerful motives fhould have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their fpiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and intereft is often difturbed by the fallies of ungovernable paffion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit[9], and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the fame impulfe of favage nature, which overlooks the future in the prefent, and relinquifhes for momentary rapine the long and fecure poffeffion of the moft important bleffings. And it was thus, that the fhrine

[7] The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff, are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (de Confideratione, l. iii. tom. ii. p. 431—442. edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750) and the judgment of Fleury (Difcours fur l'Hift. Ecclefiaftique, iv. & vii.). But the faint, who believed in the falfe decretals, condemns only the abufe of thefe appeals; the more enlightened hiftorian inveftigates the origin, and rejects the principles, of this new jurifprudence.

[8] Germanici.... fummarii non levatis farcinis onufti nihillominus repatriant inviti. Nova res! quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit? Et nunc Romanorum confilio id ufurpatum non credimus (Bernard de Confideratione, l. iii. c. 3. p. 437.). The firft words of the paffage are obfcure, and probably corrupt.

[9] Quand les fauvages de la Louifiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voila le gouvernement defpotique (Efprit des Loix, l. v. c. 13.); and paffion and ignorance are always defpotic.

of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtlefs Romans; who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of fimilar vifits, which they prevented by their inhofpitable facrilege. Even the influence of fuperftition is fluctuating and precarious: and the flave, whofe reafon is fubdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priefthood, moft powerfully acts on the mind of a Barbarian: yet fuch a mind is the leaft capable of preferring imagination to fenfe, of facrificing to a diftant motive, to an invifible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interefts of the prefent world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the preffure of age, or ficknefs, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to fatisfy the double debt of piety and remorfe. I have already obferved, that the modern times of religious indifference, are the moft favourable to the peace and fecurity of the clergy. Under the reign of fuperftition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whofe conftant encreafe muft have rendered them the fole proprietors of the earth, was alternately beftowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious fon: their perfons were adored or violated; and the fame idol, by the hands of the fame votaries, was placed on the altar or trampled in the duft. In the feudal fyftem of Europe, arms were the title of diftinction and the meafure of allegiance; and amidft their tumult, the ftill voice of law and reafon was feldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans difdained the yoke, and infulted the impotence, of their bifhop [10]; nor would his education

Seditions of Rome againft the popes.

[10] In a free converfation with his countryman Adrian IV. John of Salifbury accufes the avarice of the pope and clergy: Provinciarum deripiunt fpolia, ac fi thefauros Crœfi ftudeant reparare. Sed recte cum eis agit Altiffimus, quoniam et ipfi aliis et fæpe viliffimis hominibus dati funt in direptionem (de Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 24. p. 387.). In the next page, he blames the rafhnefs and infidelity of the Romans, whom their bifhops vainly ftrove to conciliate by gifts, inftead of virtues. It is pity that this mifcellaneous writer has not given us lefs morality and erudition, and more pictures of himfelf and the times.

or

or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence, which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: "Though the name and authority of the "court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, "which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unac- "quainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little "revered at home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates "of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city; "and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, "carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the "greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make "their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet [11]."

Successors of Gregory VII. A. D. 1086—1305.

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to opposition, and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown encreased the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties; and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno.

[11] Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 419. The same writer has given us, from Fitz-Stephen, a singular act of cruelty perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. "When he was master of Nor- "mandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, with- "out his consent, to proceed to the election "of a bishop: upon which he ordered all of "them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, "and made all their testicles be brought "him in a platter." Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure.

Six-

CHAP. LXIX. Six-and-thirty of his succeffors [12], till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal conteft with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the folemn rites of religion, were polluted with fedition and murder. A repetition [13] of fuch capricious brutality, without connection or defign, would be tedious and difgufting; and I fhall content myfelf with fome events of the twelfth century, which reprefent the ftate of the popes and the city. On Holy Thurfday, while Pafchal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperioufly demanded the confirmation of a favourite magiftrate. His filence exafperated their fury: his pious refufal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he fhould be the caufe and the witnefs of the public ruin. During the feftival of Eafter, while the bifhop and the clergy, barefoot and in proceffion, vifited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice affaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with vollies of ftones and darts. The houfes of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Pafchal efcaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his laft days were embittered by fuffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The fcenes that followed the election of his fucceffor Gelafius the fecond were ftill more fcandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani [14], a potent and factious

Pafchal II. A. D. 1099—1118.

Gelafius II. A. D. 1118, 1119.

[12] From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary feries of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Arragon, Pandulphus Pifanus, Bernard Guido, &c. is inferted in the Italian Hiftorians of Muratori (tom. iii. P. i. p. 277—685.), and has been always before my eyes.

[13] The dates of years in the margin, may throughout this chapter be underftood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, my ordinary and excellent guide. He ufes, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a mafter, his great Collection of the Italian Hiftorians, in xxviii. volumes; and as that treafure is in my library, I have thought it an amufement, if not a duty, to confult the originals.

[14] I cannot refrain from tranfcribing the high-coloured words of Pandulphus Pifanus (p. 384.): Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Centius Frajapane, more draconis immaniffimi fibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa fufpiria, accinctus retro gladio fine more cucurrit, valvas ac fores confregit. Ecclefiam furibundus introiit,

factious baron, burst into the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed, when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half-dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the *apostle* withdrew from a city in which his dignity was insulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty [15]. These examples might suffice; but I cannot forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the same age, the second and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he ascended in battle-array to assault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone, and expired in a few days. The latter was severely wounded in the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion, several of his priests had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses with their faces to the tail, and extorted an

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Lucius II. A. D. 1144, 1145.

Lucius III. A. D. 1181—1185.

troiit, inde custode remoto papam per gulam accepit, distraxit, pugnis calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen ecclesiæ acriter calcaribus cruentavit; et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jesû bono interim dormiente, detraxit ad domum, usque deduxit, inibi catenavit et inclusit.

[15] Ego coram Deo et ecclesiâ dico, si unquam possibile esset, mallem unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelas. II. p. 398).

oath,

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oath, that, in this wretched condition, they ſhould offer themſelves as a leſſon to the head of the church. Hope or fear, laſſitude or remorſe, the characters of the men, and the circumſtances of the times, might ſometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was reſtored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of miſchief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by ſuch tempeſts as had almoſt ſunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually preſented the aſpect of war and diſcord: the churches and palaces were fortified and aſſaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Caliſtus the ſecond alone had reſolution and power to prohibit the uſe of private arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered the apoſtolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his diſciple Eugenius the third, St. Bernard, with the ſharpneſs of his wit and zeal, has ſtigmatiſed the vices of the rebellious people[16]. "Who is ignorant," ſays the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance "of the Romans? a nation nurſed in ſedition, cruel, untractable, "and ſcorning to obey, unleſs they are too feeble to reſiſt. When "they promiſe to ſerve, they aſpire to reign; if they ſwear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their "diſcontent in loud clamours if your doors, or your counſels, are "ſhut againſt them. Dextrous in miſchief, they have never learnt "the ſcience of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious "to God, ſeditious among themſelves, jealous of their neighbours, "inhuman to ſtrangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wiſh to inſpire fear, they live in baſe and "continual apprehenſion. They will not ſubmit; they know how

Caliſtus II. A.D. 1119—1124. Innocent II. A.D. 1130—1143.

Character of the Romans by St. Bernard.

[16] Quid tam notum ſeculis quam protervia et cervicoſitas Romanorum? Gens inſueta paci, tumultui aſſueta, gens immitis et intractabilis uſque adhuc, ſubdi neſcia, niſi cum non valet reſiſtere (de Conſiderat. l. iv. c. 2. p. 441.). The ſaint takes breath, and then begins again: Hi, inviſi terræ et cœlo, utrique injecere manus, &c. (p. 443.).

"to govern; faithlefs to their fuperiors, intolerable to their equals, "ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their de-"mands and their refufals. Lofty in promife, poor in execution: "adulation and calumny, perfidy and treafon, are the familiar arts "of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Chriftian charity [17]; yet the features, however harfh and ugly, exprefs a lively refemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century [18].

Political herefy of Arnold of Brefcia, A.D. 1140.

The Jews had rejected the Chrift when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he affumed the pomp and pride of a temporal fovereign. In the bufy age of the crufades, fome fparks of curiofity and reafon were rekindled in the Weftern world: the herefy of Bulgaria, the Paulician fect, was fuccefsfully tranfplanted into the foil of Italy and France; the Gnoftic vifions were mingled with the fimplicity of the gofpel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their paffions with their confcience, the defire of freedom with the profeffion of piety [19]. The trumpet of Roman liberty was firft founded by Arnold of Brefcia [20], whofe promotion in the church was confined to the loweft rank, and who wore the monaftic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as an uniform of obedience. His adverfaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they feverely

[17] As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to obferve, that Bernard, though a faint, was a man; that he might be provoked by refentment, and poffibly repent of his hafty paffion, &c. (Memoires fur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 330.)

[18] Baronius, in his index to the xii[th] volume of his Annals, has found a fair and eafy excufe. He makes two heads, of Romani *Catholici*, and *Schifmatici*: to the former he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

[19] The herefies of the xii[th] century may be found in Mofheim (Inftitut. Hift. Ecclef. p. 419—427.), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brefcia. In the vth volume, I have defcribed the fect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

[20] The original pictures of Arnold of Brefcia, are drawn by Otho bifhop of Frifingen (Chron. l. vii. c. 31. de Geftis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27. l. ii. c. 21.), and in the iii[d] book of the Ligurinus, a poem of Gunther, who flourifhed A.D. 1200, in the monaftery of Paris near Bafil (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. iii. p. 174, 175.). The long paffage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 108.).

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felt: they confeſs with reluctance the ſpecious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological ſtudies, he had been the diſciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard [21], who was likewiſe involved in the ſuſpicion of hereſy: but the lover of Eloiſa was of a ſoft and flexible nature; and his eccleſiaſtic judges were edified and diſarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this maſter, Arnold moſt probably imbibed ſome metaphyſical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taſte of the times: his ideas of baptiſm and the euchariſt are looſely cenſured; but a *political* hereſy was the ſource of his fame and misfortunes. He preſumed to quote the declaration of Chriſt, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the ſword and the ſceptre were entruſted to the civil magiſtrate; that temporal honours and poſſeſſions were lawfully veſted in ſecular perſons; that the abbots, the biſhops, and the pope himſelf, muſt renounce either their ſtate or their ſalvation; and that after the loſs of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would ſuffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exerciſe of ſpiritual labours. During a ſhort time, the preacher was revered as a patriot; and the diſcontent, or revolt, of Breſcia againſt her biſhop, was the firſt fruits of his dangerous leſſons. But the favour of the people is leſs permanent than the reſentment of the prieſt; and after the hereſy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the ſecond [22], in the general council of the Lateran, the magiſtrates themſelves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the ſentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the diſciple of Abelard eſcaped

[21] The wicked wit of Bayle was amuſed in compoſing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABE'LARD, FOULQUES, HELOISE, in his Dictionnaire Critique. The diſpute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of ſcholaſtic and poſitive divinity, is well underſtood by Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 412—415.).

[22] ——Damnatus ab illo
Præſule, qui numeros vetitum contingere noſtros
Nomen ab *innocuâ* ducit laudabile vitâ.

We may applaud the dexterity and correctneſs of Ligurinus, who turns the unpoetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

beyond

beyond the Alps, till he found a ſafe and hoſpitable ſhelter in Zurich, now the firſt of the Swiſs cantons. From a Roman ſtation [23], a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually encreaſed to a free and flouriſhing city; where the appeals of the Milaneſe were ſometimes tried by the Imperial commiſſaries [24]. In an age leſs ripe for reformation, the præcurſor of Zuinglius was heard with applauſe: a brave and ſimple people imbibed and long retained the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, ſeduced the biſhop of Conſtance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his ſake, the intereſt of their maſter and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard [25]; and the enemy of the church was driven by perſecution to the deſperate meaſure of erecting his ſtandard in Rome itſelf, in the face of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

He exhorts the Romans to reſtore the republic, A. D. 1144—1154.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of diſcretion; he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the ſervice of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the ſeven hills. Blending in the ſame diſcourſe the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of goſpel, and of claſſic, enthuſiaſm, he admoniſhed the Romans, how ſtrangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to aſſert the inalienable rights of men and Chriſtians; to reſtore the laws and magiſtrates

[23] A Roman inſcription of Statio Turicenſis has been found at Zurich (d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 642—644.): but it is without ſufficient warrant, that the city and canton have uſurped, and even monopoliſed, the names of Tigurum and Pagus Tigurinus.

[24] Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 106.) recapitulates the donation (A. D. 833) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the abbeſs Hildegardis. Curtim noſtram Turegum in ducatû Alamanniæ in pago Durgaugenſi, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, ſlaves, churches, &c. a noble gift. Charles the Bald gave the jus monetæ, the city was walled under Otho I. and the line of the biſhop of Friſingen,

Nobile Turegum multarum copiâ rerum,

is repeated with pleaſure by the antiquaries of Zurich.

[25] Bernard, epiſtol. cxcv, cxcvi. tom. i. p. 187—190. Amidſt his invectives he drops a precious acknowledgment, qui, utinam quam ſanæ eſſet doctrinæ quam diſtrictæ eſt vitæ. He owns that Arnold would be a valuable acquiſition for the church.

 of

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of the republic; to respect the *name* of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock[26]. Nor could his spiritual government escape the censure and control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome[27]. The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses: the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the second and Anastasius the fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the fourth[28], the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people; and from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince; they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their in-

[26] He advised the Romans,

Consiliis armisque sua moderamina summa
Arbitrio tractare suo: nil juris in hâc re
Pontifici summo, modicum concedere regi
Suadebat populo. Sic læsâ stultus utrâque
Majestate, reum geminæ se fecerat aulæ.

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the prose of Otho.

[27] See Baronius (A. D. 1148, N° 38, 39.) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A. D. 1141, N° 3.) as the father of the political heretics, whose influence then hurt him in France.

[28] The English reader may consult the Biographia Britannica, ADRIAN IV. but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

terview

terview at Viterbo, the pope reprefented to the emperor the furious ungovernable fpirit of the Romans: the infults, the injuries, the fears, to which his perfon and his clergy were continually expofed; and the pernicious tendency of the herefy of Arnold, which muft fubvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclefiaftical, fubordination. Frederic was convinced by thefe arguments, or tempted by the defire of the Imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of fmall account; and their common enemy was facrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the vifcounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæfar: the præfect of the city pronounced his fentence; the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the prefence of a carelefs and ungrateful people; and his afhes were caft into the Tyber, left the heretics fhould collect and worfhip the relics of their mafter [29]. The clergy triumphed in his death: with his afhes, his fect was difperfed; his memory ftill lived in the minds of the Romans. From his fchool they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bifhops might argue, that the fupreme jurifdiction, which they exercifed over kings and nations, more fpecially embraced the city and diocefe of the prince of the apoftles. But they preached to the winds, and the fame principle that weakened the effect, muft temper the abufe, of the thunders of the Vatican.

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His execution, A.D. 1155.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their firft ftruggles againft the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and reftored by the fenate and people of Rome; that two confuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magiftrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons [30]. But this venerable

Reftoration of the fenate, A.D. 1144.

[29] Befides the hiftorian and poet already quoted, the laft adventures of Arnold are related by the Biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 441, 442.)

[30] Ducange (Gloff. Latinitatis mediæ et infimæ

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rable ſtructure diſappears before the light of criticiſm. In the darkneſs of the middle ages, the appellations of ſenators, of conſuls, of the ſons of conſuls, may ſometimes be diſcovered[31]. They were beſtowed by the emperors, or aſſumed by the moſt powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours[32], and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician deſcent: but they float on the ſurface, without a ſeries or a ſubſtance, the titles of men, not the orders of government[33]; and it is only from the year of Chriſt one thouſand one hundred and forty-four, that the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate is dated, as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new conſtitution was haſtily framed by private ambition or popular enthuſiaſm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legiſlator to reſtore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The aſſembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever ſpeak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular diſtribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverſe orators, and the ſlow operation of votes and ballots, could not eaſily be adapted by a blind

infimi Ætatis, DECARCHONES, tom. ii. p. 726.) gives me a quotation from Blondus (decad ii. l. ii.): Duo conſules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetuſtum conſulum exemplar ſummæ rerum præeſſent. And in Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. vi. opp. tom. ii. p. 400.) I read of the conſuls and tribunes of the xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the claſſic method of ſupplying from reaſon or fancy the deficiency of records.

[31] In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 408.), a Roman is mentioned as conſulis natus in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (diſſert. v.) diſcovers in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in Dei nomine conſul et dux, Georgius conſul et dux; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII. proudly, but vaguely, ſtyles himſelf conſul et dux et omnium Romanorum ſenator.

[32] As late as the xth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalphi, &c. the title of ὕπατος, or conſuls (ſee Chron. Sagornini, paſſim); and the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogative. But in general, the names of *conſul* and *ſenator*, which may be found among the French and Germans, ſignify no more than count and lord (*Signeur*, Ducange, Gloſſar.). The monkiſh writers are often ambitious of fine claſſic words.

[33] The moſt conſtitutional form, is a diploma of Otho III. (A. D. 998), Conſulibus ſenatûs populique Romani; but the act is probably ſpurious. At the coronation of Henry I. A. D. 1014, the hiſtorian Dithmar (apud Muratori, diſſert. xxiii.) deſcribes him, a ſenatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum ſex raſi barbâ, alii prolixâ, myſtice incedebant cum baculis. The ſenate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 406.).

blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of such distinction[34]? The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times: those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown: the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws were insensibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of consuls; had they not disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsels, suppose or must produce a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state; nor would the enemies of peace and order, who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate[35].

The Capitol.

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and æra to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The

[34] In ancient Rome, the equestrian order was not ranked with the senate and people as a third branch of the republic till the consulship of Cicero, who assumes the merit of the establishment (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 3. Beaufort, Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 144—155.).

[35] The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gunther:

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos;
Nomine plebeio secernere nomen equestre,
Jura tribunorum, sanctum reparare senatum,
Et senio fessas mutasque reponere leges.
Lapsa ruinosis, et adhuc pendentia muris
Reddere primævo Capitolia prisca nitori.

But of these reformations, some were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

CHAP. LXIX. Capitoline hill, one of her ſeven eminences [36], is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred ſteps led to the ſummit of the Tarpeian rock; and far ſteeper was the aſcent before the declivities had been ſmoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earlieſt ages, the Capitol had been uſed as a temple in peace, a fortreſs in war: after the loſs of the city, it maintained a ſiege againſt the victorious Gauls; and the ſanctuary of empire was occupied, aſſaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Veſpaſian [37]. The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into duſt; their place was ſupplied by monaſteries and houſes; and the ſolid walls, the long and ſhelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapſe of time. It was the firſt act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to reſtore the ſtrength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the ſeat of their arms and counſels: and as often as they aſcended the hill, the coldeſt minds muſt have glowed with the remembrance of their anceſtors. II. The firſt Cæſars had been inveſted with the excluſive coinage of the gold and ſilver; to the ſenate they abandoned the baſer metal of bronze or copper [38]: the emblems and legends were inſcribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The ſucceſſors of Diocletian deſpiſed even the flattery of the ſenate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, aſſumed the ſole direction of the mint; and the ſame prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long ſeries of the Greek, the French, and the German dynaſties. After an abdi-

The coin.

[36] After many diſputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it ſeems determined, that the ſummit of the Capitoline hill next the river is ſtrictly the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other ſummit, the church and convent of Araceli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis, occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. v. c. 11—16.).

[37] Tacit. Hiſt. iii. 69, 70.

[38] This partition of the noble and baſer metals between the emperor and ſenate, muſt however be adopted, not as a poſitive fact, but as the probable opinion of the beſt antiquaries (ſee the Science des Medailles of the Pere Joubert, tom. ii. p. 208—211. in the improved and ſcarce edition of the Baron de la Baſtie).

cation of eight hundred years, the Roman ſenate aſſerted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paſchal the ſecond to the eſtabliſhment of their reſidence beyond the Alps. Some of theſe republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are ſhewn in the cabinets of the curious. On one of theſe, a gold medal, Chriſt is depictured holding in his left hand a book with this inſcription: "THE VOW OF "THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME THE CAPITAL OF "THE WORLD;" on the reverſe, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling ſenator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impreſſed on a ſhield[39]. III. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he ſtill exerciſed in the laſt appeal the civil and criminal juriſdiction; and a drawn ſword, which he received from the ſucceſſors of Otho, was the mode of his inveſtiture and the emblem of his functions[40]. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity muſt have often embarraſſed the præfect in the conflict of adverſe duties[41]. A ſervant, in whom they poſſeſſed but a third ſhare, was diſmiſſed by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not diſdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a ſubject; and, after the firſt fervour of

The præfect of the city.

39 In his xxvii[th] diſſertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 559—569.), Muratori exhibits a ſeries of the ſenatorian coins, which bore the obſcure names of *Affortiati*, *Infortiati*, *Proviſini*, *Paparini*. During this period all the popes, without excepting Boniface VIII. abſtained from the right of coining, which was reſumed by his ſucceſſor Benedict XI. and regularly exerciſed in the court of Avignon.

40 A German hiſtorian, Gerard of Reicherſpeg (in Baluz. Miſcell. tom. v. p. 64. apud Schmidt, Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 265.), thus deſcribes the conſtitution of Rome in the xi[th] century: Grandiora urbis et orbis negotia ſpectant ad Romanum pontificem itemque ad Romanum imperatorem; ſive illius vicarium urbis præfectum, qui de ſuâ dignitate reſpicit utrumque, videlicet dominum papam cui facit hominium, et dominum imperatorum a quo accipit ſuæ poteſtatis inſigne, ſcilicet gladium exertum.

41 The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph. Piſan. in Vit. Paſchal. II. p. 357, 358.) deſcribe the election and oath of the præfect in 1118, inconſultis patribus.... loca præfectoria.... Laudes præfectoriæ.... comitiorum applauſum.... juraturum populo in ambonem ſublevant.... confirmari eum in urbe præfectum petunt.

rebellion,

CHAP. LXIX. A. D. 1198—1216.

rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himself from this badge of foreign dominion: he invested the præfect with a banner instead of a sword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors [42]. In his place an ecclesiastic, a present or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom, the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people. IV. After the revival of the senate [43], the conscript fathers (if I may use the expression) were invested with the legislative and executive power; but their views seldom reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators [44], the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter

Number and choice of the senate.

[42] Urbis præfectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quod illi donavit de præfecturâ eum publice investivit, qui usque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus et ab eo præfecturæ tenuit honorem (Gesta Innocent. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 487.).

[43] See Otho Frising. Chron. vii. 31. de Gest. Frederic. I. l. i. c. 27.

[44] Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, speaks of the single senators, of the *Capuzzi* family, &c. quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma quam nunc (A. D. 1194) est temporibus lvi. senatorum (Ducange, Gloss. tom. vi. p. 191. SENATORES).

and

and Conſtantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic[45].

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The office of ſenator.

The union and vigour of a public council was diſſolved in a lawleſs city; and the Romans ſoon adopted a more ſtrong and ſimple mode of adminiſtration. They condenſed the name and authority of the ſenate in a ſingle magiſtrate, or two colleagues; and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of ſix months, the greatneſs of the truſt was compenſated by the ſhortneſs of the term. But in this tranſient reign, the ſenators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition: their juſtice was perverted by the intereſt of their family and faction; and as they puniſhed only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the paſtoral care of their biſhop, admoniſhed the Romans that they were incapable of governing themſelves; and they ſought abroad thoſe bleſſings which they were hopeleſs of finding at home. In the ſame age, and from the ſame motives, moſt of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a meaſure, which, however ſtrange it may ſeem, was adapted to their ſituation, and productive of the moſt ſalutary effects[46]. They choſe, in ſome foreign but friendly city, an impartial magiſtrate of noble birth and unblemiſhed character, a ſoldier and a ſtateſmen, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the ſupreme adminiſtration of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was ſealed with oaths and ſubſcriptions; and the duration of his power, the meaſure of his ſtipend, the nature of

[45] Muratori (diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 785—788.) has publiſhed an original treaty: Concordia inter D. noſtrum papam Clementem III. et ſenatores populi Romani ſuper regalibus et aliis dignitatibus urbis, &c. anno 44° ſenatûs. The ſenate ſpeaks, and ſpeaks with authority: Reddimus ad præſens.... habebimus..... dabitis preſbyteria.... jurabimus pacem et fidelitatem, &c. A chartula de Tenimentis Tuſculani, dated in the 47th year of the ſame æra, and confirmed decreto ampliſſimi ordinis ſenatûs, acclamatione P. R. publice Capitolio conſiſtentis. It is there we find the difference of ſenatores conſiliarii and ſimple ſenators (Muratori, diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 787—789.).

[46] Muratori (diſſert. xlv. tom. iv. p. 64—92.) has fully explained this mode of government; and the *Occulus Paſtoralis*, which he has given at the end, is a treatiſe or ſermon on the duties of theſe foreign magiſtrates.

CHAP. LXIX. their mutual obligations, were defined with ſcrupulous preciſion. They ſwore to obey him as their lawful ſuperior: he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a ſtranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or ſix knights and civilians, his aſſeſſors in arms and juſtice, attended the *Podeſta*[47], who maintained at his own expence a decent retinue of ſervants and horſes: his wife, his ſon, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exerciſe of his office he was not permitted to purchaſe land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the houſe of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart till he had ſatisfied the complaints that might be urged againſt his government.

Brancaleone, A. D. 1252—1258. It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the ſenator Brancaleone[48], whoſe fame and merit have been reſcued from oblivion by the pen of an Engliſh hiſtorian. A juſt anxiety for his reputation, a clear foreſight of the difficulties of the taſk, had engaged him to refuſe the honour of their choice: the ſtatutes of Rome were ſuſpended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accuſed as cruel; by the clergy he was ſuſpected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magiſtrate by whom thoſe bleſſings were reſtored. No criminals were ſo powerful as to brave, ſo obſcure as to elude, the juſtice of the ſenator. By his ſentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demoliſhed, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the ſtrong ſhelters of rapine and miſchief. The biſhop, as a ſimple biſhop, was

[47] In the Latin writers, at leaſt of the ſilver age, the title of *Poteſtas* was transferred from the office to the magiſtrate:

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam ſumere mavis.
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque eſſe *Poteſtas*.
(Juvenal. Satir. x. 99.)

[48] See the life and death of Brancaleone, in the Hiſtoria Major of Matthew Paris, p. 741. 757. 792. 797. 799. 810. 823. 833. 836. 840. The multitude of pilgrims and ſuitors connected Rome and St. Alban's; and the reſentment of the Engliſh clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppreſſed.

 compelled

compelled to reside in his diocese; and the standard of Brancaleone was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His services were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared, if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure, the prudent senator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, sustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous resistance allowed the Romans to compare the present with the past; and Brancaleone was conducted from the prison to the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vase, was deposited on a lofty column of marble [49].

Charles of Anjou, A. D. 1265—1278.

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: instead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of senator from the Roman people [50]. As he passed through

[49] Matthew Paris thus ends his account: Caput vero ipsius Brancaleonis in vase pretioso super marmoream columnam collocatum, in signum sui valoris et probitatis, quasi reliquias, superstitiose nimis et pompose sustulerunt. Fuerat enim superborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et exstirpator, et populi protector et defensor, veritatis et justitiæ imitator et amator (p. 840.). A biographer of Innocent IV. (Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. i. p. 591, 592.) draws a less favourable portrait of this Ghibelline senator.

[50] The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual senator of Rome, is mentioned by the historians in the viii[th] volume of the Collection of Muratori, by Nicholas de Jamsilla.

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through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamations the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity, and use, of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the senator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank [51]. This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of senator, and the supreme administration of the republic [52], to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

Pope Martin IV. A.D. 1281.

The emperor Lewis of Bavaria, A.D. 1328.

Addresses of Rome to the emperors.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured

Jamsilla (p. 592.), the monk of Padua (p. 724.), Sabas Malaspina (l. ii. c. 9. p. 808.), and Ricordano Malespini (c. 177. p. 999.).

[51] The high-sounding bull of Nicholas III. which founds his temporal sovereignty on the donation of Constantine, is still extant; and as it has been inserted by Boniface VIII. in the *Sexte* of the Decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a sacred and perpetual law.

[52] I am indebted to Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. xviii. p. 306.) for an extract of this Roman act, which he has taken from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A.D. 1281, N° 14, 15.

to

Conrad III. A.D. 1144.

to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and services in the cause of Cæsar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the third and Frederic the first, is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history[53]. After some complaint of his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps, and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beseech your majesty, not "to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to "the accusations of our common enemies; who calumniate the "senate as hostile to your throne, who sow the seeds of discord, "that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the "*Sicilian* are united in an impious league to oppose *our* liberty and "*your* coronation. With the blessing of God, our zeal and courage "has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and fac-"tious adherents, more especially the Frangipani, we have taken "by assault the houses and turrets: some of these are occupied by "our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The Milvian "bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your "safe passage; and your army may enter the city without being "annoyed from the castle of St. Angelo. All that we have done, "and all that we design, is for your honour and service, in the loyal "hope, that you will speedily appear in person, to vindicate those "rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dig-"nity of the empire, and to surpass the fame and glory of your "predecessors. May you fix your residence in Rome, the capital "of the world; give laws to Italy, and the Teutonic kingdom; and "imitate the example of Constantine and Justinian[54], who by the "vigour

[53] These letters and speeches are preserved by Otho bishop of Frisingen (Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. med. et infim. tom. v. p. 186, 187.), perhaps the noblest of historians: he was son of Leopold marquis of Austria, his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the emperor Henry IV. and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in seven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the Gesta Frederici I. the last of which is inserted in the vi[th] volume of Muratori's historians.

[54] We desire (said the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire in eum statum, quo fuit tempore

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"vigour of the ſenate and people obtained the ſceptre of the "earth[55]." But theſe ſplendid and fallacious wiſhes were not cheriſhed by Conrad the Franconian, whoſe eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without viſiting Rome ſoon after his return from the Holy Land.

Frederic I. A. D. 1155.

His nephew and ſucceſſor Frederic Barbaroſſa, was more ambitious of the Imperial crown; nor had any of the ſucceſſors of Otho acquired ſuch abſolute ſway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his eccleſiaſtical and ſecular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambaſſadors of Rome, who thus addreſſed him in a free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the queen of cities; "approach with a peaceful and friendly mind the precincts of "Rome, which has caſt away the yoke of the clergy, and is impa-"tient to crown her legitimate emperor. Under your auſpicious "influence, may the primitive times be reſtored. Aſſert the prero-"gatives of the eternal city, and reduce under her monarchy, the "inſolence of the world. You are not ignorant, that, in former "ages, by the wiſdom of the ſenate, by the valour and diſcipline "of the equeſtrian order, ſhe extended her victorious arms to the "Eaſt and Weſt, beyond the Alps, and over the iſlands of the "ocean. By our ſins, in the abſence of our princes, the noble in-"ſtitution of the ſenate has ſunk in oblivion: and with our pru-"dence, our ſtrength has likewiſe decreaſed. We have revived the "ſenate, and the equeſtrian order; the counſels of the one, the "arms of the other, will be devoted to your perſon and the ſervice "of the empire. Do you not hear the language of the Roman "matron? You were a gueſt, I have adopted you as a citizen; a "Tranſalpine ſtranger, I have elected you for my ſovereign[56]; and "given you myſelf, and all that is mine. Your firſt and moſt ſacred

tempore Conſtantini et Juſtiniani, qui totum orbem vigore ſenatûs et populi Romani ſuis tenuere manibus.

[55] Otho Friſing. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. i. c. 28. p. 662—664.

[56] Hoſpes eras, civem feci. Advena fuiſti ex Tranſalpinis partibus; principem conſtitui.

"duty,

" duty, is to ſwear and ſubſcribe, that you will ſhed your blood " for the republic; that you will maintain in peace and juſtice, the " laws of the city and the charters of your predeceſſors; and that " you will reward with five thouſand pounds of ſilver the faithful " ſenators who ſhall proclaim your titles in the Capitol. With the " name, aſſume the character, of Auguſtus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhauſted; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conqueſt. " Famous indeed have been the fortitude and wiſdom " of the ancient Romans: but your ſpeech is not ſeaſoned with " wiſdom, and I could wiſh that fortitude were conſpicuous in your " actions. Like all ſublunary things, Rome has felt the viciſſitudes " of time and fortune. Your nobleſt families were tranſlated to the " Eaſt, to the royal city of Conſtantine; and the remains of your " ſtrength and freedom have long ſince been exhauſted by the " Greeks and Franks. Are you deſirous of beholding the ancient " glory of Rome, the gravity of the ſenate, the ſpirit of the knights, " the diſcipline of the camp, the valour of the legions? you will " find them in the German republic. It is not empire, naked and " alone, the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewiſe mi- " grated beyond the Alps to a more deſerving people[57]: they will " be employed in your defence, but they claim your obedience. " You pretend that myſelf or my predeceſſors have been invited by " the Romans: you miſtake the word, they were not invited; they " were implored. From its foreign and domeſtic tyrants, the city " was reſcued by Charlemagne and Otho, whoſe aſhes repoſe in our " country: and their dominion was the price of your deliverance. " Under that dominion your anceſtors lived and died. I claim by " the right of inheritance and poſſeſſion, and who ſhall dare to ex-

[57] Non ceſſit nobis nudum imperium, virtute ſua amictum venit, ornamenta ſua ſecum traxit. Penes nos ſunt conſules tui, &c. Cicero or Livy would not have rejected theſe images, the eloquence of a Barbarian born and educated in the Hercynian foreſt.

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"tort you from my hands? Is the hand of the Franks[58] and Germans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquiſhed? Am I a captive? Am I not encompaſſed with the banners of a potent and invincible army? You impoſe conditions on your maſter; you require oaths: if the conditions are juſt, an oath is ſuperfluous; if unjuſt, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meaneſt of my ſubjects. Will not my ſword be unſheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that ſword the northern kingdom of Denmark has been reſtored to the Roman empire. You preſcribe the meaſure and the objects of my bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary ſtream. All will be given to patient merit; all will be denied to rude importunity[59]." Neither the emperor nor the ſenate could maintain theſe lofty pretenſions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and ſuſpicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican: his coronation was diſturbed by a ſally from the Capitol; and if the numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not ſafely encamp in the preſence of a city of which he ſtyled himſelf the ſovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he beſiged Rome, to ſeat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Piſan gallies were introduced into the Tyber: but the ſenate and people were ſaved by the arts of negociation and the progreſs of diſeaſe; nor did Frederic or his ſucceſſors reiterate the hoſtile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exerciſed by the popes, the cruſades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the ſecond offered in the Capitol the great ſtandard, the *Caroccio* of Milan[60]. After the extinction of the houſe

[58] Otho of Friſingen, who ſurely underſtood the language of the court and diet of Germany, ſpeaks of the Franks in the xiith century as the reigning nation (Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum): he adds, however, the epithet of *Teutonici*.

[59] Otho Friſing. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22. p. 720—723. Theſe original and authentic acts I have tranſlated and abridged with freedom, yet with fidelity.

[60] From the Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (diſſert. xxvi. tom. ii. p. 492.)

house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæsars[61].

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Wars of the Romans against the neighbouring cities.

Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful historian[62] amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and "Præneste, our summer retreats, were the objects of hostile vows "in the Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the Arician groves, "when we could triumph without a blush over the nameless villages "of the Sabines and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a title "not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by the contrast of the past and the present: they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction, that after a thousand years, Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primæval limits, would renew the same hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tyber was always claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romans incessantly laboured

p. 492.) has transcribed this curious fact with the doggrel verses that accompanied the gift.

Ave decus orbis ave! victus tibi destinor, ave!
Currus ab Augusto Frederico Cæsare justo.
Væ Mediolanum! jam sentis spernere vanum
Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires.
Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor esse priorum
Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne si dee tacere (I now use the Italian Dissertations, tom. i. p. 444.) che nell' anno 1727, una copia desso Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto si scopri nel Campidoglio, presso alle carcere di quel luogo, dove Sisto V. l'avea falto rinchiudere. Stava esso posto sopra quatro colonne di marmo fino colla sequente inscrizione, &c. to the same purpose as the old inscription.

[61] The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy, is related with impartial learning in the Annals of Muratori (tom. x, xi, xii.); and the reader may compare his narrative with the Histoire des Allemands (tom. iii, iv.), by Schmidt, who has deserved the esteem of his countrymen.

[62] Tibur nunc suburbanum, et æstivæ Præneste deliciæ, nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur. The whole passage of Florus (l. i. c. 11.) may be read with pleasure, and has deserved the praise of a man of genius (Œuvres de Montesquieu, tom. iii. p. 634, 635. quarto edition).

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to reduce or deftroy the contumacious vaffals of the church and fenate; and if their headftrong and felfifh ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his fpiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the firft confuls and dictators, who were taken from the plow. They affembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; fallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvefts of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their fieges were tedious and unfkilful: in the ufe of victory, they indulged the meaner paffions of jealoufy and revenge; and inftead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adverfaries. The captives, in their fhirts, with a rope round their necks, folicited their pardon: the fortifications and even the buildings of the rival cities were demolifhed, and the inhabitants were fcattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the feats of the cardinal bifhops, Porto, Oftia, Albanum, Tufculum, Prænefte, and Tibur or Tivoli, were fucceffively overthrown by the ferocious hoftility of the Romans[63]. Of thefe[64], Porto and Oftia, the two keys of the Tyber, are ftill vacant and defolate: the marfhy and unwholefome banks are peopled with herds of buffalos, and the river is loft to every purpofe of navigation and trade. The hills which afford a fhady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again fmiled with the bleffings of peace: Frefcati has arifen near the ruins of Tufculum: Tibur or Tivoli has refumed the honours of a city[65], and the meaner towns of Albano and Paleftrina are decorated with the

[63] Ne a feritate Romanorum, ficut fuerant Hoftienfes, Portuenfes, Tufculanenfes, Albananfes, Labicenfes, et nuper Tiburtini deftruerentur (Matthew Paris, p. 757.). Thefe events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xviiith volume) of Muratori.

[64] For the ftate or ruin of thefe fuburban cities, the banks of the Tyber, &c. fee the lively picture of the P. Labat (Voyage en Efpagne et en Italie), who had long refided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate defcription of which P. Efchinard (Roma, 1750, in octavo) has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

[65] Labat (tom. iii. p. 233.) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has feverely mortified the pride and poverty of Tivoli: in civitate Tiburtinâ non vivitur civiliter.

the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tusculum[66] and Viterbo[67] might be compared in their relative state to the memorable fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum; and if we number the slain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterward they marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition, the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Tholouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms, the modern Romans were not *above*, and in arts, they were far *below*, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance; after some irregular sallies, they subsided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

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Battle of Tusculum, A. D. 1167.

Battle of Viterbo, A. D. 1234.

[66] I depart from my usual method, of quoting only by the date the Annals of Muratori, in consideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. x. p. 42—44.).

[67] Matthew Paris, p. 345. This bishop of Winchester was Peter de Rupibus, who occupied the see thirty-two years (A. D. 1206—1238), and is described, by the English historian, as a soldier and a statesman (p. 178. 399.).

Ambition

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The election of the popes.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Chrift. Under the firft Chriftian princes, the chair of St. Peter was difputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election: the fanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was diftracted by the mifchief of frequent fchifms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magiftrate, thefe mifchiefs were tranfient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour; nor could the unfuccefsful competitor long difturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divefted of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been eftablifhed, that the vicar of Chrift is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy fee might involve Chriftendom in controverfy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a fuperior. On the deceafe of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the moft refpectable of the clergy were divided; and the diftant princes, who bowed before the fpiritual throne, could not diftinguifh the fpurious, from the legitimate, idol. The emperors were often the authors of the fchifm, from the political motive of oppofing a friendly to an hoftile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to fuffer the infults of his enemies, who were not awed by confcience; and to purchafe the fupport of his adherents, who were inftigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual fucceffion was afcertained by Alexander the third[68], who finally abolifhed the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in

Right of the cardinals eftablifhed by Alexander III. A.D. 1179.

[68] See Mofheim, Inftitut. Hift. Ecclefiaft. p. 401. 403. Alexander himfelf had nearly been the victim of a contefted election; and the doubtful merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard caft into the fcale (fee his life and writings).

in the ſole college of cardinals [69]. The three orders of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, were aſſimilated to each other by this important privilege: the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the firſt rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently choſen among the nations of Chriſtendom; and the poſſeſſion of the richeſt benefices, of the moſt important biſhoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The ſenators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the ſupreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the ſymbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the ſmallneſs of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the tenth, ſeldom exceeded twenty, or twenty-five, perſons. By this wiſe regulation, all doubt and ſcandal were removed, and the root of ſchiſm was ſo effectually deſtroyed, that in a period of ſix hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the ſacred college. But as the concurrence of two thirds of the votes had been made neceſſary, the election was often delayed by the private intereſt and paſſions of the cardinals; and while they prolonged their independent reign, the Chriſtian world was left deſtitute of an head. A vacancy of almoſt three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the tenth, who reſolved to prevent the future abuſe; and his bull, after ſome oppoſition, has been conſecrated in the code of the canon law [70]. Nine days are allowed for the obſequies of the deceaſed pope, and the arrival of the abſent cardinals: on the tenth, they are impriſoned, each with one domeſtic, in a common apartment or *conclave*, without any ſeparation of walls or curtains; a ſmall window is reſerved for the introduction of neceſſaries; but the door is locked on both ſides, and guarded by the magiſtrates of the city, to ſeclude them from all

Inſtitution of the conclave by Gregory X. A.D. 1274.

[69] The origin, titles, importance, dreſs, precedency, &c. of the Roman cardinals, are very ably diſcuſſed by Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1262—1287.); but their purple is now much faded. The ſacred college was raiſed to the definite number of ſeventy-two, to repreſent, under his vicar, the diſciples of Chriſt.

[70] See the bull of Gregory X. (approbante ſacro concilio, in the *Sexte* of the Canon Law (l. i. tit. 6. c. 3.), a ſupplement to the Decretals, which Boniface VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addreſſed to all the univerſities of Europe.

CHAP. LXIX. correſpondence with the world. If the election be not conſummated in three days, the luxury of their table is contracted to a ſingle diſh at dinner and ſupper; and after the eighth day, they are reduced to a ſcanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy ſee, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or aſſuming, unleſs in ſome rare emergency, the government, of the church: all agreements and promiſes among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their ſolemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or ſuperfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire: they are ſtill urged, by the perſonal motives of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot or ſecret votes has wrapt the ſtruggles of the conclave [71] in the ſilky veil of charity and politeneſs [72]. By theſe inſtitutions, the Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and biſhop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty, they ſeemed inſenſible of the loſs of this ineſtimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the example of the great Otho. After ſome negociation with the magiſtrates, the Roman people was aſſembled [73] in the ſquare before St. Peter's; the pope of Avignon, John the twenty-ſecond, was depoſed; the choice of his ſucceſſor was ratified by

A. D. 1328.

[71] The genius of cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1655), in which he was a ſpectator and an actor (Memoires, tom. iv. p. 15—57.): but I am at a loſs to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whoſe hiſtory (Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani, in 4to, 1667) has been continued ſince the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furniſhes a leſſon, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the ſucceſsful candidate: but the next page opens with his funeral.

[72] The expreſſions of cardinal de Retz are poſitive and picturesque: On y veçut toujours enſemble avec le même reſpect, et la même civilité que l'on obſerve dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politeſſe qu'on avoit dans la cour de Henri III. avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les colleges; avec la même modeſtie, qui ſe remarque dans les noviciats; et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qui pourroit être entre des freres parfaitement unis.

[73] Rechieſti per bando (ſays John Villani) ſanatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, et capitani de' 25. e conſoli (*conſoli?*), et 13 buone huomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce, how much of this conſtitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illuſtrated by the ancient ſtatutes of Rome.

their

their confent and applaufe. They freely voted for a new law, that their bifhop fhould never be abfent more than three months in the year, and two days journey from the city; and that if he neglected to return on the third fummons, the public fervant fhould be degraded and difmiffed [74]. But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his ufelefs phantom was rejected; the Romans defpifed their own workmanfhip; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful fovereign [75]; and the exclufive right of the cardinals was more firmly eftablifhed by this unfeafonable attack.

Abfence of the popes from Rome.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the fenate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the abfence of the fucceffors of Gregory the feventh, who did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary refidence in the city and diocefe. The care of that diocefe was lefs important than the government of the univerfal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always oppofed and their perfon was often endangered. From the perfecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they efcaped beyond the Alps into the hofpitable bofom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil ftations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverifhed by the abfence of the fhepherd, they were recalled by a ftern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obfcure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to deftroy the place and people that fhould

[74] Villani (l. x. c. 68—71. in Muratori, Script. tom. xiii. p. 641—645.) relates this law, and the whole tranfaction, with much lefs abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one converfant with the darker ages muft have obferved how much the fenfe (I mean the nonfenfe) of fuperftition is fluctuating and inconfiftent.

[75] In the 1st volume of the Popes of Avignon, fee the fecond original Life of John XXII. p. 142—145. the confeffion of the antipope, p. 145—152. and the laborious notes of Baluze, p. 714, 715.

 dare

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dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the losses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expences of servants and strangers who attended the court [76]. After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again summoned by the imperious or respectful invitation of the senate. In these occasional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were seldom long, or far, distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tyber to the Rhône; and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from the furious contest between Boniface the eighth and the king of France [77]. The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the three estates, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope resided at Anagni, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were seduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and

Boniface VIII. A.D. 1294—1303.

[76] Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra suam celare cupiditatem gravissimam contra papam movere cœperunt questionem, exigentes ab eo urgentissime omnia quæ subierant per ejus absentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet in hospitiis locandis, in mercimoniis, in usuris, in redditibus, in provisionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quôd cum audisset papa, præcordialiter ingemuit et se comperiens *muscipulatum*, &c. Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their residence and absence, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annalists, Spondanus and Fleury.

[77] Besides the general historians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (Histoire particuliere du grand Differend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. P. xi. p. 61—82.).

alone,

alone, ſeated himſelf in his chair, and awaited, like the conſcript fathers of old, the ſwords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adverſary, was content to execute the orders of his maſter: by the domeſtic enmity of Colonna, he was inſulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardſhips which they inflicted on the obſtinacy which they provoked. Their ſtrange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who reſcued him from ſacrilegious violence; but his imperious ſoul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is ſtained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this eccleſiaſtical champion to the honours of a ſaint; a magnanimous ſinner (ſay the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was ſucceeded by Benedict the eleventh, the mildeſt of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emiſſaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curſe, whoſe effects are ſtill viſible to the eyes of ſuperſtition [78].

Tranſlation of the holy ſee to Avignon, A.D. 1309.

After his deceaſe, the tedious and equal ſuſpenſe of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A ſpecious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who ſhould be named by their opponents. The archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the firſt on the liſt; but his ambition was known; and his conſcience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a ſwift meſſenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with ſuch ſpeed and ſecreſy was the buſineſs tranſacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded

[78] It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 53—57.) be in jeſt or in earneſt, when he ſuppoſes that Anagni ſtill feels the weight of this curſe, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blaſted by nature, the obſequious handmaid of the popes.

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the elevation of Clement the fifth [79]. The cardinals of both parties were ſoon aſtoniſhed by a ſummons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they ſoon diſcovered, they muſt never hope to return. He was engaged, by promiſe and affection, to prefer the reſidence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gaſcogny, and devouring, by his expence, the cities and convents on the road, he finally repoſed at Avignon [80], which flouriſhed above ſeventy years [81] the ſeat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Chriſtendom. By land, by ſea, by the Rhone, the poſition of Avignon was on all ſides acceſſible: the ſouthern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itſelf; new palaces aroſe for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were ſoon attracted by the treaſures of the church. They were already poſſeſſed of the adjacent territory, the Venaiſſin county [82], a populous and fertile ſpot; and the ſovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchaſed from the youth and diſtreſs of Jane, the firſt queen of Naples and counteſs of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourſcore thouſand florins [83]. Under the ſhadow of the French monarchy,

[79] See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (l. viii. c. 63, 64. 80. in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the impriſonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V. the laſt of which, like moſt anecdotes, is embarraſſed with ſome difficulties.

[80] The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V. John XXII. Benedict XII. Clement VI. Innocent VI. Urban V. Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are publiſhed by Stephen Baluze (Vitæ Paparum Avenionenſium; Paris, 1693, 2 vols. in 4to) with copious and elaborate notes, and a ſecond volume of acts and documents. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devoutly juſtifies or excuſes the characters of his countrymen.

[81] The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon, and the Babyloniſh captivity. Such furious metaphors, more ſuitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The abbé de Sade is diſtracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modeſtly pleads, that many of the local inconveniencies of Avignon are now removed; and many of the vices againſt which the poet declaims, had been imported with the Roman court by the ſtrangers of Italy (tom. i. p. 23—28.).

[82] The comtat Venaiſſin was ceded to the popes in 1273 by Philip III. king of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Tholouſe. Forty years before, the hereſy of count Raymond had given them a pretence of ſeizure, and they derived ſome obſcure claim from the xith century to ſome lands citra Rhodanum (Valeſii Notitia Galliarum, p. 459. 610. Longuerue, Deſcription de la France, tom. i. p. 376—381.).

[83] If a poſſeſſion of four centuries were not itſelf a title, ſuch objections might annul the bargain;

narchy, amidſt an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil ſtate, to which they long had been ſtrangers: but Italy deplored their abſence; and Rome, in ſolitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the ſucceſſor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitleſs: after the death of the old members, the ſacred college was filled with French cardinals [84], who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a ſeries of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the moſt indiſſoluble ties to their native country.

Inſtitution of the jubilee, or holy year, A.D. 1300.

The progreſs of induſtry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the æra of their liberty is the moſt flouriſhing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the poſition of Rome was leſs favourable, the territory leſs fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debaſed by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of ſubjects muſt for ever nouriſh the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in ſome degree by the reſort of pilgrims to the ſhrines of the apoſtles; and the laſt legacy of the popes, the inſtitution of the HOLY YEAR [85], was not leſs beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loſs of Paleſtine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied

bargain; but the purchaſe-money muſt be refunded, for indeed it was paid. Civitatem Avenionem emit.... per ejuſmodi venditionem pecuniâ redundantes, &c. (iida Vita Clement. VI. in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272. Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 565.) The only temptation for Jane and her ſecond huſband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

[84] Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one Engliſh (Vita iva, p. 63. et Baluz. p. 625, &c.). In 1331, the pope refuſed two candidates recommended by the king of France, quod xx. Cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Franciæ originem traxiſſe noſcuntur in memorato collegio exiſtant (Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1281.).

[85] Our primitive account is from cardinal James Caietan (Maxima Bibliot. Patrum, tom. xxv.); and I am at a loſs to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much clearer character.

CHAP. LXIX. to the crusades, remained without an object; and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *customary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dextrous clergy, well apprised of the contagion of example: yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day,

with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul[86]. It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty; and if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, all casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the sixth[87] to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee[88]. His summons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality, of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy; and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop[89]. To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five, years; although the second of these terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition, have much diminished the value of the jubilee: yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic

The second jubilee, A.D. 1350.

[86] See John Villani (l. viii. c. 36.) in the xiith, and the Chronicon Astense, in the xith volume (p. 191, 192.) of Muratori's Collection. Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici, cum rastris, &c.

[87] The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inserted in the Corpus Juris Canonici (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix. c. 1, 2.).

[88] The sabbatic years and jubilees of the Mosaic law (Car. Sigon. de Republicâ Hebræorum, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 15. p. 151, 152.), the suspension of all care and labour, the periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, &c. may seem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a *profane* republic; and I should be glad to learn that this ruinous festival was observed by the Jewish people.

[89] See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56.) in the xivth volume of Muratori, and the Memoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 75—89.

smile

CHAP. LXIX. ſmile will not diſturb the triumph of the prieſt or the happineſs of the people[90].

The nobles or barons of Rome.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy was expoſed to the feudal tyranny alike oppreſſive to the ſovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who ſoon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The ſword of the nobles was broken; their ſlaves were enfranchiſed; their caſtles were demoliſhed; they aſſumed the habits of ſociety and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudeſt ariſtocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician was ſubject to the laws[91]. But the feeble and diſorderly government of Rome was unequal to the taſk of curbing her rebellious ſons, who ſcorned the authority of the magiſtrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the ſtate: the barons aſſerted in arms their perſonal independence; their palaces and caſtles were fortified againſt a ſiege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vaſſals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were aliens to their country[92]: and a genuine Roman, could ſuch have been produced, might have renounced theſe haughty ſtrangers, who diſdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly ſtyled themſelves the princes, of Rome[93]. After a dark ſeries of revolutions, all records of pedigree were loſt; the diſtinction of ſurnames was aboliſhed; the blood of the nations was

[90] The ſubject is exhauſted by M. Chais, a French miniſter at the Hague, in his Lettres Hiſtoriques et Dogmatiques, ſur les Jubiles et les Indulgences; la Haye, 1751, 3 vols. in 12mo; an elaborate and pleaſing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philoſopher.

[91] Muratori (Diſſert. xlvii.) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genoa, &c. the analogy of the reſt, the evidence of Otho of Friſingen (de Geſt. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 13.), and the ſubmiſſion of the marquis of Eſte.

[92] As early as the year 824, the emperor Lothaire I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual, by what national law he choſe to be governed (Muratori, Diſſert xxii.).

[93] Petrarch attacks theſe foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epiſtle, full of bold truths and abſurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old republic to the ſtate of the xivth century (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 157—169.).

mingled in a thoufand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the faireft poffeffions by royal bounty, or the prerogative of valour. Thefe examples might be readily prefumed: but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of fenators and confuls, is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of thefe miferable exiles[94]. In the time of Leo the ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to chriftianity; and honoured at his baptifm with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter the fon of Leo were fignalifed in the caufe of Gregory the feventh, who entrufted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Crefcentius, or, as it is now called, the caftle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the fon were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of ufury, were fhared with the nobleft families of the city; and fo extenfive was their alliance, that the grandfon of the profelyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people fupported his caufe; he reigned feveral years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the fecond, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the pofterity of Leo is no longer confpicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of defcending from a Jewifh ftock. It is not my defign to enumerate the Roman families, which have failed at different periods, or thofe which are continued in different degrees of fplendour to the prefent time[95]. The old confular line of the *Frangipani* dif-

Family of Leo the Jew.

[94] The origin and adventures of this Jewifh family are noticed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 435. A.D. 1124, N° 3, 4.), who draws his information from the Chronographus Maurigniacenfis, and Arnulphus Sagienfis de Schifmate (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 423—432.). The fact muft in fome degree be true; yet I could wifh that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach againft the antipope.

[95] Muratori has given two differtations (xli and xlii.) to the names, furnames, and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domeftic fables, may be offended with his firm and temperate criticifm; yet furely fome ounces of pure gold are of more value than many pounds of bafe metal.

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cover their name in the generous act of *breaking* or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the *Corsi*, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the *Savelli*, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obsolete surname of the *Capizucchi* is inscribed on the coins of the first senators; the *Conti* preserve the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Signia; and the *Annibaldi* must have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero[96].

The Colonna,

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I distinguish the rival houses of COLONNA and URSINI, whose private story is an essential part of the annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna[97] have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cavæ, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paschal the second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome, the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola

[96] The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather metrical, history of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 641, &c.), describes the state and families of Rome at the coronation of Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1295):

Interea titulis redimiti sanguine et armis
Illustresque viri Romanâ a stirpe trahentes
Nomen in emeritos tantæ virtutis honores
Intulerant sese medios festumque colebant
Aurata fulgentes toga sociante catervâ.
Ex ipsis devota domus præstantis ab *Ursâ*
Ecclesiæ, vultumque gerens demissius altum
Festa *Columna* jocis, necnon *Sabellia* mitis;
Stephanides senior, *Comites*, *Anibalica* proles,
Præfectusque urbis magnum sine viribus nomen.
(l. ii. c. 5. 100. p. 647, 648.).

The ancient statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59. p. 174, 175.) distinguish eleven families of barons, who are obliged to swear in concilio communi, before the senator, that they would not harbour or protect any malefactors, outlaws, &c.—a feeble security!

[97] It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Muratori (Differt. xlii. tom. iii. p. 647, 648.).

and

and *Colonna*; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple[98]. They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tusculum; a strong presumption of their descent from the counts of Tusculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote source was derived from the banks of the Rhine[99]; and the sovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit, and always by fortune[100]. About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms, or in the honours of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Cæsar; while John and Stephen were declared marquis of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas the fourth, a patron so partial to their family, that he has been delineated in satirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar[101]. After his decease, their haughty behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his

[98] Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 335. The family has still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Rospigliosi this original fief of *Colonna* (Eschinard, p. 258, 259.).

[99] Te longinqua dedit tellus et pascua Rheni, says Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 539.) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes, that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniously supposed (Diario di Monaldeschi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533.), that a cousin of the emperor Nero escaped from the city, and founded Mentz in Germany.

[100] I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's gallies at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hist. l. 7. tom. iii. p. 55, 56. Muret. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. p. 180—190.).

[101] Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 216. 220.

 temporal

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temporal and ſpiritual arms[102]. He proclaimed a cruſade againſt his perſonal enemies; their eſtates were confiſcated; their fortreſſes on either ſide of the Tyber were beſieged by the troops of St. Peter and thoſe of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Paleſtrina or Præneſte, their principal ſeat, the ground was marked with a plough-ſhare, the emblem of perpetual deſolation. Degraded, baniſhed, proſcribed, the ſix brothers, in diſguiſe and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their ſureſt aſylum: they prompted and directed the enterpriſe of Philip; and I ſhould praiſe their magnanimity, had they reſpected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who reſtored the honours and poſſeſſions of the Colonna; and ſome eſtimate may be formed of their wealth by their loſſes, of their loſſes by the damages of one hundred thouſand gold florins which were granted them againſt the accomplices and heirs of the deceaſed pope. All the ſpiritual cenſures and diſqualifications were aboliſhed[103] by his prudent ſucceſſors; and the fortune of the houſe was more firmly eſtabliſhed by this tranſient hurricane. The boldneſs of Sciarra Colonna was ſignaliſed in the captivity of Boniface; and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the firſt of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and eſteemed as an hero ſuperior

[102] Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna, has authoriſed the abbé de Sade to expatiate on the ſtate of the family in the fourteenth century, the perſecution of Boniface VIII. the character of Stephen and his ſons, their quarrels with the Urſini, &c. (Memoires ſur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 98—110. 146—148. 174—176. 222—230. 275—280.) His criticiſm often rectifies the hearſay ſtories of Villani, and the errors of the leſs diligent moderns. I underſtand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

[103] Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical benefice (Villani, l. v. c. 1.); and the laſt ſtains of annual excommunication, were purified by Sixtus V. (Vita di Siſto V. tom. iii. p. 416.). Treaſon, ſacrilege, and proſcription, are often the beſt titles of ancient nobility.

to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Perſecution and exile diſplayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his diſtreſs, he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aſpect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country: and when he was aſked, "where is now your fortreſs?" he laid his hand on his heart, and anſwered, "here." He ſupported with the ſame virtue the return of proſperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the anceſtors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon. II. The Urſini migrated from Spoleto[104]; the ſons of Urſus, as they are ſtyled in the twelfth century, from ſome eminent perſon who is only known as the father of their race. But they were ſoon diſtinguiſhed among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinſmen, the ſtrength of their towers, the honours of the ſenate and ſacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celeſtin the third and Nicholas the third, of their name and lineage[105]. Their riches may be accuſed as an early abuſe of nepotiſm: the eſtates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celeſtin[106]; and Nicholas was ambitious for their ſake to ſolicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuſcany; and to inveſt them with the perpetual office of ſenators of Rome. All that has been obſerved of the greatneſs of the Colonna, will likewiſe redound to the glory of

and Urſini.

104 ——Vallis te proxima miſit
Appenninigenæ quâ prata virentia ſylvæ
Spoletana metunt armenta greges protervi.

Monaldeſchi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533.) gives the Urſini a French origin, which may be remotely true.

105 In the metrical life of Celeſtin V. by the cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 613, &c.), we find a luminous, and not inelegant paſſage (l. i. c. 3. p. 203, &c.):

——genuit quem nobilis Urſæ *(Urſi?)*
Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis
Faſcibus in clero, pompaſque experta ſenatûs,
Bellorumque manû grandi ſtipata parentum
Cardineos apices necnon faſtigia dudum
Papatûs *iterata* tenens.

Muratori (Diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. .) obſerves, that the firſt Urſini pontificate of Celeſtine III. was unknown: he is inclined to read *Urſi* progenies.

106 Filii Urſi, quondam Cœleſtini papæ nepotes, de bonis eccleſiæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent. III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. i.). The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conſpicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Urſini would diſdain the nephews of a *modern* pope.

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Their hereditary feuds.

the Urſini, their conſtant and equal antagoniſts in the long hereditary feud, which diſtracted above two hundred and fifty years the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The jealouſy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a ſpecious badge of diſtinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Urſini eſpouſed the title of Guelphs and the cauſe of the church. The eagle and the keys were diſplayed in their adverſe banners; and the two factions of Italy moſt furiouſly raged when the origin and nature of the diſpute were long ſince forgotten[107]. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, they diſputed in arms the vacant republic: and the miſchiefs of diſcord were perpetuated by the wretched compromiſe of electing each year two rival ſenators. By their private hoſtilities, the city and country were deſolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate ſucceſs. But none of either family had fallen by the ſword, till the moſt renowned champion of the Urſini was ſurpriſed and ſlain by the younger Stephen Colonna[108]. His triumph is ſtained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was baſely avenged by the aſſaſſination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two ſervants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared ſenator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muſe of Petrarch inſpired a wiſh, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the ſon of his venerable hero, would reſtore Rome and Italy to their priſtine glory; that his juſtice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the ſerpents and *bears*, who laboured to ſubvert the eternal baſis of the marble COLUMN[109].

[107] In his liſt Diſſertation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

[108] Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222—230.) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 220.), and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeſchi, p. 533, 534.), are leſs favourable to their arms.

[109] The abbé de Sade (tom. i. Notes, p. 61—66.) has applied the vith Canzone of Petrarch, *Spirto Gentil*, &c. to Stephen Colonna the younger:

Orſi, lupi, leoni, aquile e ſerpi
Ad una gran marmorea *colonna*
Fanno noja ſavente e à ſe damno.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

CHAP. LXX.

Character and Coronation of Petrarch.—Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi.—His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death.—Return of the Popes from Avignon.—Great Schism of the West.—Re-union of the Latin Church.—Last Struggles of Roman Liberty.—Statutes of Rome.—Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State.

CHAP. LXX.

Petrarch, A.D. 1304, June 19—A.D. 1374, July 19.

IN the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch[1] is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry: and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm, or affectation, of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the taste of a learned nation: yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies, with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover, I am still less qualified to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned;

[1] The Memoires sur la Vie de François Petrarque (Amsterdam, 1764, 1767. 3 vols. in 4to), form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, composed from the accurate study of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often lost in the general history of the age, and the author too often languishes in the affectation of politeness and gallantry. In the preface to his first volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have professedly treated of the same subject.

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tioned[2]; for a matron ſo prolific[3], that ſhe was delivered of eleven legitimate children[4], while her amorous ſwain ſighed and ſung at the fountain of Vaucluſe[5]. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and thoſe of his graver contemporaries, his love was a ſin, and Italian verſe a frivolous amuſement. His Latin works of philoſophy, poetry, and eloquence, eſtabliſhed his ſerious reputation, which was ſoon diffuſed from Avignon over France and Italy: his friends and diſciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings[6] be now abandoned to a long repoſe, our gratitude muſt applaud the man, who by precept and example revived the ſpirit and ſtudy of the Auguſtan age. From his earlieſt youth, Petrarch aſpired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of maſter or doctor in the art of poetry[7]; and the title of poet-laureat, which cuſtom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the Engliſh court[8], was firſt invented

[2] The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xivth century; but the wiſe commentators were not agreed whether they ſhould underſtand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the bleſſed Virgin, or ——. See the prefaces to the iſt and iid volume.

[3] Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January 1325 to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whoſe jealouſy was not the effect of love, ſince he married a ſecond wife within ſeven months of her death, which happened the 6th of April 1348, preciſely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had ſeen and loved her.

[4] Corpus crebris partubus exhauſtum; from one of theſe is iſſued, in the tenth degree, the abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domeſtic motive moſt probably ſuggeſted the idea of his work, and urged him to enquire into every circumſtance that could affect the hiſtory and character of his grandmother (ſee particularly tom. i. p. 122—133. notes, p. 7—58. tom. ii. p. 455—495. not. p. 76—82.).

[5] Vaucluſe, ſo familiar to our Engliſh travellers, is deſcribed from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (Memoires, tom. i. p. 340—359.). It was, in truth, the retreat of an hermit; and the moderns are much miſtaken, if they place Laura and an happy lover in the grotto.

[6] Of 1250 pages, in a cloſe print, at Baſil in the xvith century, but without the date of the year. The abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookſeller, or the amuſement of the public.

[7] Conſult Selden's Titles of Honour, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457—466.). An hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the viſit of a poet, qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et exinde rex verſuum dictus.

[8] From Auguſtus to Louis, the muſe has too often been falſe and venal: but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a ſimilar eſtabliſhment of a ſtipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furniſh twice a year a meaſure of praiſe

vented by the Cæſars of Germany. In the muſical games of antiquity, a prize was beſtowed on the victor[9]: the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol, inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard[10]; and the laurel[11] was endeared to the lover by a verbal reſemblance with the name of his miſtreſs. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the purſuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable[12], he enjoyed, and might boaſt of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the moſt delicate kind, ſince he applauds the ſucceſs of his own *labours*; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or ſecret oppoſition of envy and prejudice, was ſurmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-ſixth year of his age, he was ſolicited to accept the object of his wiſhes: and on the ſame day, in the ſolitude of Vaucluſe, he received a ſimilar and ſolemn invitation from the ſenate of Rome and the univerſity of Paris. The learning of a theological ſchool, and the ignorance of a lawleſs city, were alike unqualified to beſtow the ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free applauſe of the

praiſe and verſe, ſuch as may be ſung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the preſence, of the ſovereign. I ſpeak the more freely, as the beſt time for aboliſhing this ridiculous cuſtom, is while the prince is a man of virtue, and the poet a man of genius.

[9] Iſocrates (in Panegyrico, tom. i. p. 116, 117. edit. Battie, Cantab. 1729) claims for his native Athens the glory of firſt inſtituting and recommending the αγωνας και τα αθλα μεγιστα μη μονον ταχȢς και ῥωμης, αλλα και λογων και γνωμης. The example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi; but the Olympic games were ignorant of a muſical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of Nero (Sueton. in Nerone, c. 23.; Philoſtrat. apud Caſaubon ad locum; Dion Caſſius, or Xiphilin, l. lxiii. p. 1032. 1041. Potter's Greek Antiquities, vol. i. p. 445. 450.).

[10] The Capitoline games (certamen quinquenale, *muſicum*, equeſtre, gymnicum), were inſtituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4.) in the year of Chriſt 86 (Cenſorin. de Die Natali, c. 18. p. 100. edit. Havercamp), and were not aboliſhed in the iv[th] century (Auſonius de Profeſſoribus Burdegal. V.). If the crown were given to ſuperior merit, the excluſion of Statius (Capitolia noſtræ inficiata lyræ, Silv. l. iii. v. 31.) may do honour to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

[11] Petrarch and the ſenators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xv. 39. Hiſt. Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. i. p. 150—220.). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak leaves (Martial, l. iv. epigram 54.).

[12] The pious grandſon of Laura has laboured, and not without ſucceſs, to vindicate her immaculate chaſtity againſt the cenſures of the grave and the ſneers of the profane (tom. ii. notes, p. 76—82.).

public

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public and of posterity: but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection, and, after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

His poetic coronation at Rome, A.D. 1341, April 8.

The ceremony of his coronation [13] was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Anguillara, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and at the voice of an herald Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life "to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma [14] which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet laureat are revived in the Capitol, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient

[13] The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by the abbé de Sade (tom. i. p. 425—435. tom. ii. p. 1—6. notes, p. 1—13.) from his own writings, and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Monaldeschi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

[14] The original act is printed among the Pieces Justificatives in the Memoires sur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 50—53.

patriot;

patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a ſentiment, and every ſentiment to a paſſion. The aſpect of the ſeven hills and their majeſtic ruins, confirmed theſe lively impreſſions; and he loved a country by whoſe liberal ſpirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debaſement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful ſon: he diſſembled the faults of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondneſs the laſt of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the paſt, in the hope of the future, was pleaſed to forget the miſeries of the preſent time. Rome was ſtill the lawful miſtreſs of the world: the pope and the emperor, her biſhop and general, had abdicated their ſtation by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but if ſhe could reſume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidſt the indulgence of enthuſiaſm and eloquence [15], Petrarch, Italy, and Europe, were aſtoniſhed by a revolution which realized for a moment his moſt ſplendid viſions. The riſe and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages [16]: the ſubject is intereſting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard [17] will ſometimes vivify the copious, but ſimple, narrative of the Florentine [18], and more eſpecially of the Roman [19], hiſtorian.

In

[15] To find the proofs of his enthuſiaſm for Rome, I need only requeſt that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch, or his French biographer. The latter has deſcribed the poet's firſt viſit to Rome (tom. i. p. 323—335.). But in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amuſed the preſent and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

[16] It has been treated by the pen of a Jeſuit, the P. du Cerçeau, whoſe poſthumous work (Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi Tyran de Rome, en 1347) was publiſhed at Paris 1748, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for ſome facts and documents in John Hocſemius, canon of Liege, a contemporary hiſtorian (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273. tom. iv. p. 85.).

[17] The abbé de Sade, who ſo freely expatiates on the hiſtory of the xivth century, might treat, as his proper ſubject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was ſo deeply engaged (Memoires, tom. ii. p. 50, 51. 320—417. notes, p. 70—76. tom. iii. p. 221—243. 366—375.). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably eſcaped him.

[18] Giovanni Villani, l. xii. c. 89. 104. in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, tom. xiii. p. 969, 970. 981—983.

[19] In his iiid volume of Italian Antiquities (p. 249—548.), Muratori has inſerted the Fragmenta Hiſtoriæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327

uſque

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Birth, character, and patriotic designs of Rienzi.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome [20]. From such parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, "their power? why was I not born in those happy times [21]?" When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing pope Clement the sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind: but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty; and

usque ad Annum 1354, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xiv[th] century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi; which had been printed at Bracciano 1627, in 4[to], under the name of Tomaso Fortifiocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery. Human nature is scarcely capable of such sublime or stupid impartiality: but whosoever is the author of these Fragments, he wrote on the spot and at the time, and paints, without design or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.

[20] The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the xviii[th] chapter of the Fragments (p. 399—479.), which, in the new division, forms the ii[d] book of the history in xxxviii smaller chapters or sections.

[21] The reader may be pleased with a specimen of the original idiom: Fò da soa juventutine nutricato di latte de eloquentia, bono gramatico, megliore rettuorico, autorista bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce leitore! moito usava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Maffimo, moito li dilettava le magnificentie di Julio Cesare raccontare. Tutta la die se speculava negl' intagli di marmo lequali iaccio intorno Roma. Non era altri che esso, che sapesse lejere li antichi pataffii. Tutte scritture antiche vulgarizzava; quesse fiure di marmo justamente interpretava. Oh come spesso diceva, "Dove "suoco quelli buoni Romani? dove ene "loro somma justitia? poleramme trovare in "tempo che quessi fiuriano!"

the

the patriot was reduced to a ſingle garment and the charity of the hoſpital. From this miſery he was relieved by the ſenſe of merit or the ſmile of favour; and the employment of apoſtolic notary afforded him a daily ſtipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extenſive connection, and the right of contraſting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the ſtate. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and perſuaſive: the multitude is always prone to envy and cenſure: he was ſtimulated by the loſs of a brother and the impunity of the aſſaſſins; nor was it poſſible to excuſe or exaggerate the public calamities. The bleſſings of peace and juſtice, for which civil ſociety has been inſtituted, were baniſhed from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every perſonal or pecuniary injury, were moſt deeply wounded in the diſhonour of their wives and daughters [22]: they were equally oppreſſed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magiſtrates; and the abuſe of arms or of laws was the only circumſtance that diſtinguiſhed the lions, from the dogs and ſerpents, of the Capitol. Theſe allegorical emblems were variouſly repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the ſtreets and churches; and while the ſpectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the ſatire, inflamed their paſſions, and announced a diſtant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal ſovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private diſcourſe; and a monument of ſervitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the ſenate, which granted the moſt ample prerogatives to the emperor Veſpaſian, had been inſcribed on a copper-plate ſtill extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran [23]. A numerous aſſembly of nobles and plebeians

[22] Petrarch compares the jealouſy of the Romans, with the eaſy temper of the huſbands of Avignon (Memoires, tom. i. p. 330.).

[23] The fragments of the *Lex Regia* may be found in the Inſcriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242. and at the end of the Tacitus of Erneſti, with ſome learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

was

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was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared, in a magnificent and myſterious habit, explained the inſcription by a verſion and commentary [24], and deſcanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the ſenate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The ſupine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of diſcerning the ſerious tendency of ſuch repreſentations: they might ſometimes chaſtiſe with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often ſuffered in the Colonna palace to amuſe the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus [25] was concealed under the maſk of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the reſtoration of the *good eſtate*, his favourite expreſſion, was entertained among the people as a deſirable, a poſſible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the diſpoſition to applaud, ſome had the courage to aſſiſt, their promiſed deliverer.

He aſſumes the government of Rome, A. D. 1347, May 20;

A prophecy, or rather a ſummons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the firſt public evidence of his deſigns; a nocturnal aſſembly of an hundred citizens on mount Aventine, the firſt ſtep to their execution. After an oath of ſecrecy and aid, he repreſented to the conſpirators the importance and facility of their enterpriſe; that the nobles, without union or reſources, were ſtrong only in the fear of their imaginary ſtrength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apoſtolical chamber might relieve the public diſtreſs; and that the pope himſelf would approve their victory over the common

[24] I cannot overlook a ſtupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The Lex Regia empowers Veſpaſian to enlarge the Pomœrium, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not ſo to the tribune; he confounds it with pomarium an orchard, tranſlates lo Jardino de Roma cioene Italia, and is copied by the leſs excuſable ignorance of the Latin tranſlator (p. 406.) and the French hiſtorian (p. 33.). Even the learning of Muratori has ſlumbered over the paſſage.

[25] Priori *(Bruto)* tamen ſimilior, juvenis uterque, longe ingenio quam cujus ſimulationem induerat, ut ſub hoc obtentû liberator ille P. R. aperiretur tempore ſuo.... Ille regibus, hic tyrannis contemptus (Opp. p. 536.).

enemies

enemies of government and freedom. After fecuring a faithful band to protect his firft declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by found of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all perfons fhould affemble without arms, before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-eftablifhment of the good eftate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty maffes of the Holy Ghoft; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, iffued from the church, encompaffed by the hundred confpirators. The pope's vicar, the fimple bifhop of Orvieto, who had been perfuaded to fuftain a part in this fingular ceremony, marched on his right-hand; and three great ftandards were borne aloft as the emblems of their defign. In the firft, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was feated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn fword, was delineated in the banner of *juftice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the prefence and applaufe of an innumerable crowd, who underftood little, and hoped much; and the proceffion flowly rolled forwards from the caftle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was difturbed by fome fecret emotions which he laboured to fupprefs: he afcended without oppofition, and with feeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the moft flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if deftitute of arms and counfels, beheld in filent confternation this ftrange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chofen, when the moft formidable, Stephen Colonna, was abfent from the city. On the firft rumour, he returned to his palace, affected to defpife this plebeian tumult, and declared to the meffenger of Rienzi, that at his leifure he would caft the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell inftantly rang an alarm, and fo rapid was the tide, fo urgent was the danger, that Colonna efcaped with precipitation to the fuburb of St. Laurence: from thence, after a moment's

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ment's refreſhment, he continued the ſame ſpeedy career till he reached in ſafety his caſtle of Paleſtrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the ſpark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was iſſued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they ſhould peaceably retire to their eſtates: they obeyed; and their departure ſecured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

with the title and office of tribune.

But ſuch voluntary obedience evaporates with the firſt tranſports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of juſtifying his uſurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have diſplayed their attachment and authority, by laviſhing on his head the names of ſenator or conſul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modeſt appellation of tribune; the protection of the commons was the eſſence of that ſacred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been inveſted with any ſhare in the legiſlative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the conſent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the moſt ſalutary laws for the reſtoration and maintenance of the good eſtate. By the firſt he fulfils the wiſh of honeſty and inexperience, that no civil ſuit ſhould be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might juſtify the pronouncing againſt a falſe accuſer the ſame penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the diſorders of the times might compel the legiſlator to puniſh every homicide with death, and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of juſtice was hopeleſs till he had previouſly aboliſhed the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided, that none, except the ſupreme magiſtrate, ſhould poſſeſs or command the gates, bridges, or towers, of the ſtate: that no private garriſons ſhould be introduced into the towns or caſtles of the Roman territory; that none ſhould bear arms or preſume to fortify their houſes in the city or country; that the barons ſhould be reſponſible for the ſafety of the highways and the free paſſage

Laws of the good eſtate.

of provisions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory; had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol, could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers: the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coast, a vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce; a standing militia of three hundred and sixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was levied, cloathed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins [26]; and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the salt-duty could be trebled by his judicious œconomy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary independence; required their personal appearance in the Capitol; and imposed an oath, of allegiance to the new government, and of submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Ursini, the Savelli

[26] In one MS. I read (l. ii. c. 4. p. 409.) perfumante quatro *solli*, in another quatro *fiorini*, an important variety, since the florin was worth ten Roman *solidi* (Muratori, dissert. xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000 families; and I much fear, that the former is more consistent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

and

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and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had ſo often derided, and their diſgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly ſtruggled to diſguiſe. The ſame oath was ſucceſſively pronounced by the ſeveral orders of ſociety, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artiſans, and the gradual deſcent was marked by the encreaſe of ſincerity and zeal. They ſwore to live and die with the republic and the church, whoſe intereſt was artfully united by the nominal aſſociation of the biſhop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boaſt of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious ariſtocracy; and Clement the ſixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the profeſſions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his truſty ſervant. The ſpeech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inſpired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith; he inſinuated his claim to a ſupernatural miſſion from the Holy Ghoſt: enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confeſſion and communion; and ſtrictly guarded the ſpiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people[27].

Freedom and proſperity of the Roman republic.

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a ſingle mind been more remarkably felt than in the ſudden, though tranſient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the diſcipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, ſwift to redreſs, inexorable to puniſh, his tribunal was always acceſſible to the poor and ſtranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houſes, the private ſanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of juſtice would preſume to treſpaſs, were aboliſhed; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifica-

[27] Hocſemius, p. 398. apud du Cerçeau, Hiſt. de Rienzi, p. 194. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman hiſtorian (whom for brevity I ſhall name) Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 4.

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tions of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double ſhame of being deſirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been ſtolen near Capranica; and the lord, of the Urſini family, was condemned to reſtore the damage, and to diſcharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the perſons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houſes: and either from accident or deſign, the ſame impartial rigour was exerciſed againſt the heads of the adverſe factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himſelf been ſenator of Rome, was arreſted in the ſtreet for injury or debt; and juſtice was appeaſed by the tardy execution of Martin Urſini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a ſhipwrecked veſſel at the mouth of the Tyber[28]. His name, the purple of two cardinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal diſeaſe, were diſregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had choſen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was ſhort and ſatisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened the people: ſtript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the ſentence of death; and after a brief confeſſion, Urſini was led away to the gallows. After ſuch an example, none who were conſcious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, ſoon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (ſays the hiſtorian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infeſted with robbers;

[28] Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this ſhipwreck, we learn ſome circumſtances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ſhip was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marſeilles and Avignon. 2. The ſailors were of Naples and the iſle of Œnaria, leſs ſkilful than thoſe of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from Marſeilles was a coaſting voyage to the mouth of the Tyber, where they took ſhelter in a ſtorm, but, inſtead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a ſhoal: the veſſel was ſtranded, the mariners eſcaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, conſiſted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treaſury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins: a rich prize.

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the oxen began to plow; the pilgrims viſited the ſanctuaries; the roads and inns were repleniſhed with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were reſtored in the markets; and a purſe of gold might be expoſed without danger in the midſt of the highway. As ſoon as the life and property of the ſubject are ſecure, the labours and rewards of induſtry ſpontaneouſly revive: Rome was ſtill the metropolis of the Chriſtian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffuſed in every country by the ſtrangers who had enjoyed the bleſſings of his government.

The tribune is reſpected in Italy, &c.

The deliverance of his country inſpired Rienzi with a vaſt, and perhaps viſionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great fœderative republic, of which Rome ſhould be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and aſſociates. His pen was not leſs eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epiſtles were delivered to ſwift and truſty meſſengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traverſed the foreſts and mountains; enjoyed, in the moſt hoſtile ſtates, the ſacred ſecurity of ambaſſadors; and reported, in the ſtyle of flattery or truth, that the highways along their paſſage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the ſucceſs of their undertaking. Could paſſion have liſtened to reaſon; could private intereſt have yielded to the public welfare; the ſupreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their inteſtine diſcord, and cloſed the Alps againſt the Barbarians of the North. But the propitious ſeaſon had elapſed; and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered their lives and fortunes to the good eſtate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuſcany muſt deſpiſe, or hate, the plebeian author of a free conſtitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the moſt friendly and reſpectful anſwers: they were followed by the ambaſſadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occaſions of pleaſure or buſineſs, the low-born notary could aſſume the

familiar or majeſtic courteſy of a ſovereign [29]. The moſt glorious circumſtance of his reign was an appeal to his juſtice from Lewis king of Hungary, who complained, that his brother, and her huſband, had been perfidiouſly ſtrangled by Jane queen of Naples [30]: her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a ſolemn trial at Rome; but after hearing the advocates [31], the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cauſe, which was ſoon determined by the ſword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more eſpecially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curioſity, wonder, and applauſe. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the ſecret counſellor, of Rienzi: his writings breathe the moſt ardent ſpirit of patriotiſm and joy; and all reſpect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was loſt in the ſuperior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with ſome apprehenſion and advice the moſt lofty hopes of the permanent and riſing greatneſs of the republic [32].

and celebrated by Petrarch.

While Petrarch indulged theſe prophetic viſions, the Roman hero was faſt declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with aſtoniſhment on the aſcending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its courſe, and the viciſſitudes of light and obſcurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterpriſing than reſolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by

His vices and follies.

[29] It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the Houſe of Commons, were aſtoniſhed at the eaſe and majeſty of the protector on his throne (ſee Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 27—34. from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, &c.). The conſciouſneſs of merit and power, will ſometimes elevate the manners to the ſtation.

[30] See the cauſes, circumſtances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Giannone (tom. iii. l. xxiii, p. 220—229.), and the Life of Petrarch (Memoires, tom. ii. p. 143—148. 245—250. 375—379. notes, p. 21—37.). The Abbé de Sade *wiſhes* to extenuate her guilt.

[31] The advocate who pleaded againſt Jane, could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his maſter's epiſtle. Johanna! inordinata vita præcedens, retentio poteſtatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter ſuſceptus, et excuſatio ſubſequens, necis viri tui te probant fuiſſe participem et conſortem. Jane of Naples, and Mary of Scotland, have a ſingular conformity.

[32] See the Epiſtola Hortatoria de Capeſſenda Republica, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535—540.), and the vth eclogue or paſtoral, a perpetual and obſcure allegory.

cool

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cool and commanding reason: he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not presume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity. He might have learned, that the ancient tribunes, so strong and sacred in the public opinion, were not distinguished in style, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian [33]; and that as often as they visited the city on foot, a single *viator*, or beadle, attended the exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor, "NICHOLAS, "SEVERE AND MERCIFUL; DELIVERER OF ROME; DEFENDER "OF ITALY [34]; FRIEND OF MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, "AND JUSTICE; TRIBUNE AUGUST:" his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person [35], till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was cloathed, at least on public occasions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or sattin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which

[33] In his Roman Questions, Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. i. p. 505, 506. edit. Græc. Hen. Steph.) states, on the most constitutional principles, the simple greatness of the tribunes, who were not properly magistrates, but a check on magistracy. It was their duty and interest ὁμοιουσθαι σχηματι, και στολη και διαιτη τοις επιτυγχανουσι των πολιτων.... καταπατεισθαι δει (a saying of C. Curio) και μη σεμνον ειναι τη δημαρχον οψει.... οσῳ δε μαλλον εκταπεινεται τω σωματι, τοσουτῳ μαλλον αυξεται τη δυναμει, &c. Rienzi, and Petrarch himself, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philosopher; but they might have imbibed the same modest doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

[34] I could not express in English the forcible, though barbarous title of *Zelator* Italiæ, which Rienzi assumed.

[35] Era bell' homo (l. ii. c. 1. p. 399.). It is remarkable, that the riso sarcastico of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his second reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi travea una ventresca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano, or Asinino (l. iii. c. 18. p. 523.).

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he carried in his hand, was a ſceptre of poliſhed ſteel, crowned with a globe and croſs of gold, and incloſing a ſmall fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious proceſſions through the city, he rode on a white ſteed, the ſymbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a ſun with a circle of ſtars, a dove with an olive branch, was diſplayed over his head; a ſhower of gold and ſilver was ſcattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompaſſed his perſon; a troop of horſe preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of maſſy ſilver.

The pomp of his knighthood, A. D. 1347, Auguſt 1.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry[36] betrayed the meanneſs of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office; and the equeſtrian tribune was not leſs odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deſerted. All that yet remained of treaſure, or luxury, or art, was exhauſted on that ſolemn day. Rienzi led the proceſſion from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tedioufneſs of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambaſſadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or ſecretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Conſtantine, he thanked and diſmiſſed the numerous aſſembly, with an invitation to the feſtival of the enſuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghoſt; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no ſtep of his life did Rienzi excite ſuch ſcandal and cenſure as by the prophane uſe of the porphyry vaſe, in which Conſtantine (a fooliſh legend) had been healed of his leproſy by

[36] Strange as it may ſeem, this feſtival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna, and an Urſini, the uſual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of roſe-water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were ſerved at St. Maria of Araceli in the Capitol, by the twenty-eight *buoni huomini*. They afterwards received from Robert king of Naples the ſword of chivalry (Hiſt. Rom. l. i. c. 2. p. 259.).

pope

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pope Sylvester [37]. With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfal. At the hour of worship he shewed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and gilt spurs; but the holy rites were soon interrupted by his levity and insolence. Rising from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: "We "summon to our tribunal pope Clement; and command him to "reside in his diocese of Rome: we also summon the sacred col-"lege of cardinals [38]. We again summon the two pretenders, "Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves "emperors: we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to "inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable "right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of "the empire [39]." Unsheathing his maiden-sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Cæsars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the La-

[37] All parties believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Petrarch, Epist. Famil. vi. 2.), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon, that a vase which had been used by a Pagan, could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bill of excommunication (Hocsemius, apud du Cerçeau, p. 189, 190.).

[38] This *verbal* summons of pope Clement VI. which rests on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS. is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. p. 70—76.) with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not chuse to agitate this delicate question.

[39] The summons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocsemius (Cerçeau, p. 163—166.).

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teran were ſpread with innumerable tables for either ſex, and every condition; a ſtream of wine flowed from the noſtrils of Conſtantine's brazen horſe; no complaint, except of the ſcarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiouſneſs of the multitude was curbed by diſcipline and fear. A ſubſequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi[40]; ſeven crowns of different leaves or metals were ſucceſſively placed on his head by the moſt eminent of the Roman clergy; they repreſented the ſeven gifts of the Holy Ghoſt; and he ſtill profeſſed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. Theſe extraordinary ſpectacles might deceive or flatter the people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he ſoon deviated from the ſtrict rule of frugality and abſtinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the ſplendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his ſon, his uncle (a barber in name and profeſſion), expoſed the contraſt of vulgar manners and princely expence; and without acquiring the majeſty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

and coronation.

Fear and hatred of the nobles of Rome.

A ſimple citizen deſcribes with pity, or perhaps with pleaſure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands "croſſed on their breaſt, they ſtood with downcaſt looks in the "preſence of the tribune; and they trembled, good God, how they "trembled[41]!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of juſtice and their country, their conſcience forced them to eſteem the man, whom pride and intereſt provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct ſoon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of ſubverting a power which was no longer ſo deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animoſity of the Colonna

[40] It is ſingular, that the Roman hiſtorian ſhould have overlooked this ſevenfold coronation, which is ſufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the teſtimony of Hocſemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerçeau, p. 167—170. 229.).

[41] Puoi ſe faceva ſtare denante a ſe, mentre ſedeva, li baroni tutti in piedi ritti co le vraccia piecate, e co li capucci tratti. Deh como ſtavano paurosi! (Hiſt. Rom. l. ii. c. 20. p. 439.) He ſaw them, and we ſee them.

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and Urfini was fufpended for a moment by their common difgrace: they affociated their wifhes, and perhaps their defigns; an affaffin was feized and tortured; he accufed the nobles; and as foon as Rienzi deferved the fate, he adopted the fufpicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the fame day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Urfini and three of the Colonna name. But inftead of a council or a banquet, they found themfelves prifoners under the fword of defpotifm or juftice; and the confcioufnefs of innocence or guilt might infpire them with equal apprehenfions of danger. At the found of the great bell the people affembled; they were arraigned for a confpiracy againft the tribune's life; and though fome might fympathife in their diftrefs, not a hand, nor a voice, was raifed to refcue the firft of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldnefs was prompted by defpair; they paffed in feparate chambers a fleeplefs and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, ftriking againft the door of his prifon, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a fpeedy death from fuch ignominious fervitude. In the morning they underftood their fentence from the vifit of a confeffor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody fcene with red and white hangings; the countenance of the tribune was dark and fevere; the fwords of the executioners were unfheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying fpeeches by the found of trumpets. But in this decifive moment, Rienzi was not lefs anxious or apprehenfive than his captives: he dreaded the fplendour of their names, their furviving kinfmen, the inconftancy of the people, the reproaches of the world; and, after rafhly offering a mortal injury, he vainly prefumed that, if he could forgive, he might himfelf be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Chriftian and a fuppliant; and, as the humble minifter of the commons, he entreated his mafters to pardon thefe noble criminals,

 for

for whofe repentance and future fervice he pledged his faith and authority. "If you are fpared," faid the tribune, "by the mercy "of the Romans, will you not promife to fupport the good eftate "with your lives and fortunes?" Aftonifhed by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whifper a fecret, and more fincere, affurance of revenge. A prieft, in the name of the people, pronounced their abfolution: they received the communion with the tribune, affifted at the banquet, followed the proceffion; and, after every fpiritual and temporal fign of reconciliation, were difmiffed in fafety to their refpective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, confuls, and patricians [42].

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They oppofe Rienzi in arms.

During fome weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their deliverance, till the moft powerful of the Urfini, efcaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the ftandard of rebellion. The fortifications of the caftle were haftily reftored; the vaffals attended their lord; the outlaws armed againft the magiftrate; the flocks and herds, the harvefts and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were fwept away or deftroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to lefs advantage than in the roftrum: and he neglected the progrefs of the rebel barons till their numbers were ftrong and their caftles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thoufand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino: and his vengeance was amufed by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at leaft they fhould have been bears) as the reprefentatives of

[42] The original letter, in which Rienzi juftifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hocfemius, apud du Cerçeau, p. 222—229.), difplays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

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the Urſini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their ſecret adherents; and the barons attempted with four thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, to enter Rome by force or ſurpriſe. The city was prepared for their reception: the alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were ſtrictly guarded, or inſolently open; and after ſome heſitation they ſounded a retreat. The two firſt diviſions had paſſed along the walls, but the proſpect of a free entrance tempted the headſtrong valour of the nobles in the rear; and after a ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh, they were overthrown and maſſacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble ſpirit to whom Petrarch aſcribed the reſtoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his ſon John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the eaſe and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two baſtards of the Colonna race; and the number of ſeven, the ſeven crowns, as Rienzi ſtyled them, of the Holy Ghoſt, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, of the veteran chief, who had ſurvived the hope and fortune of his houſe. The viſion and prophecies of St. Martin and pope Boniface had been uſed by the tribune to animate his troops[43]: he diſplayed, at leaſt in the purſuit, the ſpirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror aſcended the Capitol; depoſited his crown and ſceptre on the altar; and boaſted with ſome truth, that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate[44]. His baſe and implacable revenge denied

Defeat and death of the Colonna, Nov. 20.

[43] Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, aſcribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himſelf, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewiſe (l. xii. c. 104.) deſcribes as a regular battle. The diſorderly ſkirmiſh, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the ſimple and minute narrative of Fortifiocca, or the anonymous Citizen (l. ii. c. 34—37.).

[44] In deſcribing the fall of the Colonna, I ſpeak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerçeau, with his ſon. That family was extinguiſhed, but the houſe has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have

denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expofe with thofe of the vileft malefactors, were fecretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family[45]. The people fympathifed in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detefted the indecent joy of Rienzi, who vifited the fpot where thefe illuftrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal fpot, that he conferred on his fon the honour of knighthood: and the ceremony was accomplifhed by a flight blow from each of the horfemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood[46].

Fall and flight of the tribune Rienzi, A. D. 1347, Dec. 15.

A fhort delay would have faved the Colonna, the delay of a fingle month, which elapfed between the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowefs. A free and vigorous oppofition was formed in the city; and when the tribune propofed in the public council[47] to impofe a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted againft his meafures; repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption; and urged him to prove, by their forcible exclufion, that, if the populace adhered to his caufe, it was already difclaimed by the moft refpectable citizens. The pope and the facred college had never been dazzled by his fpecious profeffions; they were juftly offended by the infolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was fent

have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumfpice (fays Petrarch) familiæ tuæ ftatum, Columnienfium *domos:* folito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum ftabile, folidumq; permaneat.

[45] The convent of St. Silvefter was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monaftic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinfmen in the fourth degree, and the difpenfation was juftified by the fmall number and clofe alliances of the noble families of Rome (Memoires fur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 110. tom. ii. p. 401.).

[46] Petrarch wrote a ftiff and pedantic letter of confolation (Fam. l. vii. epift. 13. p. 682, 683.). The friend was loft in the patriot. Nulla toto orbe principum familia carior; carior tamen refpublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.

Je rends graces aux Dieux de n'etre pas Romain.

[47] This council and oppofition is obfcurely mentioned by Polliftore, a contemporary writer, who has preferved fome curious and original facts (Rer. Italicarum, tom. xxv. c. 31. p. 798—804.).

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to Italy, and after some fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy [48]. The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino [49] in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch, by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty soldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna; and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but, instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people was silent and inactive; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Revolutions of Rome, A. D. 1347—1354.

Without drawing his sword, count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Ursini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name, that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect,

[48] The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi, are translated by the P. du Cerçeau (p. 196. 232.) from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus (A. D. 1347, N° 15. 17. 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

[49] Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man da natura inconstante e senza fede, whose grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Saracens of Nocera (l. vii. c. 102, 103.). See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149—151.

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to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vifion of freedom and empire had vanifhed: their fallen fpirit would have acquiefced in fervitude, had it been fmoothed by tranquillity and order: and it was fcarcely obferved, that the new fenators derived their authority from the Apoftolic See, that four cardinals were appointed to reform with dictatorial power the ftate of the republic. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detefted each other, and defpifed the commons: their hoftile fortreffes, both in town and country, again rofe and were again demolifhed; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of fheep, were devoured, fays the Florentine hiftorian, by thefe rapacious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had exhaufted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic: the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the prefence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two fenators, Colonna efcaped from the window of the palace, and Urfini was ftoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was fucceffively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildnefs of Cerroni was unequal to the times; and after a faint ftruggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was diftinguifhed by a refolute fpirit: he fpoke the language of a patriot, and trode in the footfteps of tyrants; his fufpicion was a fentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidft the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans fighed for the peace and profperity of the good eftate[50].

Adventures of Rienzi.

After an exile of feven years, the firft deliverer was again reftored to his country. In the difguife of a monk or a pilgrim, he efcaped

[50] The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47. l. iii. c. 33. 57. 78.) and Thomas Fortifiocca (l. iii. c. 1—4.). I have flightly paffed over thefe fecondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

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CHAP. LXX. from the caftle of St. Angelo, implored the friendfhip of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His perfon was invifible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon fuppofes, and even magnifies, his perfonal merit. The emperor Charles the fourth gave audience to a ftranger, who frankly revealed himfelf as the tribune of the republic; and aftonifhed an affembly of ambaffadors and princes, by the eloquence of a patriot and the vifions of a prophet, the downfal of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghoft [51]. Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himfelf a captive; but he fupported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irrefiftible fummons of the fupreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the fufferings and the prefence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the faviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bifhop. Rienzi was tranfported flowly, but in fafe cuftody, from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prifon he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to enquire into the crimes of herefy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved fome queftions, which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of myftery: the temporal fupremacy of the popes; the duty of refidence; the civil and ecclefiaftical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deferved the appellation of *Clement*: the ftrange viciffitudes and magnanimous fpirit of the captive excited his pity and efteem; and Petrarch believes

A prifoner at Avignon, A.D. 1351.

[51] Thefe vifions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi feem alike ignorant, are furely magnified by the zeal of Polliftore, a Dominican inquifitor (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. c. 36. p. 819.). Had the tribune taught, that Chrift was fucceeded by the Holy Ghoft, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolifhed, he might have been convicted of herefy and treafon, without offending the Roman people.

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that he refpected in the hero the name and facred character of a poet [52]. Rienzi was indulged with an eafy confinement and the ufe of books; and in the affiduous ftudy of Livy and the bible, he fought the caufe and the confolation of his misfortunes.

Rienzi, fenator of Rome, A. D. 1354.

The fucceeding pontificate of Innocent the fixth opened a new profpect of his deliverance and reftoration; and the court of Avignon was perfuaded, that the fuccefsful rebel could alone appeafe and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a folemn profeffion of fidelity, the Roman tribune was fent into Italy, with the title of fenator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to fuperfede the ufe of his miffion; and the legate, cardinal Albornoz [53], a confummate ftatefman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His firft reception was equal to his wifhes: the day of his entrance was a public feftival; and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good eftate. But this momentary funfhine was foon clouded by his own vices and thofe of the people: in the Capitol he might often regret the prifon of Avignon; and after a fecond adminiftration of four months, Rienzi was maffacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the fociety of the Germans and Bohemians, he is faid to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adverfity had chilled his enthufiafm, without fortifying his reafon or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively affurance, which is the pledge of fuccefs, was now fucceeded by the cold impotence of diftruft and defpair. The tribune had reigned with abfolute dominion, by the

[52] The aftonifhment, the envy almoft, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at leaft of his own veracity. The abbé de Sade (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 242.) quotes the vi[th] epiftle of the xiii[th] book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he confulted, and not of the ordinary Bafil edition (p. 920.).

[53] Ægidius, or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbifhop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A.D. 1353—1367), reftored, by his arms and counfels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been feparately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reafonably fuppofe, that his name, or that of Wolfey, had reached the cars of the Mufti in Don Sebaftian.

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choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the ſenator was the ſervile miniſter of a foreign court; and while he was ſuſpected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who ſeemed deſirous of his ruin, inflexibly refuſed all ſupplies of men and money; a faithful ſubject could no longer preſume to touch the revenues of the apoſtolical chamber; and the firſt idea of a tax was the ſignal of clamour and ſedition. Even his juſtice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of ſelfiſh cruelty: the moſt virtuous citizen of Rome was ſacrificed to his jealouſy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whoſe purſe he had been aſſiſted, the magiſtrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor [54]. A civil war exhauſted his treaſures, and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hoſtile ſtation at Paleſtrina; and his mercenaries ſoon deſpiſed a leader whoſe ignorance and fear were envious of all ſubordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were ſtrangely mingled. When the Capitol was inveſted by a furious multitude, when he was baſely deſerted by his civil and military ſervants, the intrepid ſenator, waving the banner of liberty, preſented himſelf on the balcony, addreſſed his eloquence to the various paſſions of the Romans, and laboured to perſuade them, that in the ſame cauſe himſelf and the republic muſt either ſtand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and ſtones; and after an arrow had tranſpierced his hand, he ſunk into abject deſpair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a ſheet before the windows of the priſon. Deſtitute of aid or hope, he was beſieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were deſtroyed with axes and fire; and while the ſenator attempted to eſcape in a plebeian habit, he was diſcovered and dragged to the

[54] From Matteo Villani, and Fortifiocca, the P. du Cerçeau (p. 344—394.) has extracted the life and death of the chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber and the death of an hero. At the head of a free company, the firſt that deſolated Italy, he became rich and formidable: he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

platform

platform of the palace, the fatal ſcene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he ſtood amidſt the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was huſhed into curioſity and wonder; the laſt feelings of reverence and compaſſion yet ſtruggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold aſſaſſin had not plunged a dagger in his breaſt. He fell ſenſeleſs with the firſt ſtroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thouſand wounds; and the ſenator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Poſterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and ſervitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the laſt of the Roman patriots[55].

His death, A. D. 1354, September 8.

Petrarch invites and upbraids the emperor Charles IV. A. D. 1355, January—May.

The firſt and moſt generous wiſh of Petrarch was the reſtoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the Romans. The Capitol was yet ſtained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the fourth deſcended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his paſſage through Milan he received the viſit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet-laureat; accepted a medal of Auguſtus; and promiſed, without a ſmile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A falſe application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the ſource of the hopes and diſappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeaſurable diſtance between the firſt Cæſars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German ariſtocracy. Inſtead of reſtoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himſelf, by a ſecret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the

[55] The exile, ſecond government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12—25.). Petrarch, who loved the *tribune*, was indifferent to the fate of the *ſenator*.

 day

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day of his coronation; and his ſhameful retreat was purſued by the reproaches of the patriot bard [56].

He ſolicits the popes of Avignon to fix their reſidence at Rome.

After the loſs of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wiſh, was to reconcile the ſhepherd with his flock; to recal the Roman biſhop to his ancient and peculiar dioceſe. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addreſſed his exhortations to five ſucceſſive popes, and his eloquence was always inſpired by the enthuſiaſm of ſentiment and the freedom of language [57]. The ſon of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education: and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidſt her domeſtic factions, ſhe was doubtleſs ſuperior to France both in art and ſcience, in wealth and politeneſs; but the difference could ſcarcely ſupport the epithet of barbarous, which he promiſcuouſly beſtows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the myſtic Babylon, the ſink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her ſcandalous vices were not the growth of the ſoil, and that in every reſidence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confeſſes, that the ſucceſſor of St. Peter is the biſhop of the univerſal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhône, but of the Tyber, that the apoſtle had fixed his everlaſting throne: and while every city in the Chriſtian world was bleſſed with a biſhop, the metropolis alone was deſolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the ſacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their ſaints, were left in a ſtate of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image

[56] The hopes and the diſappointment of Petrarch, are agreeably deſcribed in his own words by the French biographer (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 375—413.); but the deep, though ſecret, wound, was the coronation of Zanubi the poet laureat by Charles IV.

[57] See in his accurate and amuſing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (Memoires, tom. i. p. 261—265.), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 45—47.), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677—691.): his praiſe (p. 711—715.) and excuſe (p. 771.) of the laſt of theſe pontiffs. His angry controverſy on the reſpective merits of France and Italy may be found (Opp. p. 1068—1085.).

of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse[58]. But the cloud which hung over the seven hills, would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the twenty-second, Benedict the twelfth, and Clement the sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the fifth, was finally accomplished by Gregory the eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France who has deserved the epithet of wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate, of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the fifth resided three years in the Vatican with safety and honour: his sanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the East and West devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was saved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the re-

Return of Urban V. A. D. 1367, October 16— A. D. 1370, April 17.

[58] Squalida sed quoniam facies, neglecta cultû
Cæsaries; multisque malis lassata senectus
Eripuit solitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen;
Roma vocor. (Carm. l. 2. p. 77.)

He spins this allegory beyond all measure or patience. The Epistles to Urban V. in prose, are more simple and persuasive (Senilium, l. vii. p. 811—827. l. ix. epist. i. p. 844—854.).

turn,

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Final return of Gregory XI. A.D. 1377, January 17.

turn, and foretold the death, of Urban the fifth; the migration of Gregory the eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the ſpouſe of Chriſt and ambaſſadreſs of the Florentines; and the popes themſelves, the great maſters of human credulity, appear to have liſtened to theſe viſionary females [59]. Yet thoſe celeſtial admonitions were ſupported by ſome arguments of temporal policy. The reſidence of Avignon had been invaded by hoſtile violence: at the head of thirty thouſand robbers, an hero had extorted ranſom and abſolution from the vicar of Chriſt and the ſacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to ſpare the people and plunder the church, was a new hereſy of the moſt dangerous import [60]. While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was ſtrenuouſly invited to Rome. The ſenate and people acknowledged him as their lawful ſovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortreſſes; of the quarter at leaſt beyond the Tyber [61]. But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer ſuffer the ſcandal and calamity of his abſence; and that his obſtinacy would finally provoke them to revive and aſſert the primitive right of election. The abbot of mount Caſſin had been conſulted, whether he would accept the triple crown [62] from the clergy

[59] I have not leiſure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catherine, the laſt of which might furniſh ſome amuſing ſtories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is atteſted by the laſt ſolemn words of the dying pope, who admoniſhed the aſſiſtants, ut caverent ab hominibus, ſive viris, ſive mulieribus, ſub ſpecie religionis loquentibus viſiones ſui capitis, quia per tales ipſe ſeductus, &c. (Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Avenionenſium, tom. i. p. 1223.).

[60] This predatory expedition is related by Froiſſard (Chronique, tom. i. p. 230.), and in the life of du Gueſclin (Collection Generale des Memoires Hiſtoriques, tom. iv. c. 16. p. 107—113.). As early as the year 1361, the court of Avignon had been moleſted by ſimilar freebooters, who afterwards paſſed the Alps (Memoires ſur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 563—569.).

[61] Fleury alleges, from the Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was ſigned the 21st of December 1376, between Gregory XI. and the Romans (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 275.).

[62] The firſt crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. v. p. 702.) on the epiſcopal mitre of the popes, is aſcribed to the gift of Conſtantine, or Clovis. The ſecond was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem not only of a ſpiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three ſtates of the church are repreſented

clergy and people: "I am a citizen of Rome[63]," replied that venerable ecclesiastic, "and my first law is the voice of my country[64]."

His death, A. D. 1378, March 27.

If superstition will interpret an untimely death[65]; if the merit of counsels be judged from the event; the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the sixth. The epistle of the sacred college affirms his free and regular election; which had been inspired, as usual, by the Holy Ghost: he was adored, invested, and crowned, with the customary rights; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty; till

Election of Urban VI. April 9.

presented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Memoires sur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 258, 259.).

[63] Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 1194, 1195.) produces the original evidence which attests the threats of the Roman ambassadors, and the resignation of the abbot of mount Cassin, qui, ultro se offerens, respondit se civem Romanum esse, et illud velle quod ipsi vellent.

[64] The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Paparum Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 363—486.) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 610—712.). In the disputes of the schism, every circumstance was severely, though partially, scrutinised; more especially in the great inquest, which decided the obedience of Castile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so largely appeals, from a MS. volume in the Harlay library (p. 1281, &c.).

[65] Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the soul? They betray the instability of their faith. Yet as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος (Brunck, Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231.). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) the moral and pleasing tale of the Argive youths.

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the ſummer-heats permitted a decent eſcape from the city. But as ſoon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of ſecurity, they caſt aſide the maſk, accuſed their own falſehood and hypocriſy, excommunicated the apoſtate and antichriſt of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the ſeventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Chriſt. Their firſt choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is juſtified by the ſtrong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were maſters of the election; and whatever might be their provincial jealouſies, it cannot fairly be preſumed that they would have ſacrificed their right and intereſt to a foreign candidate, who would never reſtore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconſiſtent, narratives [66], the ſhades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured: but the licentiouſneſs of the ſeditious Romans was inflamed by a ſenſe of their privileges, and the danger of a ſecond emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the ſhouts, and encompaſſed by the arms, of thirty thouſand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the univerſal cry; the ſame threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; ſome preparations were made for burning the obſtinate cardinals; and had they choſen a Tranſalpine ſubject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The ſame conſtraint impoſed the neceſſity of diſſembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world: the pride and cruelty of Urban preſented a more inevitable danger; and they ſoon diſcovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden

Election of Clement VII. Sept. 21.

[66] In the firſt book of the Hiſtoire du Concile de Piſe, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the moſt active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original Lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are ſupported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

and

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and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber ſix cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly cenſured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the ſtations and duties of their pariſhes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpleſs minority in the ſacred college. For theſe reaſons, and in the hope of repaſſing the Alps, they raſhly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic ſchools [67]. The vanity, rather than the intereſt, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France [68]. The ſtates of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Caſtille, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience, of Clement the ſeventh, and, after his deceaſe, of Benedict the thirteenth. Rome and the principal ſtates of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England [69], the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the ſixth, who was ſucceeded by Boniface the ninth, Innocent the ſeventh, and Gregory the twelfth.

Great ſchiſm of the Weſt, A.D. 1378—1418.

From the banks of the Tyber and the Rhône, the hoſtile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the ſword: the civil and eccleſiaſtical order of ſociety was diſturbed; and the Romans had their full ſhare of the miſchiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors [70]. They had vainly flattered themſelves with

[67] The ordinal numbers of the popes ſeem to decide the queſtion againſt Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who are boldly ſtigmatiſed as anti-popes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reaſons to plead the cauſe of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in Prefat.). It is ſingular, or rather it is not ſingular, that ſaints, viſions, and miracles, ſhould be common to both parties.

[68] Baluze ſtrenuouſly labours (Not. p. 1271—1280.) to juſtify the pure and pious motives of Charles V. king of France; he refuſed to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbaniſts equally deaf to the reaſons of Clement, &c.?

[69] An epiſtle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553.) diſplays the zeal of the Engliſh nation againſt the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the biſhop of Norwich led a cruſade of 60,000 bigots beyond ſea (Hume's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 57, 58.).

[70] Beſides the general hiſtorians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infeſſura, in the great Collection of Muratori, repreſent the ſtate and misfortunes of Rome.

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Calamities of Rome.

the hope of reftoring the feat of the ecclefiaftical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the feparation of France and Spain diverted the ftream of lucrative devotion; nor could the lofs be compenfated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the fpace of ten years. By the avocations of the fchifm, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the fixth and his three fucceffors were often compelled to interrupt their refidence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Urfini ftill exercifed their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome afferted and abufed the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Chrift, who had levied a military force, chaftifed their rebellion with the gibbet, the fword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidioufly murdered and caft into the ftreet. Since the invafion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had purfued their domeftic quarrels without the dangerous interpofition of a ftranger. But in the diforders of the fchifm, an afpiring neighbour, Ladiflaus king of Naples, alternately fupported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former, he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general, of the church, while the latter fubmitted to his choice the nomination of their magiftrates. Befieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrifon in the caftle of St. Angelo. His arms were fometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladiflaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could fave the metropolis and the ecclefiaftical ftate from the ambitious conqueror, who had affumed the title, or at leaft the powers, of king of Rome [71].

[71] It is fuppofed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292.) that he ftyled himfelf Rex Romæ, a title unknown to the world fince the expulfion of Tarquin. But a nearer infpection has juftified the reading of Rex Ramæ, of Rama, an obfcure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

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Negociations for peace and union, A. D. 1392—1407.

I have not undertaken the ecclefiaftical hiftory of the fchifm; but Rome, the object of thefe laft chapters, is deeply interefted in the difputed fucceffion of her fovereigns. The firft counfels for the peace and union of Chriftendom arofe from the univerfity of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whofe doctors were efteemed, at leaft in the Gallican church, as the moft confummate mafters of theological fcience [72]. Prudently waving all invidious enquiry into the origin and merits of the difpute, they propofed, as an healing meafure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon fhould abdicate at the fame time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverfe factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations fhould *fubftract* [73] their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own intereft to that of the public. At each vacancy, thefe phyficians of the church deprecated the mifchiefs of an hafty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reafon and entreaties; and whatfoever promifes were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific defigns of the univerfity were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the fcruples or paffions of their adherents, and the viciffitudes of French factions, that ruled the infanity of Charles the fixth. At length a vigorous refolution was embraced; and a folemn embaffy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbifhops, five bifhops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was fent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who ftyled himfelf Benedict

[72] The leading and decifive part which France affumed in the fchifm, is ftated by Peter du Puis in a feparate hiftory, extracted from authentic records, and inferted in the vii[th] volume of the laft and beft edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. p. 110—184.).

[73] Of this meafure, John Gerfon, a ftout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the univerfity of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copioufly difplayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choifie, tom. x. p. 1—78.) has given a valuable extract. John Gerfon acted an important part in the councils of Pifa and Conftance.

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the thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who aſſumed the name of Gregory the twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the ſucceſs of their commiſſion, the ambaſſadors ſolicited a conference with the magiſtrates of the city, whom they gratified by a poſitive declaration, that the moſt Chriſtian king did not entertain a wiſh of tranſporting the holy ſee from the Vatican, which he conſidered as the genuine and proper ſeat of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter. In the name of the ſenate and people, an eloquent Roman aſſerted their deſire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and ſpiritual calamities of the long ſchiſm, and requeſted the protection of France againſt the arms of the king of Naples. The anſwers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common ſpirit. They agreed on the neceſſity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be aſcertained by mutual conſent. "If the one "advances," ſays a ſervant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the "one appears an animal fearful of the land, the other a creature "apprehenſive of the water. And thus for a ſhort remnant of life "and power, will theſe aged prieſts endanger the peace and ſalva-"tion of the Chriſtian world[74]."

Council of Piſa, A. D. 1409.

The Chriſtian world was at length provoked by their obſtinacy and fraud: they were deſerted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was ſupported by a numerous aſſembly of prelates and ambaſſadors. With equal juſtice, the council of Piſa depoſed the popes of Rome and Avignon; the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the fifth, and his vacant ſeat was ſoon filled by a ſimilar election of John the

[74] Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of claſſic learning in Italy, who, after ſerving many years as ſecretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 290.). Lenfant has given the verſion of this curious epiſtle (Concile de Piſe, tom. i. p. 192—195.).

twenty-

twenty-third, the moſt profligate of mankind. But inſtead of extinguiſhing the ſchiſm, the raſhneſs of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the ſynod and conclave were diſputed: three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cauſe of Gregory the twelfth; and Benedict the thirteenth, himſelf a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotiſm of that powerful nation. The raſh proceedings of Piſa were corrected by the council of Conſtance; the emperor Sigiſmond acted a conſpicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and eccleſiaſtical members might ſeem to conſtitute the ſtates general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the twenty-third was the firſt victim: he fled and was brought back a priſoner: the moſt ſcandalous charges were ſuppreſſed; the vicar of Chriſt was only accuſed of piracy, murder, rape, ſodomy, and inceſt; and after ſubſcribing his own condemnation, he expiated in priſon the imprudence of truſting his perſon to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the twelfth, whoſe obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, deſcended with more honour from the throne, and his ambaſſador convened the ſeſſion, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquiſh the obſtinacy of Benedict the thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in perſon undertook a journey from Conſtance to Perpignan. The kings of Caſtille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was depoſed by the council; but the harmleſs old man was left in a ſolitary caſtle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deſerted his cauſe. After thus eradicating the remains of the ſchiſm, the ſynod of Conſtance proceeded with ſlow and cautious ſteps, to elect the ſovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occaſion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; ſix of whom were choſen in each of the five great nations of Chriſtendom, the Italian, the German, the French,

Council of Conſtance, A. D. 1414—1418.

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Election of Martin V.

French, the Spanish, and the *English* [75]: the interference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons, the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the fifth is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican [76].

Martin V. A. D. 1417. Eugenius IV. A. D. 1431. Nicholas V. A. D. 1447.

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin the fifth [77], and his image and superscription introduce the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate successors, Eugenius the fourth

[75] I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended, that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted, that the British islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orknies, the British islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island from north to south measures 800 miles, or 40 days journey; and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches, (a bold account!) besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legantine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholemy de Glanville (A. D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Constance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I. and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipsic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only seen Lenfant's abstract of these acts (Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 447. 453, &c.).

[76] The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Basil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candour, industry, and elegance, by a Protestant minister, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form six volumes in quarto; and as Basil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the collection.

[77] See the xxvii[th] Dissertation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the i[st] Instruction of the Science des Medailles of the Pere Joubert and the Baron de la Bastie. The Metallic History of Martin V. and his successors, has been composed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni an Italian: but I understand, that the first part of the series is restored from more recent coins.

was

was the *last* pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people[78], and Nicholas the fifth, the *last* who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor[79]. I. The conflict of Eugenius, with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, elected seven governors of the republic, and a constable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephew; besieged his person in the palace; and shot vollies of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tyber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dextrously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a single shot the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wisest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excise. II. Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupa-

Last revolt of Rome, A. D. 1434. May 29— October 26.

[78] Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. iii. P. i. p. 869. and tom. xxv. p. 256.), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infessura are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

[79] The coronation of Frederic III. is described by Lenfant (Concile de Basle, tom. ii. p. 276—288.), from Æneas Sylvius, a spectator and actor in that splendid scene.

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Laſt coronation of a German emperor, Frederic III. A. D. 1452, March 18.

tions, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the third of Auſtria; though his fears could not be juſtified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate. After drawing his military force to the metropolis, and impoſing the beſt ſecurity of oaths[80] and treaties, Nicholas received with a ſmiling countenance the faithful advocate and vaſſal of the church. So tame were the times, ſo feeble was the Auſtrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accompliſhed with order and harmony: but the ſuperfluous honour was ſo diſgraceful to an independent nation, that his ſucceſſors have excuſed themſelves from the toilſome pilgrimage to the Vatican; and reſt their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

The ſtatutes and government of Rome.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleaſure, that the king of the Romans, after paſſing with a ſlight ſalute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, diſtinguiſhed the dreſs and perſon of the ſenator of Rome; and in this laſt farewel, the pageants of the empire and the republic were claſped in a friendly embrace[81]. According to the laws of Rome[82], her firſt magiſtrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at leaſt forty miles from the city; with whoſe inhabitants he muſt not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual: a ſevere ſcrutiny was inſtituted into the conduct of the departing ſenator; nor could he be recalled to the ſame office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal ſalary of three thouſand florins was aſſigned for his expence and reward; and his public

[80] The oath of fidelity impoſed on the emperor by the pope, is recorded and ſanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foreſee, that in a few years he ſhould aſcend the throne, and imbibe the maxims, of Boniface VIII.

[81] Lo ſenatore di Roma, veſtito di brocarto con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feſte di Teſtaccio e Nagone, might eſcape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Diario di Stephano Infeſſura, p. 1133.).

[82] See in the ſtatutes of Rome, the *ſenator and three judges* (l. i. c. 3—14.), the *conſervators* (l. i. c. 15, 16, 17. l. iii. c. 4.), the *caporioni* (l. i. c. 18. l. iii. c. 8.), the *ſecret council* (l. iii. c. 2.), the *common council* (l. iii. c. 3.). The title of *feuds, defiances, acts of violence*, &c. is ſpread through many a chapter (c. 14—40.) of the ſecond book.

appearance

appearance reprefented the majefty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimfon velvet, or in the fummer feafon of a lighter filk; he bore in his hand an ivory fceptre; the found of trumpets announced his approach; and his folemn fteps were preceded at leaft by four lictors or attendants, whofe red wands were enveloped with bands or ftreamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty, to obferve and affert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercife juftice and mercy within the extent of his jurifdiction. In thefe ufeful functions he was affifted by three learned ftrangers; the two *collaterals*, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are attefted by the laws; and the weaknefs of thefe laws connives at the licentioufnefs of private feuds and armed affociations for mutual defence. But the fenator was confined to the adminiftration of juftice: the Capitol, the treafury, and the government of the city and its territory were entrufted to the three *confervators*, who were changed four times in each year: the militia of the thirteen regions affembled under the banners of their refpective chiefs, or *caporioni*; and the firft of thefe was diftinguifhed by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular legiflature confifted of the fecret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was compofed of the magiftrates and their immediate predeceffors, with fome fifcal and legal officers, and three claffes of thirteen, twenty-fix, and forty, counfellors; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty perfons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from ufurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wife and jealous precautions: except the magiftrates, none could propofe a queftion; none were permitted to fpeak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all diforderly acclamations were fuppreffed; the fenfe of the majority

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majority was decided by a ſecret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman ſenate and people. It would not be eaſy to aſſign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and conſtant practice, ſince the eſtabliſhment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty, the ancient ſtatutes were collected, methodiſed in three books, and adapted to preſent uſe, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the thirteenth[83]: this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular aſſemblies have been aboliſhed, a foreign ſenator, with the three conſervators, ſtill reſides in the palace of the Capitol[84]. The policy of the Cæſars has been repeated by the popes; and the biſhop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the abſolute powers of a temporal, as well as ſpiritual, monarch.

Conſpiracy of Porcaro, A.D. 1453, January 9.

It is an obvious truth, that the times muſt be ſuited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obſcurity. The political enthuſiaſm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the ſame enthuſiaſm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation ſpotleſs; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aſpired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortaliſe his name. The dominion of prieſts is moſt odious to a liberal ſpirit: every ſcruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Conſtantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcaro revolved the ode

[83] *Statuta almæ Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii* XIII. *Pont. Max. a Senatû Populoque Rom. reformata et edita. Romæ*, 1580, *in folio*. The obſolete, repugnant ſtatutes of antiquity, were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged cruſt of freedom and barbariſm.

[84] In my time (1765), and in M. Groſley's (Obſervations ſur l'Italie, tom. ii. p. 361.), the ſenator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a proſelyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the ſenator and the conſervator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the Statutes.

which

which defcribes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himfelf the vifions of the prophetic bard. His firft trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the fourth: in an elaborate fpeech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they liftened with apparent pleafure, till Porcaro was interrupted and anfwered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and ftate. By every law the feditious orator was guilty of treafon; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and efteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an encreafe of reputation and zeal; and, on the firft opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the cafual difpute of fome boys and mechanics into a general rifing of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was ftill averfe to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the fcene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his fupport, and the eafy obligation of prefenting himfelf each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude fhould be obferved: the exile declaimed againft the arbitrary fentence; a party and a confpiracy was gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, affembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feaft was prepared at his houfe for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had efcaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his geftures, befpoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious caufe. In a ftudied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprife: the name and liberties of Rome; the floth and pride of their ecclefiaftical tyrants; the active or paffive confent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred foldiers, and four hundred exiles, long exercifed in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their fwords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would

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be eafy (he faid), on the next day, the feftival of the Epiphany, to feize the pope and his cardinals before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their inftant death a furrender of the caftle; to afcend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to reftore in a popular affembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The fenator, with a ftrong guard, invefted the houfe: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a cheft, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his defign. After fuch manifeft and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was filent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the facraments; and amidft the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almoft applauded, thefe martyrs of their country[85]. But their applaufe was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have fince rifen in a vacancy of the throne or a fcarcity of bread, fuch accidental tumults may be found in the bofom of the moft abject fervitude.

Laft diforders of the nobles of Rome.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by difcord, furvived the freedom of the commons, which muft be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppreffion was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houfes were a fortrefs and a fanctuary: and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hofpitality with the fervice of their fwords and daggers. The private intereft of the pontiffs, or their nephews, fometimes involved them in thefe domeftic feuds.

[85] Befides the curious though concife narrative of Machiavel (Iftoria Fiorentina, l. vi. Opere, tom. i. p. 210, 211. edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to), the Porcarian confpiracy is related in the Diary of Stephen Infeffura (Rer. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1134, 1135.), and in a feparate tract by Leo Baptifta Alberti (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. p. 609—614.). It is amufing to compare the ftyle and fentiments of the courtier and citizen. Facinus profecto quo.... neque periculo horribilius, neque audaciâ deteftabilius, neque crudelitate tetrius, a quoquam perditiffimo ufpiam excogitatum fit....Perdette la vita quell' huomo da bene, e amatore dello bene et libertà di Roma.

Under

Under the reign of Sixtus the fourth, Rome was diſtracted by the battles and ſieges of the rival houſes: after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the ſpot, for refuſing to join in the acclamations of the victorious Urſini [86]. But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had ſtrength to command, if they had reſolution to claim, the obedience of their ſubjects; and the ſtrangers, who obſerved theſe partial diſorders, admired the eaſy taxes and wiſe adminiſtration of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate [87].

The popes acquire the abſolute dominion of Rome, A. D. 1500, &c.

The ſpiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion: and, if that opinion be ſupplanted by reaſon or paſſion, the ſound may idly waſte itſelf in the air; and the helpleſs prieſt is expoſed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adverſary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the ſword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the uſe of cannon is a powerful engine againſt popular ſeditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enliſted under the banners of the pope: his ample revenues ſupplied the reſources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hoſtile neighbours and loyal ſubjects [88]. Since the union of the dutchies of Ferrara and

[86] The diſorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV. are expoſed in the Diaries of two ſpectators, Stephen Infeſſura, and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the years 1484, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1083. 1158.

[87] Eſt toute la terre de l'egliſe troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Urſins), come nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Caballan; et quand ce ne feroit ce different la terre de l'egliſe feroit la plus heureuſe habitation pour les ſujets, qui ſoit dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni gueres autres autres choſes), et feroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes ſont ſages et bien conſeillés); mais très ſouvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

[88] By the œconomy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was raiſed to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (Vita, tom. ii. p. 291—296.); and ſo regular was the military eſtabliſhment, that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot (tom. iii. p. 64.). Since that time (A. D. 1597.), the papal arms are happily ruſted; but the revenue muſt have gained ſome nominal encreaſe.

 Urbino,

CHAP. LXX. Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the sixth, the martial operations of Julius the second, and the liberal policy of Leo the tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times[89]. In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views, and the immortal hope of chacing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals[90]. After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities,

[89] More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel; in the general history of the former, in the Florentine history, the Prince, and the political discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors, Fra-Paolo and Davila, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scotland arose, to dispute the prize with Italy herself.

[90] In the history of the Gothic siege, I have compared the Barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. iii. p. 242—244.); an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

except

except in an hafty quarrel, when the vicar of Chrift and the Turkifh fultan were armed at the fame time againft the kingdom of Naples[91]. The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the fea-coaft of Tufcany, were firmly poffeffed by the Spaniards; and it became their intereft to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almoft without difturbance from the middle of the fixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was fwayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and intereft difpofed him in every difpute to fupport the prince againft the people; and inftead of the encouragement, the aid, and the afylum, which they obtained from the adjacent ftates, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were enclofed on all fides within the iron circle of defpotifm. The long habits of obedience and education fubdued the turbulent fpirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their anceftors, and infenfibly became the fervants of luxury and government. Inftead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their eftates was confumed in the private expences, which multiply the pleafures, and diminifh the power, of the lord[92]. The Colonna and Urfini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique fplendour was rivalled or furpaffed by the fudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and difcord is no longer heard; and, inftead of the foaming torrent, a fmooth and ftagnant lake reflects the image of idlenefs and fervitude.

[91] The ambitious and feeble hoftilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV. may be feen in Thuanus (l. xvi—xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149—163.). Thofe Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, prefumed to feparate the Roman prince from the vicar of Chrift: yet the holy character, which would have fanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat.

[92] This gradual change of manners and expence, is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 495—504.), who proves, perhaps too feverely, that the moft falutary effects have flowed from the meaneft and moft felfifh caufes.

A Chriftian,

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The ecclesiastical government.

A Chriſtian, a philoſopher [93], and a patriot, will be equally ſcandalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majeſty of Rome, the remembrance of her conſuls and triumphs, may ſeem to embitter the ſenſe, and aggravate the ſhame, of her ſlavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the eccleſiaſtical government, it may be praiſed in its preſent ſtate as a mild, decent, and tranquil ſyſtem, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the ſallies of youth, the expences of luxury, and the calamities of war. But theſe advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a ſeptennial, election of a ſovereign, who is ſeldom a native of the country: the reign of a *young* ſtateſman of threeſcore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accompliſh, and without children to inherit, the labours of his tranſitory reign. The ſucceſsful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the moſt adverſe to reaſon, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of ſervile faith, he has learned to believe becauſe it is abſurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to deſpiſe whatever might deſerve the eſteem of a rational being; to puniſh error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy, as the firſt of virtues; to place the ſaints of the kalendar [94] above the heroes of Rome and the ſages of Athens; and to conſider the miſſal, or the crucifix, as more uſeful inſtruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire ſome knowledge of the world, but the primitive ſtain will adhere to his mind and manners; from ſtudy and experience he may ſuſpect the myſtery of his profeſſion; but the ſacerdotal artiſt will imbibe ſome portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The

[93] Mr. Hume (Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 389.) too haſtily concludes, that if the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers be united in the ſame perſon, it is of little moment whether he be ſtyled prince or prelate, ſince the temporal character will always predominate.

[94] A proteſtant may diſdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not raſhly condemn the zeal or judgment of Sixtus V. who placed the ſtatues of the apoſtles, St. Peter and St. Paul, on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

genius of Sixtus the fifth[95] burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloister. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the *profane* sanctuaries of Rome[96], formed a naval and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal use and large encrease of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was sullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest; after his decease, the abuses revived; the treasure was dissipated; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his statue was demolished by an ungrateful, or an injured, people[97]. The wild and original character of Sixtus the fifth stands alone in the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself, it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind; nor

Sixtus V. A. D. 1585—1590.

[95] A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the Vita di Sisto-Quinto (Amstel. 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo), a copious and amusing work, but which does not command our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are supported by the Annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A. D. 1585—1590), and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii. c. 1, 2. l. lxxxiv. c. 10. l. c. c. 8.).

[96] These privileged places, the *quartieri* or *franchises*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Julius II. had once abolished the abominandum et detestandum franchitiarum hujusmodi nomen; and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot discern either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who in 1687 sent his ambassador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and insult pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 260—278. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xv. p. 494—496. and Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. c. 14. p. 58, 59.).

[97] This outrage produced a decree, which was inscribed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of manly simplicity and freedom: Si quis, sive privatus, sive magistratum gerens de collocandâ *vivo* pontifici statuâ mentionem facere ausit, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum munerum expers esto. MDXC. mense Augusto (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 469.). I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know that every monarch who deserves a statue, should himself impose the prohibition.

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am I willing, in theſe laſt moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome[98].

[98] The hiſtories of the church, Italy, and Chriſtendom, have contributed to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original Lives of the Popes, we often diſcover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xiv[th] and xv[th] centuries are preſerved in the rude and domeſtic chronicles which I have carefully inſpected, and ſhall recapitulate in the order of time.

1. Monaldeſchi (Ludovici Boncomitis) Fragmenta Annalium Roman. A. D. 1328, in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 525. N. B. The credit of this fragment is ſomewhat hurt by a ſingular interpolation, in which the author relates *his own death* at the age of 115 years.
2. Fragmenta Hiſtoriæ Romanæ (vulgo Thomas Fortifioccæ), in Romana Dialecto vulgari (A. D. 1327—1354, in Muratori, Antiquitat. medii Ævi Italiæ, tom. iii. p. 247—548.): the authentic ground-work of the hiſtory of Rienzi.
3. Delphini (Gentilis) Diarium Romanum (A. D. 1370—1410), in the Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 846.
4. Antonii (Petri) *Diarium* Rom. (A. D. 1404—1417.), tom. xxiv. p. 969.
5. Petroni (Pauli) Miſcellanea Hiſtorica Romana (A. D. 1433—1446), tom. xxiv. p. 1101.
6. Volaterrani (Jacob.) Diarium Rom. (A. D. 1472—1484), tom. xxiii. p. 81.
7. Anonymi Diarium Urbis Romæ (A. D. 1481—1492), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1069.
8. Infeſſuræ (Stephani) Diarium Romanum (A. D. 1294, or 1378—1494.), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1109.
9. Hiſtoria Arcana Alexandri VI. ſive Excerpta ex Diario Joh. Burcardi (A. D. 1492—1503), edita a Godefr. Gulielm. Leibnizio, Hanover, 1697, in 4to. The large and valuable Journal of Burcard might be completed from the MSS. in different libraries of Italy and France (M. de Foncemagne, in the Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcript. tom. xvii. p. 597—606.).

Except the laſt, all theſe fragments and diaries are inſerted in the Collections of Muratori, my guide and maſter in the hiſtory of Italy. His country, and the public, are indebted to him for the following works on that ſubject: 1. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (A. D. 500—1500), *quorum potiſſima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit*, &c. xxviii vols. in folio, Milan, 1723—1738. 1751. A volume of chronological and alphabetical tables is ſtill wanting as a key to this great work, which is yet in a diſorderly and defective ſtate. 2. *Antiquitates Italiæ medii Ævi*, vi vols. in folio, Milan, 1738—1743, in lxxv curious diſſertations on the manners, government, religion, &c. of the Italians of the darker ages, with a large ſupplement of charters, chronicles, &c. 3. *Diſſertioni ſopra le Antiquita Italiane*, iii vols. in 4to, Milano, 1751, a free verſion by the author, which may be quoted with the ſame confidence as the Latin text of the Antiquities. 4. *Annali d'Italia*, xviii vols. in octavo, Milan, 1753—1756, a dry, though accurate and uſeful, abridgement of the hiſtory of Italy from the birth of Chriſt to the middle of the xviii[th] century. 5. *Dell' Antichita Eſtenſe ed Italiane*, ii vols. in folio, Modena, 1717. 1740. In the hiſtory of this illuſtrious race, the parent of our Brunſwick kings, the critic is not ſeduced by the loyalty or gratitude of the ſubject. In all his works, Muratori approves himſelf a diligent and laborious writer, who aſpires above the prejudices of a Catholic prieſt. He was born in the year 1672, and died in the year 1750, after paſſing near ſixty years in the libraries of Milan and Modena (Vita del Propoſto Ludovico Antonio Muratori, by his nephew and ſucceſſor Gian. Franceſco Soli Muratori, Venezia, 1756, in 4[to]).

CHAP. LXXI.

Prospect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century.—Four Causes of Decay and Destruction.—Example of the Coliseum.—Renovation of the City.—Conclusion of the whole Work.

CHAP. LXXI.

View and discourse of Poggius from the Capitoline hill, A. D. 1430.

IN the last days of pope Eugenius the fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggius[1] and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill; reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation[2]. The place and the object gave ample scope for moralising on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her primæval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, "when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy[3], has been de- "lineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a "savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was "crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is over- "thrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has ac-

[1] I have already (not. 50, 51. on chap. 65.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

[2] Consedimus in ipsis Tarpeiæ arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim confractas columnas, unde magnâ ex parte prospectus urbis patet (p. 5.).

[3] Æneid viii. 97—369. This ancient picture, so artfully introduced, and so exquisitely finished, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early studies allow us to sympathise in the feelings of a Roman.

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" complifhed her revolution, and the facred ground is again dif-" figured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on " which we fit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the " citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illuftrated by the foot-" fteps of fo many triumphs, enriched with the fpoils and tributes " of fo many nations. This fpectacle of the world, how is it " fallen! how changed! how defaced! the path of victory is obli-" terated by vines, and the benches of the fenators are concealed " by a dunghill. Caft your eyes on the Palatine hill, and feek " among the fhapelefs and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, " the obelifks, the coloffal ftatues, the porticoes of Nero's palace: " furvey the other hills of the city, the vacant fpace is interrupted " only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, " where they affembled to enact their laws and elect their magif-" trates, is now enclofed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown " open for the reception of fwine and buffaloes. The public and " private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie proftrate, " naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the " ruin is the more vifible, from the ftupendous relics that have " furvived the injuries of time and fortune[4]."

His defcription of the ruins.

Thefe relics are minutely defcribed by Poggius, one of the firft who raifed his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to thofe of claffic, fuperftition[5]. 1. Befides a bridge, an arch, a fepulchre, and the pyramid of Ceftius, he could difcern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the falt-office of the Capitol, which were infcribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were vifible in fome degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of peace, which Vefpafian erected after the civil wars and the

[4] Capitolium adeo.... immutatum ut vineæ in fenatorum fubfellia fuccefferint, ftercorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum. Refpice ad Palatinum montem.... vafta rudera.... cæteros colles perluftra omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis vineifque oppleta confpicies (Poggius de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21.).

[5] See Poggius, p. 8—22.

Jewifh

Jewiſh triumph. 3. Of the number, which he raſhly defines, of ſeven *thermæ* or public baths, none were ſufficiently entire to repreſent the uſe and diſtribution of the ſeveral parts; but thoſe of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla ſtill retained the titles of the founders, and aſtoniſhed the curious ſpectator, who, in obſerving their ſolidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the ſize and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expence with the uſe and importance. Of the baths of Conſtantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, ſome veſtige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Conſtantine, were entire, both the ſtructure and the inſcriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been aſcribed to the baſer memory of Fauſtina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Coliſeum, Poggius might have overlooked a ſmall amphitheatre of brick, moſt probably for the uſe of the prætorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great meaſure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the ſituation and the form could be inveſtigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were ſtill erect; but the Egyptian obeliſks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanſhip of art, was reduced to one equeſtrian figure of gilt braſs, and to five marble ſtatues, of which the moſt conſpicuous were the two horſes of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mauſoleums or ſepulchres of Auguſtus and Hadrian could not totally be loſt; but the former was only viſible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the caſtle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortreſs. With the addition of ſome ſeparate and nameleſs columns, ſuch were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent ſtructure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and ſeventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

8 This

CHAP. LXXI.

Gradual decay of Rome.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of diftrefs and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches, had migrated from the banks of the Tyber, was incapable of reftoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human muft retrograde if it do not advance, every fucceffive age muft have haftened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To meafure the progrefs of decay, and to afcertain at each æra the ftate of each edifice, would be an endlefs and a ufelefs labour, and I fhall content myfelf with two obfervations which will introduce a fhort enquiry into the general caufes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer compofed a defcription of Rome [6]. His ignorance may repeat the fame objects under ftrange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could obferve the vifible remains, he could liften to the tradition of the people, and he diftinctly enumerates feven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had difappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many ftately monuments of antiquity furvived till a late period [7], and that the principles of deftruction acted with vigorous and encreafing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The fame reflection muft be applied to the three laft ages; and we fhould vainly feek the Septizonium of Severus [8], which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of

[6] Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Regiftro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniâ, in Bibliothecâ St. Ifidori Armario IV. N° 69. This treatife, with fome fhort but pertinent notes, has been publifhed by Montfaucon (Diarium Italicum, p. 283—301.), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: Scriptor xiii^mi^ circiter fæculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquariæ rei imperitus, et, ut ab illo ævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus: fed, quia monumenta quæ iis temporibus Romæ fupererant pro modulo recenfet, non parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit (p. 283.).

[7] The Pere Mabillon (Analecta, tom. iv. p. 502.) has publifhed an anonymous pilgrim of the ix^th^ century, who, in his vifit round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on feveral buildings, efpecially porticoes, which had difappeared before the xiii^th^ century.

[8] On the Septizonium, fee the Memoires fur Petrarque (tom. i. p. 325.), Donatus (p. 338.), and Nardini (p. 117. 414.).

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the ſixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were ſtill entire, the firſt blows, however weighty and impetuous, were reſiſted by the ſolidity of the maſs and the harmony of parts; but the ſlighteſt touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

Four cauſes of deſtruction:

After a diligent enquiry, I can diſcern four principal cauſes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thouſand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hoſtile attacks of the Barbarians and Chriſtians. III. The uſe and abuſe of the materials. And, IV. The domeſtic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The injuries of nature;

I. The art of man is able to conſtruct monuments far more permanent than the narrow ſpan of his own exiſtence: yet theſe monuments, like himſelf, are periſhable and frail; and in the boundleſs annals of time, his life and his labours muſt equally be meaſured as a fleeting moment. Of a ſimple and ſolid edifice, it is not eaſy however to circumſcribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids [9] attracted the curioſity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn [10], have dropt into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæſars and caliphs, the ſame pyramids ſtand erect and unſhaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more acceſſible to injury and decay; and the ſilent lapſe of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtleſs been ſhaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations: but the ſeven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been expoſed to the convul-

hurricanes and earthquakes;

[9] The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, ſince Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44. p. 72.) is unable to decide whether they were conſtructed 1000, or 3400, years before the clxxx[th] Olympiad. Sir John Marſham's contracted ſcale of the Egyptian dynaſties would fix them about 2000 years before Chriſt (Canon. Chronicus, p. 47.).

[10] See the ſpeech of Glaucus in the Iliad (Z. 146.). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

ſions

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fires;

sions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death: the rapid mischief may be kindled and propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either six, or nine days[11]. Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fewel for the flames; and when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices[12]. In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls, and massy arches, that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations, that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a

[11] The learning and criticism of M. des Vignoles (Histoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. viii. p. 74—118. ix. p. 172—187.) dates the fire of Rome from A. D. 64, July 19, and the subsequent persecution of the Christians from November 15, of the same year.

[12] Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres solo tenus dejectæ: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiusta. Among the old relics that were irreparably lost, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the moon of Servius Tullius; the fane and altar consecrated by Evander præsenti Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Vesta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæsitæ et Græcarum artium decora.... multa quæ seniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (Annal. xv. 40, 41.).

confla-

conflagration; but as ſoon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have reſiſted or eſcaped, are left as ſo many iſlands in a ſtate of ſolitude and ſafety. From her ſituation, Rome is expoſed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tyber, the rivers that deſcend from either ſide of the Apennine have a ſhort and irregular courſe: a ſhallow ſtream in the ſummer heats; an impetuous torrent, when it is ſwelled in the ſpring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the ſnows. When the current is repelled from the ſea by adverſe winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they riſe above the banks, and overſpread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the firſt Punic war, the Tyber was encreaſed by unuſual rains; and the inundation, ſurpaſſing all former meaſure of time and place, deſtroyed all the buildings that were ſituate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the ſame miſchief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either ſwept away by the ſudden impulſe, or diſſolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood[13]. Under the reign of Auguſtus, the ſame calamity was renewed: the lawleſs river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks[14]; and, after the labours of the emperor in cleanſing and widening the bed that was incumbered with ruins[15], the vigilance of his ſucceſſors was exerciſed by ſimilar dangers and deſigns. The project

Inundations.

[13] A. U. C. 507, repentina ſubverſio ipſius Romæ prævenit triumphum Romanorum .... diverſæ ignium aquarumque clades pene abſumſere urbem. Nam Tiberis inſolitis auctus imbribus et ultra opinionem, vel diurnitate vel magnitudine redundans, *omnia* Romæ ædificia in plano poſita delevit. Diverſæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere perniciem: quoniam et quæ ſegnior inundatio tenuit madefacta diſſolvit, et quæ curſus torrentis invenit impulſa dejecit (Oroſius, Hiſt. l. iv. c. 11. p. 244. edit. Havercamp). Yet we may obſerve, that it is the plan and ſtudy of the Chriſtian apologiſt, to magnify the calamities of the pagan world.

[14] Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etruſco violenter undis
Ire dejectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Veſtæ. (Horat. Carm. I. 2.)

If the palace of Numa, and temple of Veſta, were thrown down in Horace's time, what was conſumed of thoſe buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deſerve the epithets of vetuſtiſſima or incorrupta.

[15] Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapſionibus coarctatum (Suetonius in Auguſto, c. 30.).

of

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of diverting into new channels the Tyber itſelf, or ſome of the dependent ſtreams, was long oppoſed by ſuperſtition and local intereſts [16]; nor did the uſe compenſate the toil and coſt of the tardy and imperfect execution. The ſervitude of rivers is the nobleſt and moſt important victory which man has obtained over the licentiouſneſs of nature [17]; and if ſuch were the ravages of the Tyber under a firm and active government, what could oppoſe, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Weſtern empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itſelf: the accumulation of rubbiſh and the earth, that has been waſhed down from the hills, is ſuppoſed to have elevated the plain of Rome, fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level [18]; and the modern city is leſs acceſſible to the attacks of the river [19].

II. The hoſtile attacks of the Barbarians and Chriſtians.

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the deſtruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Chriſtians, have neglected to enquire how far they were animated by an hoſtile principle, and how far they poſſeſſed the means and the leiſure to ſatiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this Hiſtory, I have deſcribed the triumph of barbariſm and religion; and I can only reſume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleaſing romance, that the Goths and Vandals ſallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of Odin [20], to break the chains, and

[16] Tacitus (Annal. i. 79.) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the ſenate againſt the meaſure; and we may applaud the progreſs of reaſon. On a ſimilar occaſion, local intereſts would undoubtedly be conſulted: but an Engliſh houſe of commons would reject with contempt the arguments of ſuperſtition, "that nature had aſſigned to the rivers their proper courſe, &c."

[17] See the Epoques de la Nature of the eloquent and philoſophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana in South America, is that of a new and ſavage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themſelves, without being regulated by human induſtry (p. 212. 561. quarto edition).

[18] In his Travels in Italy, Mr. Addiſon (his works, vol. ii. p. 98. Baſkerville's edition) has obſerved this curious and unqueſtionable fact.

[19] Yet in modern times, the Tyber has ſometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three miſchievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 268. 429. tom. xv. p. 99, &c.).

[20] I take this opportunity of declaring, that in the courſe of twelve years I have forgotten,

and to chastise the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But in simple truth, the northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage, nor sufficiently refined, to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth [21], the Vandals on the fifteenth, day [22]; and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric [23]; and that the momentary resentment of Totila [24] was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent Barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses, of

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gotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very seriously believed (vol. i. p. 294.). The Goths are apparently Germans: but all beyond Cæsar and Tacitus, is darkness or fable, in the antiquities of Germany.

[21] History of the Decline, &c. vol. iii. p. 246.

[22] ——— vol. iii. p. 440.

[23] ——— vol. iv. p. 23—26.

[24] ——— vol. iv. p. 289. 293.

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the dæmons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perseverance to eraze the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East [25] affords to *them* an example of conduct, and to *us* an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic: nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon [26].

III. The use and abuse of the materials.

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind, is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired and used; on the extent of the market; and consequently on the ease or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local situation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The Barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate consumption, they must view without desire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Van-

[25] History of the Decline, &c. vol. iii. c. xxviii. p. 79—82.

[26] Eodem tempore petiit a Phocate principe templum, quod appellatur *Pantheon*, in quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et omnium martyrum; in quâ ecclesiæ princeps multa bona obtulit (Anastasius vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 135.). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV. on the calends of November to the Virgin, quæ est mater omnium sanctorum (p. 297, 298.).

dals.

dals [27]. Gold and ſilver were the firſt objects of their avarice; as in every country, and in the ſmalleſt compaſs, they repreſent the moſt ample command of the induſtry and poſſeſſions of mankind. A vaſe or a ſtatue of thoſe precious metals might tempt the vanity of ſome Barbarian chief; but the groſſer multitude, regardleſs of the form, was tenacious only of the ſubſtance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and ſtamped into the current coin of the empire. The leſs active or leſs fortunate robbers were reduced to the baſer plunder of braſs, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had eſcaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Conſtans, in his rapacious viſit, ſtripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon [28]. The edifices of Rome might be conſidered as a vaſt and various mine; the firſt labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and caſt; the marbles were hewn and poliſhed; and after foreign and domeſtic rapine had been ſatiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaſer have been found, were ſtill venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demoliſh with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could ſurpaſs the coſt of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the ſeat of the Weſtern empire, his genius would have aſpired to reſtore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæſars: but policy confined the French monarch to the foreſts of Germany; his taſte could be gratified only by deſtruction; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of

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27 Flaminius Vacca (apud Monfaucon, p. 155, 156. His Memoir is likewiſe printed, pp. 21. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini), and ſeveral Romans, doctrinâ graves, were perſuaded that the Goths buried their treaſures at Rome, and bequeathed the ſecret marks filiis nepotibuſque. He relates ſome anecdotes to prove, that in his own time, theſe places were viſited and rifled by the Tranſalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

28 Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis depoſuit: ſed et eccleſiam B. Mariæ ad martyres quæ de tegulis æreis cooperta diſcooperuit (Anaſt. in Vitalian. p. 141.). The baſe and ſacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

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Ravenna[29] and Rome[30]. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wiseſt and moſt liberal ſovereign of the age, was ſupplied with the ſame materials by the eaſy navigation of the Tyber and the ſea; and Petrarch ſighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world ſhould adorn from her own bowels the ſlothful luxury of Naples[31]. But theſe examples of plunder or purchaſe were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public uſe the remaining ſtructures of antiquity, if in their preſent form and ſituation they had not been uſeleſs in a great meaſure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls ſtill deſcribed the old circumference, but the city had deſcended from the ſeven hills into the Campus Martius; and ſome of the nobleſt monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a deſert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the ſenators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent ſucceſſors: the

[29] For the ſpoils of Ravenna (muſiva atque marmora) ſee the original grant of pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Carolin. epiſt. lxvii. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 223.).

[30] I ſhall quote the authentic teſtimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 887—899), de Rebus geſtis Caroli magni, l. v. 437—440. in the Hiſtorians of France (tom. v. p. 180.):

Ad quæ marmoreas præſtabat ROMA columnas,
Quaſdam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit
De tam longinquâ poterit regione vetuſtas.
Illius ornatum Francia ferre tibi.

And I ſhall add, from the Chronicle of Sigebert (Hiſtorians of France, tom. v. p. 378.), extruxit etiam Aquiſgrani baſilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cujus ſtructuram a ROMA et Ravenna columnas et marmora devehi fecit.

[31] I cannot refuſe to tranſcribe a long paſſage of Petrarch (Opp. p. 536, 537. in Epiſtolâ hortatoria ad Nicolaum Laurentium); it is ſo ſtrong and full to the point: Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impii ſpoliata Dei templa, occupatas arces, opes publicas regiones urbis, atque honores magiſtratûum inter ſe diviſos; *(habeant?)* quam unâ in re, turbulenti ac ſeditioſi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ conſiliis et rationibus diſcordes, inhumani fœderis ſtupendâ ſocietate convenerant, in pontes et mœnia atque immeritos lapides deſæeirent. Denique poſt vi vel ſenio collapſa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, poſt diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forſitan corruerunt), de ipſius vetuſtatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem queſtûm turpi mercimonio captare non puduit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu ſcelus indignum! de veſtris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concurſus devotiſſimus fiebat), de imaginibus ſepulchrorum ſub quibus patrum veſtrorum venerabilis civis *(cinis?)* erat, ut reliquas ſileam, deſidioſa Neapolis adornatur. Sic paullatim ruinæ ipſæ deficiunt. Yet king Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

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uſe of baths [32] and porticoes was forgotten: in the ſixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: ſome temples were devoted to the prevailing worſhip; but the Chriſtian churches preferred the holy figure of the croſs; and faſhion, or reaſon, had diſtributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloyſter. Under the eccleſiaſtical reign, the number of theſe pious foundations was enormouſly multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monaſteries of men, twenty of women, and ſixty chapters and colleges of canons and prieſts [33], who aggravated, inſtead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were diſregarded by a people inſenſible of their uſe and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of neceſſity or ſuperſtition; till the faireſt columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richeſt marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps to the ſupport of a convent or a ſtable. The daily havock which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Aſia, may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual deſtruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the fifth may alone be excuſed for employing the ſtones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's [34]. A fragment, a ruin, howſoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleaſure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of ſubſtance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpoſe of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord [35], and many capital ſtructures, had vaniſhed from his eyes; and

[32] Yet Charlemagne waſhed and ſwam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22. p. 108, 109.), and Muratori deſcribes as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416.).

[33] See the Annals of Italy, A. D. 988. For this and the preceding fact, Muratori himſelf is indebted to the Benedictine hiſtory of Pére Mabillon.

[34] Vita di Siſto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. iii. p. 50.

[35] Porticus ædis Concordiæ, quam cum primum ad urbem acceſſi vidi fere integram opere marmoreo admodum ſpecioſo: Romani poſtmodum ad calcem ædem totam et porticûs partem disjectis columnis ſunt demoliti (p. 12.). The temple of Concord was therefore *not* deſtroyed by a ſedition in the xiiith century, as I have read in a MS. treatiſe del Governo

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and an epigram of the ſame age expreſſes a juſt and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity [36]. The ſmallneſs of their numbers was the ſole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the preſence of a mighty people [37]; and I heſitate to believe, that, even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible liſt of thirty-three thouſand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thouſand [38], the encreaſe of citizens was in ſome degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. The domeſtic quarrels of the Romans.

IV. I have reſerved for the laſt, the moſt potent and forcible cauſe of deſtruction, the domeſtic hoſtilities of the Romans themſelves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was diſturbed by accidental, though frequent, ſeditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiouſneſs of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Goſpel; without reſpecting the majeſty of the abſent ſovereign, or the preſence and perſon of the vicar of Chriſt. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the ſanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Urſini; and if much has eſcaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of hiſtory, I have expoſed in the two preceding chapters, the cauſes and effects of the public diſorders. At ſuch

Governo civile di Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and aſcribed (I believe falſely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewiſe affirms, that the ſepulchre of Cæcilia Metella was burnt for lime (p. 19, 20.).

[36] Compoſed by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II. and publiſhed by Mabillon from a MS. of the queen of Sweden (Muſæum Italicum, tom. i. p. 97.).

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas ſpectare ruinas;
Ex cujus lapsû gloria priſca patet.
Sed tuus hic populus muris defoſſa vetuſtis
Calcis in obſequium marmora dura coquit
Impia tercentum ſi ſic gens egerit annos
Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

[37] Vagabamur pariter in illâ urbe tam magnâ; quæ, cum propter ſpatium vacua videretur, populum habet immenſum (Opp. p. 605. Epiſt. Familiares, ii. 14.).

[38] Theſe ſtates of the population of Rome at different periods, are derived from an ingenious treatiſe of the phyſician Lanciſi, de Romani Cœli Qualitatibus (p. 122.).

a time,

a time, when every quarrel was decided by the ſword; and none could truſt their lives or properties to the impotence of law; the powerful citizens were armed for ſafety or offence, againſt the domeſtic enemies, whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the ſame dangers and deſigns were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles uſurped the prerogative of fortifying their houſes, and erecting ſtrong towers [39] that were capable of reſiſting a ſudden attack. The cities were filled with theſe hoſtile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law, which confined their height to the meaſure of fourſcore feet, may be extended with ſuitable latitude to the more opulent and populous ſtates. The firſt ſtep of the ſenator Brancaleone in the eſtabliſhment of peace and juſtice, was to demoliſh (as we have already ſeen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and, in the laſt days of anarchy and diſcord, as late as the reign of Martin the fifth, forty-four ſtill ſtood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this miſchievous purpoſe, the remains of antiquity were moſt readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and ſolid baſis for the new ſtructures of brick and ſtone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raiſed on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæſar, Titus, and the Antonines [40]. With ſome ſlight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mauſoleum, was transformed into a ſtrong and ſpacious citadel. I need not repeat, that the mole of Adrian has aſſumed the title and form of the caſtle of St. Angelo [41]; the Septizonium of Severus was capable

[39] All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ medii Ævi, diſſertat. xxvi. (tom. ii. p. 493—496. of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446. of the Italian work).

[40] As for inſtance, Templum Jani nunc dicitur, turris Centii Frangapanis; et ſane Jano impoſitæ turris lateritiæ conſpicua hodieque veſtigia ſuperſunt (Montfaucon Diarium Italicum, p. 186.). The anonymous writer (p. 285.) enumerates, arcus Titi, turris Cartularia; Arcus Julii Cæſaris et Senatorum, turres de Bratis; arcus Antonini, turris de Coſectis, &c.

[41] Hadriani molem.....magna ex parte Romanorum injuria.....diſturbavit: quod certe

CHAP. LXXI. capable of ftanding againft a royal army[42]; the fepulchre of Metella has funk under its outworks[43]; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Urfini families[44]; and the rough fortrefs has been gradually foftened to the fplendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompaffed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the fcandal of the Chriftian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be deftroyed. Could the Romans have wrefted from the popes the caftle of St. Angelo, they had refolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of fervitude. Every building of defence was expofed to a fiege; and in every fiege the arts and engines of deftruction were laborioufly employed. After the death of Nicholas the fourth, Rome, without a fovereign or a fenate, was abandoned fix months to the fury of civil war. "The houfes," fays a cardinal and poet of the times[45], "were crufhed by the weight and velocity of enormous "ftones[46]; the walls were perforated by the ftrokes of the batter-"ing-ram; the towers were involved in fire and fmoke; and the

certe funditus evertiffent, fi eorum manibus pervia, abfumptis grandibus faxis, reliqua moles exftitiffet (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

[42] Againft the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 147.).

[43] I muft copy an important paffage of Montfaucon: Turris ingens rotunda.... Cæciliæ Metellæ.... fepulchrum erat, cujus muri tam folidi, ut fpatium perquam minimum intus vacuum fuperfit: et *Torre di Bove* dicitur, a boum capitibus muro infcriptis. Huic fequiori ævo, tempore inteftinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turres etiamnum vifuntur; ita ut fepulchrum Metellæ quafi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Urfini atque Columnenfes mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriufve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat (p. 142.).

[44] See the teftimonies of Donatus, Nardini, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace, the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are ftill great and confpicuous.

[45] James cardinal of St. George, ad velum aureum, in his metrical Life of Pope Celeftin V. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. i. P. iii. p. 621. l. i. c. 1. ver. 132, &c.)

Hoc dixiffe fat eft, Romam caruiffe Senatû
Menfibus exactis heu fex; belloque vocatum (*vocatos*)
In fcelus, in focios fraternaque vulnera patres:
Tormentis jeciffe viros immania faxa;
Perfodiffe domus trabibus, feciffe ruinas
Ignibus; incenfas turres, obfcurataque fumo
Lumina vicino, quo fit fpoliata fupellex.

[46] Muratori (Differtazione fopra le Antiquità Italiane, tom. i. p. 427—431.) finds, that ftone bullets of two or three hundred pounds weight were not uncommon; and they are fometimes computed at xii or xviii *cantari* of Genoa, each *cantaro* weighing 150 pounds.

 "affailants

" assailants were stimulated by rapine and revenge." The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses and castles they razed to the ground [47]. In comparing the *days* of foreign, with the *ages* of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city, and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Behold," says the laureat, "the relics of Rome, the image of her " pristine greatness! neither time nor the Barbarian can boast the " merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her " own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons; and your an- " cestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the bat- " tering-ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the " sword [48]." The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.

The Coliseum or amphitheatre of Titus.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the COLISEUM [49], either from its magnitude or from Nero's colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries,

47 The vith law of the Visconti prohibits this common and mischievous practice; and strictly enjoins, that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved pro communi utilitate (Gualvaneus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 1041.).

48 Petrarch thus addresses his friend who, with shame and tears, had shewn him the mœnia, laceræ specimen miserabile Romæ, and declared his own intention of restoring them (Carmina Latina, l. ii. epist. Paulo Annibalensi, xii. p. 97, 98.):

Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis
Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ
Reliquiæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas
Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti
Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus heu! heu!
— — Quod *ille* nequivit *(Hannibal)*
Perficit hic aries. — — —

49 The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffei, professedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions, wooden galleries, &c. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Colosseum*, or *Coliseum*: since the same appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a colossal statue; since that of Nero was erected in the court *(in atrio)* of his palace, and not in the Coliseum (P. iv. p. 15—19. l. i. c. 4.).

 who

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who have computed the numbers and ſeats, are diſpoſed to believe, that above the upper row of ſtone ſteps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with ſeveral ſtages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly conſumed by fire, and reſtored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the ſtatues of gods and heroes, and the coſtly ornaments of ſculpture, which were caſt in braſs, or overſpread with leaves of ſilver and gold, became the firſt prey of conqueſt or fanaticiſm, of the avarice of the Barbarians or the Chriſtians. In the maſſy ſtones of the Coliſeum, many holes are diſcerned; and the two moſt probable conjectures repreſent the various accidents of its decay. Theſe ſtones were connected by ſolid links of braſs or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baſer metals [50]: the vacant ſpace was converted into a fair or market; the artiſans of the Coliſeum are mentioned in an ancient ſurvey; and the chaſms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that ſupported the ſhops or tents of the mechanic trades [51]. Reduced to its naked majeſty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthuſiaſm broke forth in a ſublime proverbial expreſſion, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliſeum ſtands, "Rome ſhall ſtand; when the Coliſeum falls, Rome will fall; "when Rome falls, the world will fall [52]." In the modern ſyſtem of war, a ſituation commanded by three hills would not be choſen for a fortreſs; but the ſtrength of the walls and arches could reſiſt

[50] Joſeph Maria Suarés, a learned biſhop, and the author of an hiſtory of Præneſte, has compoſed a ſeparate diſſertation on the ſeven or eight probable cauſes of theſe holes, which has been ſince reprinted in the Roman Theſaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (Diarium, p. 233.) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the unam germanamque cauſam foraminum.

[51] Donatus, Roma Vetus et Nova, p. 285.

[52] Quamdiu ſtabit Colyſeus, ſtabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyſeus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus (Beda in Excerptis ſeu Collectaneis apud Ducange Gloſſar. med. et infimæ Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 407. edit. Baſil). This ſaying muſt be aſcribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who viſited Rome before the year 735, the æra of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever paſſed the ſea.

the

the engines of aſſault; a numerous garriſon might be lodged in the encloſure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliſeum[53].

Games of Rome.

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games muſt be underſtood with ſome latitude; and the carnival ſports, of the Teſtacean mount and the Circus Agonalis[54], were regulated by the law[55] or cuſtom of the city. The ſenator preſided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and diſtribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*[56], as it was ſtyled, of cloth or ſilk. A tribute on the Jews ſupplied the annual expence[57]; and the races, on foot, on horſeback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of ſeventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feaſt, after the faſhion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliſeum itſelf; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times[58]. A convenient order of benches was reſtored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna,

A bull-feaſt in the Coliſeum, A. D. 1332, September 3.

[53] I cannot recover in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i.) the paſſage that atteſts this hoſtile partition, which muſt be applied to the end of the xi^th or the beginning of the xii^th century.

[54] Although the ſtructure of the Circus Agonalis be deſtroyed, it ſtill retains its form and name (Agona, Nagona, Navona): and the interior ſpace affords a ſufficient level for the purpoſe of racing. But the Monte Teſtaceo, that ſtrange pile of broken pottery, ſeems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom ſome waggon-loads of live hogs for the diverſion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186.).

[55] See the Statuta Urbis Romæ, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89. p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Teſtaceo are likewiſe mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius from 1404 to 1417 (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124.).

[56] The *Pallium*, which Menage ſo fooliſhly derives from *Palmarium*, is an eaſy extenſion of the idea and the words, from the robe or cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori, diſſert. xxxiii.).

[57] For theſe expences, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130 florins, of which the odd thirty repreſented the pieces of ſilver for which Judas had betrayed his maſter to their anceſtors. There was a foot-race of Jewiſh, as well as of Chriſtian youths (Statuta Urbis, ibidem).

[58] This extraordinary bull-feaſt in the Coliſeum, is deſcribed from tradition, rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldeſco, in the moſt ancient fragments of Roman annals (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 535, 536.): and however fanciful they may ſeem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tyber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Ursini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Ursini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ancle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the *arena*, or pit, to encounter the wild-bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state; Malatesta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corsi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone, like the "youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger: "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower: "I burn under the "ashes," a discreet lover: "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion: "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery: "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide: "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death," the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though sad, I am strong:" "Strong as I "am great:" "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you

"fall

" fall with me:"—intimating (ſays the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the ſubjects of the Vatican, they alone were the ſupporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion ſucceſſively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be aſcribed to the quadrupedes, ſince no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loſs of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the ſide of their adverſaries. Some of the nobleſt families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afforded a ſecond holiday to the people. Doubtleſs it was not in ſuch conflicts that the blood of the Romans ſhould have been ſhed; yet in blaming their raſhneſs, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who diſplay their magnificence, and riſk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous ſympathy than the thouſands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the ſcene of ſlaughter [59].

Injuries,

This uſe of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a ſingular, feſtival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without reſtraint or remorſe. In the fourteenth century, a ſcandalous act of concord ſecured to both factions the privilege of extracting ſtones from the free and common quarry of the Coliſeum [60]; and Poggius laments that the greater part of theſe ſtones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans [61]. To check this abuſe, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vaſt and gloomy receſs, Eugenius the fourth

59 Muratori has given a ſeparate diſſertation (the xxix[th]) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

60 In a conciſe but inſtructive memoir, the abbé Barthelemy (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585.) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xiv[th] century, de Tiburtino faciendo in the Coliſeum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

61 Coliſeum .... ob ſtultitiam Romanorum *majori ex parte* ad calcem deletum, ſays the indignant Poggius (p. 17.): but his expreſſion, too ſtrong for the preſent age, muſt be very tenderly applied to the xv[th] century.

ſurrounded

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ſurrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent [62]. After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themſelves reſpected the nobleſt monument of their fathers, they might have juſtified the reſolve that it ſhould never be degraded to private property. The inſide was damaged; but in the middle of the ſixteenth century, an æra of taſte and learning, the exterior circumference of one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve feet was ſtill entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourſcore arches, which roſe to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the preſent ruin, the nephews of Paul the third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farneſe palace may curſe the ſacrilege and luxury of theſe upſtart princes [63]. A ſimilar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliſeum was placed under the ſafeguard of religion, by the moſt liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the fourteenth, who conſecrated a ſpot which perſecution and fable had ſtained with the blood of ſo many Chriſtian martyrs [64].

and conſecration of the Coliſeum.

Ignorance and barbariſm of the Romans.

When Petrarch firſt gratified his eyes with a view of thoſe monuments, whoſe ſcattered fragments ſo far ſurpaſs the moſt eloquent deſcriptions, he was aſtoniſhed at the ſupine indifference [65] of the

[62] Of the Olivetan monks, Montfaucon (p. 142.) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Vacca (N° 72.). They ſtill hoped, on ſome future occaſion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

[63] After meaſuring the priſcus amphitheatri gyrus, Montfaucon (p. 142.) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III.; tacendo clamat. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiv. p. 371.) more freely reports the guilt of the Farneſe pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Againſt the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar ſaying, "Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barbarini," which was perhaps ſuggeſted by the reſemblance of the words.

[64] As an antiquarian and a prieſt, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliſeum: Quôd ſi non ſuopte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuiſſet quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore ſacrum tantopere ſævitum eſſe.

[65] Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81. p. 182.) impoſe a fine of 500 *aurei* on whoſoever ſhall demoliſh any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo repreſentent.

Romans

Romans themſelves [66]; he was humbled rather than elated by the diſcovery, that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a ſtranger of the Rhône was more converſant with theſe antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis [67]. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately diſplayed in the old ſurvey of the city which was compoſed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol [68] may provoke a ſmile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," ſays the anonymous writer, "is ſo named as being the head of the world; where the "conſuls and ſenators formerly reſided for the government of the "city and the globe. The ſtrong and lofty walls were covered with "glaſs and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richeſt and moſt "curious carving. Below the citadel ſtood a palace, of gold for the "greateſt part, decorated with precious ſtones, and whoſe value "might be eſteemed at one third of the world itſelf. The ſta-"tues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a "ſmall bell ſuſpended from its neck; and ſuch was the contrivance "of art magic [69], that if the province rebelled againſt Rome, the

[66] In his firſt viſit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See Memoires ſur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 322, &c.), Petrarch is ſtruck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et ſtuporis mole obrutus .... Præſentia vero, mirum dictû, nihil imminuit: vere major fuit Roma majoreſque ſunt reliquiæ quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hâc urbe domitum, ſed tam ſero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 605. Familiares, ii. 14. Joanni Columnæ).

[67] He excepts and praiſes the *rare* knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Invitus dico nuſquam minus Roma cognoſcitur quam Romæ.

[68] After the deſcription of the Capitol, he adds, ſtatuæ erant quot ſunt mundi provinciæ; et habebat quælibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem diſpoſitæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, ſtatim imago illius provinciæ vertebat ſe contra illam; unde tintinnabulum reſonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tuncque vates Capitolii qui erant cuſtodes ſenatui, &c. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suevi, who, after they had been ſubdued by Agrippa, again rebelled: tintinnabulum ſonuit; ſacerdos qui erat in ſpeculo in hebdomadâ ſenatoribus nuntiavit: Agrippa marched back and reduced the——Perſians (Anonym. in Montfaucon, p. 297, 298.).

[69] The ſame writer affirms, that Virgil captus a Romanis inviſibiliter exiit, ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the xith century, is introduced by William of Malmſbury (de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, l. ii. p. 86.); and in the time of Flaminius Vacca (N° 81. 103.) it was the vulgar belief that the ſtrangers (the *Goths*) invoked the dæmons for the diſcovery of hidden treaſures.

" ſtatue turned round to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, " the prophet of the Capitol reported the prodigy, and the ſenate " was admoniſhed of the impending danger." A ſecond example of leſs importance, though of equal abſurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horſes, led by two naked youths, which have ſince been tranſported from the baths of Conſtantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundleſs application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excuſed; but theſe Grecian ſculptors ſhould not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius: they ſhould not have been transformed into two philoſophers or magicians, whoſe nakedneſs was the ſymbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his moſt ſecret actions; and, after refuſing all pecuniary recompenſe, ſolicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themſelves[70]. Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were inſenſible to the beauties of art: no more than five ſtatues were viſible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the multitudes which chance or deſign had buried under the ruins, the reſurrection was fortunately delayed till a ſafer and more enlightened age[71]. The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored by ſome labourers in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by ſome viſits of curioſity, reſtored the unprofitable marble to its former grave[72]. The diſcovery of a ſtatue

[70] Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191.) juſtly obſerves, that if Alexander be repreſented, theſe ſtatues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiv. 19.).

[71] William of Malmſbury (l. ii. p. 86, 87.) relates a marvellous diſcovery (A. D. 1046) of Pallas, the ſon of Evander, who had been ſlain by Turnus; the perpetual light in his ſepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpſe, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breaſt (pectus perforat ingens), &c. If this fable reſts on the ſlighteſt foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the ſtatues, that were expoſed to the air in a barbarous age.

[72] Prope porticum Minervæ, ſtatua eſt recubantis, cujus caput integrâ effigie, tantæ magnitudinis, ut ſigna omnia excedat. Quidam ad plantandos arbores ſcrobes faciens detexit. Ad hoc viſendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, ſtrepitum adeuntium faſtidiumque pertæſus, horti patronus congeſtâ humo texit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

 of

of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occaſion of a law-ſuit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head ſhould be ſeparated from the body to ſatisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the ſentence would have been executed, if the interceſſion of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not reſcued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen [73].

Reſtoration and ornaments of the city, A.D. 1420, &c.

But the clouds of barbariſm were gradually diſpelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the fifth and his ſucceſſors, reſtored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The improvements of Rome, ſince the fifteenth century, have not been the ſpontaneous produce of freedom and induſtry. The firſt and moſt natural root of a great city, is the labour and populouſneſs of the adjacent country, which ſupplies the materials of ſubſiſtence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and deſolate wilderneſs: the overgrown eſtates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeleſs vaſſals; and the ſcanty harveſts are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A ſecond and more artificial cauſe of the growth of a metropolis, is the reſidence of a monarch, the expence of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Thoſe provinces and tributes had been loſt in the fall of the empire: and if ſome ſtreams of the ſilver of Peru and the gold of Braſil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of eccleſiaſtical taxes, afford a poor and precarious ſupply, which maintains however the idleneſs of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the

[73] See the Memorials of Flaminius Vacca, N° 57. p. 11, 12. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini (1704, in 4[to]).

 meaſure

CHAP. LXXI. measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants [74]; and within the spacious inclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expence of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude; the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service, and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the second, Leo the tenth, and Sixtus the fifth, is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo: and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples, was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old, or of new,

[74] In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 138,568 souls (Labat, Voyages en Espagne et en Italie, tom. iii. p. 217, 218.). In 1740 they had increased to 146,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 161,899. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.

new, arches, to difcharge into marble bafins a flood of falubrious and refrefhing waters: and the fpectator, impatient to afcend the fteps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rifes between two lofty and perpetual fountains, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the defcription, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the ftudent[75]: and the footfteps of heroes, the relics, not of fuperftition, but of empire, are devoutly vifited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once favage, countries of the North.

Final conclufion.

Of thefe pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an hiftory of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; the greateft, perhaps, and moft awful fcene, in the hiftory of mankind. The various caufes and progreffive effects are connected with many of the events moft interefting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæfars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the diforders of military defpotifm; the rife, eftablifhment,

[75] The Pere Montfaucon diftributes his own obfervations into twenty days, he fhould have ftyled them weeks, or months, of his vifits to the different parts of the city (Diarium Italicum, c. 8—20. p. 104—301.). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome; the firft efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the fuperior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes obfcuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon ftill fighs for a more complete plan and defcription of the old city, which muft be attained by the three following methods: 1. The meafurement of the fpace and intervals of the ruins. 2. The ftudy of infcriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The inveftigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any fpot or building of Rome. The laborious work, fuch as Montfaucon defired, muft be promoted by princely or public munificence: but the great modern plan of Nolli (A.D. 1748) would furnifh a folid and accurate bafis for the ancient topography of Rome.

and

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and fects of Chriftianity; the foundation of Conftantinople; the divifion of the monarchy; the invafion and fettlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the inftitutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal fovereignty of the popes; the reftoration and decay of the Weftern empire of Charlemagne; the crufades of the Latins in the Eaft; the conquefts of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the ftate and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The hiftorian may applaud the importance and variety of his fubject; but, while he is confcious of his own imperfections, he muft often accufe the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol, that I firft conceived the idea of a work which has amufed and exercifed near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wifhes, I finally deliver to the curiofity and candour of the Public.

LAUSANNE,
June 27, 1787.

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20. *Note* 46. line 5. *for* dromonibas—*read* dromonibus.
22. *Note* 55. line 8. *for* Cotlian—*read* Cottian.
30. line 4. *for*, When at his ſummons the chair of St. Peter was diſputed by Symmachus and Laurence, they appeared, &c.—*read*, When the chair of St. Peter was diſputed by Symmachus and Laurence, they appeared at his ſummons, &c.
112. line 22. *for* and his pupils—*read*, and that his pupils, &c.
129. line 23. *for* patrons—*read* patron.
553. line 2 from the bottom, *for* partia—*read* partial.
568. *Note* 63. lin[illegible] *for* περι βοντο;—*read* περιβοντος.
569. *ibid.* line 14. *for* Ειρηρη—*read* Ειρηνη.

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57. [illegible] 27. *for* deſcribed—*read* deſcried.
93. line 15. *for* deſpoiſed—*read* deſpoiled.
219. line 16. *for* diſpiſe—*read* deſpiſe.
302. line 12. *for* haſtened—*read* haſtening.
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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL